Inclusion of newly arrived youth in Norwegian Upper Secondary Schools

- a Leadership Perspective

Solfrid Mjelde

Comparative and International Education

Department of Education
Faculty of Educational Sciences
UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

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Abstract

Aim of the study: In this study educational inclusion for recently arrived youth is explored. It has become apparent from global education statistics that migrant youth are falling behind in the school system. This shows itself in both lower enrolment rates, completion rates and scores on international tests. This is also the case in Norway, where recently arrived youth are challenged in the education system. The transition from compulsory education to upper secondary education has proven itself to be especially challenging for this group as they range widely in skill level. There is no centralized policy for how to organize this transition and it is local authorities who choose how to organize this transition. The purpose of this study is therefore to explore how school and local authorities experience the inclusion of newly arrived students in upper secondary school.

Research question: *How do school leaders in upper secondary experience inclusion of newly arrived youth?*

Sub Questions:
1. *How have they chosen to organize the transition to upper secondary school and what do they see as successes and challenges for an inclusive transition?*
2. *What challenges do they meet in providing inclusive education for newly arrived youth and what do they see as solutions to this?*

Method: Qualitative approach based on semi structured interviews with 10 school leaders in two counties in Norway.

Results and conclusion: The study revealed that school leaders are faced with many dilemmas in organizing education for newcomers. In the transition to upper secondary school, expanded basic education was one successful strategy school leaders reported. Many school leaders also emphasized the social dimension of inclusion as important. Collaboration between county and municipality has benefited inclusion of the group. Some of the challenges reported are inclusion of students with less formal school background in mainstream classes, meeting the students' linguistic needs and giving enough psychosocial support.

Keywords: *inclusion newly arrived youth, refugee and migrant education, inclusion and school leadership, diversity and school leadership*

Acknowledgments

Acronyms

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

2-1 - Section 2-1, The right to education, of the Education Act of 1998

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

3-10 - Section 3-10, The right to upper secondary education, of the Education Act 1998

4- A-1 - Section 4A1-1 Right to basic education for adults, of the Education Act 1998

L94 - Reform introducing the right to upper secondary education, 1994

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PPT – Educational and Psychological Counselling Service

SDG4 - United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4, 2015

Udir - Utdanningsdirektoratet, The Directorate of Education

UAM - Unaccompanied minor

VET - Norwegian Vocational Education and training

VGS - Videregående skole (Upper secondary education)

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1 Introduction

1.1 Prelude - Imagine these students

Like many Eritrean boys Berhane (18 years old) came to Norway alone. In Eritrea, Berhane attended school until he was 12 years old. He can read and write fluently in his mother tongue, Tigrinya. At the age of 13 years, he was forced to join the military and then decided to leave Eritrea. The journey to Norway was long and strenuous, crossing through deserts and oceans. He likes going to his language course in Norway, but he also loses concentration easily. His mind easily wanders, thinking about the past, the future and his family back home. Berhane attends the local municipal language center for newly arrived immigrants and refugees. In his class there are people of all ages from many countries who all need to improve their basic skills.

Agatha (15 years old) came to Norway with her family from Poland as work migrants. In Poland, Agatha performed well in school. She received good grades and achieved well in most subjects. When she came to Norway one year ago she was allowed to start 10th grade at her local school. Agatha has made new friends quickly in school and is well liked by her teachers, however, her grades are poor and she knows it will be academically challenging to achieve the results required to attend the same upper secondary school as many of her friends. She struggles to understand new content in her mainstream classes and finds it difficult to grasp new concepts in Norwegian, especially in art and literature, despite the extra support she receives in Norwegian language once a week.

Fariha is now 15 years old. She came to Norway with her mother from the countryside in war torn Afghanistan. Fariha did not receive much schooling and never learnt to read or write fluently in her mother tongues, Dari and Pashto. After attending one year of intensive Norwegian language training in a welcome school, Fariha is now enrolled in 10th grade at the closest school in her area. Next year, she will enroll in upper secondary school.

Ibrahim (17) is from Somalia and came to Norway on a family reunion visa. Before arriving in Norway, he attended a private school in Mogadishu and became fluent in Somali, Arabic and English. In addition, he has also reached a high academic level in math and science. When he came to Norway with his mother he started in an introductory class for newcomers at an upper secondary school in Norway.

The key challenge that all these students share is learning Norwegian language and navigating through the school system in a language other than their mother tongue. Many of these students will enroll in an upper secondary in their county, regardless of their skill level. Depending on the county and school, the students will meet different educational trajectories in upper secondary education. Some might be offered an introductory course with other newcomers, while others will be included in a mainstream class. The goal for all of them is a diploma from upper secondary, qualifying for either a vocation and/or enrollment in higher education.

These students are all included in the definition "newly arrived youth" in Norway, despite their vastly diverse educational needs. For example, for Ibrahim, the main challenge will be acquiring Norwegian literacy, while translating his skills from one language to another. On the other end of the spectrum, Fariha and Agatha will require those same literacy skills, while also needing to learn basic subject content in upper secondary school, a goal that is naturally impeded without those literacy skills. The challenges represented by these imagined cases are constructed from my own experiences with teaching newly arrived students, research literature and interviews with school leaders. These cases illustrate the diverse array of issues and challenges presented by groups of "newly arrived youth in Norway" and the different pathways they might take. Imagine you are a school leader, or maybe you already have had this experience. How would you work to prepare these students for upper secondary education?

1.2 Context

Today, inclusive education is a key goal of the global Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) agenda as both unequal distribution of opportunity and resources still exists within the

education sector (UNESCO, 2020a). According to the United Nations SDG Goal 4 all nations should "Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning" before 2030 (UN, 2015). Building the skills of youth are prioritized in two targets[1]. Target 4 focuses on skills for employment, while target 6 highlights that *all* youth should gain literacy and numeracy by 2030. Creating educational opportunities for youth through secondary education is therefore an essential part of an inclusive education system. Eliminating barriers to inclusion and school completion for all youth is pivotal in reaching both target 4 and 6 of SDG4.

Today, 31 million school-aged children are international migrants, and this number continues to grow (Aiazzi, Nicolai, & Wales, 2017). In the wake of rising global migration levels, many governments have adapted their education systems to provide inclusion for refugees and migrants, however, from a global perspective, educational inclusion of migrant youth still has a long way to go. Schools have throughout history been breaking and creating barriers for social mobility and opportunity and today exclusion in education continues to exist. Internationally, adolescent refugees are three times as likely to not attend secondary school (UNESCO, 2020b).

It has also become apparent that internationally, newcomers and minority language students tend to achieve poorer educational outcomes than mainstream students. This often manifests in a lower completion rate in secondary schooling and lower scores on international tests (European Commision, 2015; OECD, 2010, 2015). Educating migrant children and youth is therefore pivotal to meet SDG4 (Aiazzi et al., 2017). This is essential to achieving both long-term economic and social benefits, such as improved livelihoods, better health outcomes, reductions in gender inequities and enhanced political participation (Aiazzi et al., 2017).

The consequences of failing to provide inclusive education for these students has long-term ramifications, as exclusion from education leads to exclusion in several areas of life. For migrating children and youth, the education system plays an integral role in their successful transition to a new country (Kohli, 2011). Being deprived of education and qualifications

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[1]Target 4: "By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship"

Target 6: "By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy"

leads to weaker connections to and far less opportunities in the labor market. Recently arrived youth are especially vulnerable as they often also lack strong social connections in their new country, which can support youth's entrance into the labor market. One negative consequence of this is the potential long-term marginalization of this group. At the same time, the labor market in Norway has a shortage of unskilled work, putting youth without qualifications at risk, especially young migrants (OECD, 2020).

Failing to provide inclusive education for immigrants also has consequences beyond the group, influencing the society as a whole (OECD, 2015). Inclusive societies have more trust and knowledge and are better equipped for the challenges in the future in which plurality cannot be avoided. Scandinavian countries have a tradition for receiving immigrant children and youth (Axelsson & Juvonen, 2016). The reception system within the school system is relatively strong but was tested in 2015 when a higher number than previously of young refugees arrived (Axelsson & Juvonen, 2016, p. 5). Managing the transitions that establish a more inclusive system to accommodate increased diversity is a significant challenge for policymakers and education planners (Inglis, 2008). In Norway, these rapid changes pose a host of obstacles and possibilities for the education system and for educational leadership (Andersen & Ottesen, 2011), p. 1). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate further how education for this group is organized and how school leaders experience inclusion of this group.

Norway takes pride in being a pioneering county in inclusive education (Lillejord, 2015). However, in the Norwegian context it can also be argued that both the performance and completion rates for migrant youth and recently arrived are not satisfactory. OECD (2020) highlights in a recent report how both the upper secondary completion rates and the performance gap between the immigrant population and non-immigrant population is a key issue in Norway:

> Despite relatively high education expenditure, Norway's performance in PISA has stagnated over time. Reducing performance gaps between immigrant and non-immigrant students is a priority, given Norway's increasing immigrant population. In order to better prepare young people for the labour market, Norway should focus on improving upper secondary completion rates, particularly within vocational education. In this respect, increasing the number of available apprenticeships will be a priority. (p. 3)

OECD (2020, p. 8) also finds that in Norway students from immigrant backgrounds scored 33 points lower in reading compared to students with a non-immigrant background. This performance difference was greater than the OECD average gap of 24 score points. The achievement gap can be seen as a paradox, as research shows that immigrant youth often have a high motivation for schooling. (Lauglo, 1996) writes that immigrant youth are more persistent in their education, even though they tend to meet more hardship and have a lower chance of completion. He elaborates further, describing how this has been a prevalent pattern in the Norwegian education system as illustrated by educational research.

In upper secondary schooling, the achievement gap between majority and minority students is at its highest. 79.6% of upper secondary school students in Norway complete their studies within 5-6 years (SSB, 2021) while the completion rate for students with immigrant backgrounds is lower at 63% (IMDi, 2020). The chances of completing upper secondary school decreases with less time in Norway and with lower results from compulsory education (IMDi, 2020). The completion rate is also lower in vocational schooling than general studies (IMDi, 2020). Refugees are an especially vulnerable group within the group of recently arrived. In Norway, only 46-66% of refugees have finished upper secondary education by the age of 25 years, compared to 79% among the majority population (Smith, Krasnik, & Rosenkrantz de Lasson, 2020). The large variety in percentage between refugees is due to the age of arrival. The students who arrived in Norway late in their school trajectory, in their teens, are the most vulnerable in terms of school completion.

1.3 The aim of the study

There exists wide variations in how education for newly arrived students is organized, both in compulsory and secondary education, and both on an international and national level. Internationally, the knowledge base on migrant education is limited (Aiazzi et al., 2017). In many Western countries, there is a lack of a common national policy on how to implement effective programs for this group of students (Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013). In Norway, the education system is decentralized, and local school authorities are responsible for educational

provisions (OECD, 2020). Implementation is one of the main challenges in Norway when giving minority language students good educational provisions. Thus, decentralization is pointed out as a problematic factor here (NOU, 2010; OECD, 2015). In Norway, the educational levels are divided between different administrative levels. Compulsory education (year 1-10) is managed by the municipalities, while upper secondary education is the responsibility of the county authorities. Adult education belongs to the municipality.

The question of who takes responsibility for the students out of county and municipality can become a challenge. This can lead to disagreement on who is responsible for organizing education for the newcomer students and which administrative level are responsible for ensuring their rights. This is especially for the students who are older and who have less formal school (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Students who are older than 16 years old when they arrive in Norway belong to adult education if they do not have an equivalent education to Norwegian compulsory education from their home country.

Differences in educational opportunity between schools and districts is a challenge in the Norwegian education system and the Norwegian model of decentralization requires active and competent municipalities (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017). Transitions between schools and levels are seen as an especially important part for successful inclusion of vulnerable groups (UNESCO, 2020a). The transition between compulsory education and upper secondary school can be extra challenging for newly arrived as they are a diverse group in terms of educational backgrounds (Biseth & Changezi, 2016). Research indicates that there is a lack of cooperation between counties and municipalities in meeting these students' needs (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

For recently arrived children and youth, there is no single solution for reception and transitions in education. Evaluations of educational provisions for newly arrived children and youth in Norway indicate that the legal framework in Norway for this group is unclear in certain areas (Rambøll Management, 2018; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Newly arrived students can for a short time be organized in separate classes or they can be included in mainstream classes. There is a large variety in how the transition from compulsory schooling to upper secondary school for newly arrived youth is organized. From 2016, local authorities can also offer 1-2 years in transitory combination classes focusing on subjects and skills from basic education even though the student officially is finished with year 1-10. Internationally,

there is a debate concerning whether, and for how long, newly arrived students should be integrated in mainstream classes or whether they should attend separate language courses (Aiazzi et al., 2017).

It is thus important to explore the different models being used by local authorities to gain an understanding of why they made the choices they have. It is relevant to investigate how they perceive inclusion of this group of students, and whether or not they have managed to collaborate in offering an inclusive education for newly arrived youth. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to explore these various models while identifying challenges and successes schools, municipalities, and countries face in providing inclusive education for newly arrived youth in Norwegian upper secondary schools. The study provides the perspective of school leadership and their perception of inclusion. The first research question of the study focuses on the transition from compulsory education to upper secondary school, while the other research question investigates inclusion in a wider scope, looking at successes and barriers for inclusion. The achievement gap between minority and majority students cannot be explained by one factor alone and this study aims to investigate some of the relevant challenges and solutions.

Research question: *How do school leaders in upper secondary experience inclusion of newly arrived youth?*

Sub Questions:
1. *How have they chosen to organize the transition to upper secondary school and what do they see as successes and challenges for an inclusive transition?*
2. *What challenges do they meet in providing inclusive education for newly arrived youth and what do they see as solutions to this?*

1.4 Background

1.4.1 The Norwegian Education system

The Norwegian education system is based on the concept of "Enhetsskolen" or "Felles skolen" (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2014). This can be translated to "One school for all". This concept has two dimensions; it should include all students, while also equalizing geographical and social differences (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2014). Today, the term "fellesskolen" is more often used as this term also aims to highlight diversity, both regarding students with special needs and those with linguistic diversity (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2014).

The Norwegian school system consists of a common 10 year compulsory education and a common upper secondary system for both vocational training and general studies (UDIR, 2020). Qualifications for general studies can lead to access to higher education. Students in vocational studies are included in what is called "Lærlingordningen"/"Apprenticeship". The students attend school for two years and then for two years they are in apprenticeship in a local business. After these four years, they can qualify for an exam,"Fagprøven", and receive a diploma if they pass. Students in vocational programs also have the option of attending a one year program called "Påbygg" after two years in school. This can then qualify them for a diploma in general studies.

Today, according to the Education Act (1998, § 2-1) all students in compulsory school age have the right to education in Norway. This is a guaranteed right only when it is likely that the child will stay in Norway for over 3 months. The compulsory school age includes all children between grade 1 and 10, which are the ages between 6-15 years. Newly arrived youth also have this right and are obliged to be in schooling. For students above the 10th school year, schooling is not mandatory. However, according to § 3-1 in the Education Act (1998) all students that have a diploma from compulsory education also have the right to enroll in upper secondary, this is called "ungdomsrett", "youth right". Students have this right for 3 years up until the age of 24 years.

Figure 1.1: An illustration of the Norwegian Education system
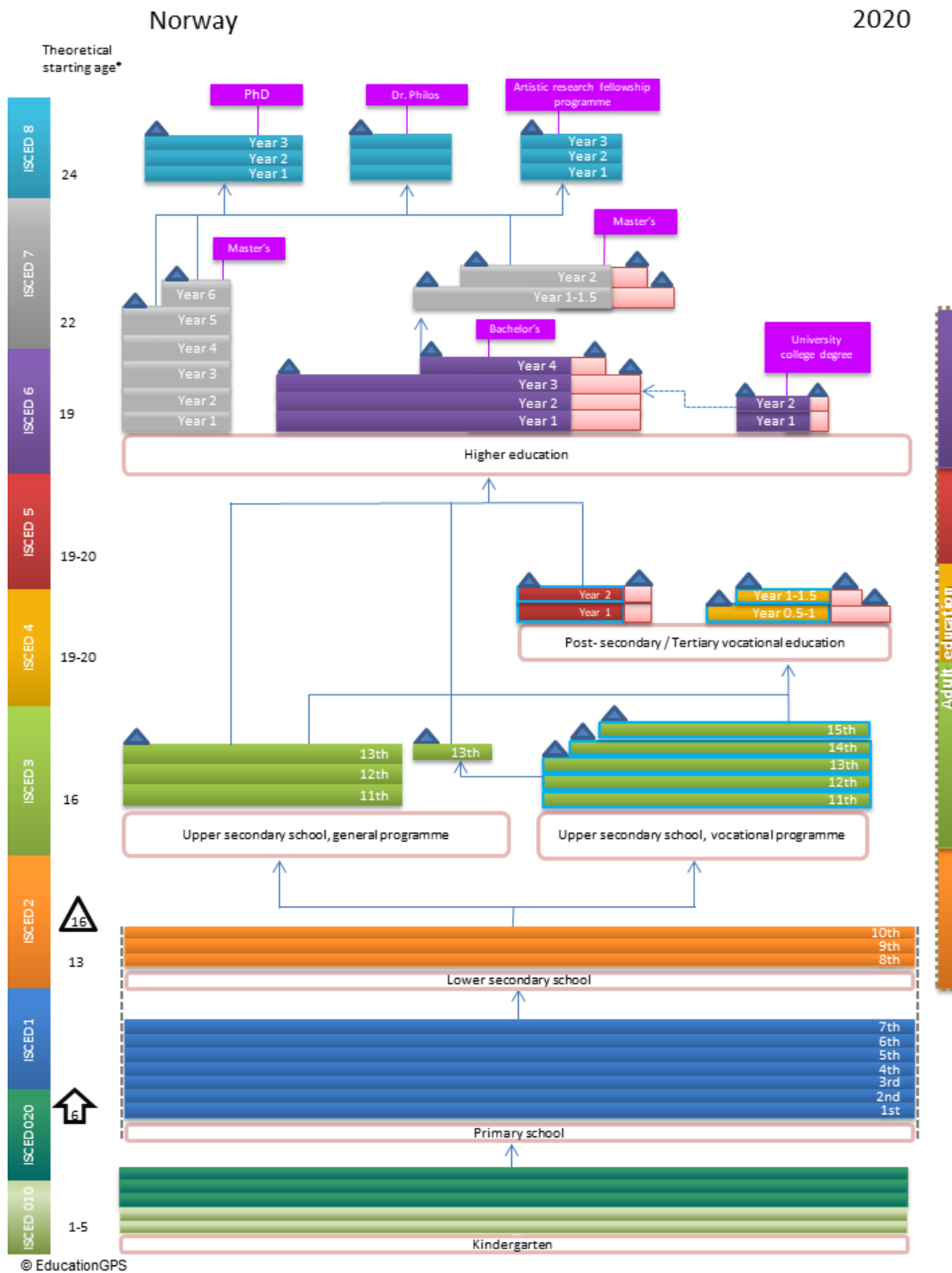
Source: (OECD, 2021)

The Norwegian Education system differs from many other education systems, as it is a "school for all" all the way through upper secondary school (Holseter, 2005). In some

European countries, the students have to choose a specific program during the compulsory education. For example, in Germany and Austria this happens when the students are 10 years old (Holseter, 2005). Education systems with an early selection are based on a system of "selecting the best students", while the aim of the Norwegian system is to get an many as possible as far as possible (Holseter, 2005) In Norway, most students can repeat the same levels and have the right to switch programs (Holseter, 2005). Students in Norway have the right to "omvalg" in upper secondary, meaning they can change their program one time and, therefore, get two years extra to finish their upper secondary schooling (UDIR, 2016b).

1.4.2 Relevant educational reforms

The education reform in 1994 (L94) ensured that all Norwegian students have the right to upper secondary education. It was not made compulsory but should by law be available and adapted to all students' needs. According to (G. Hernes, 2010) this has brought both opportunities and challenges. The reform improved access to educational opportunities and more youth than ever started their paths towards secondary education. Many thought that this increase in access would also lead to an increase in school dropout rates, as more students were enrolled. But the results showed the opposite; instead rates decreased drastically (Hernes, 2010). On the other hand, equity in outcomes of education was still a challenge. The dropout phenomenon is still relevant and even if the rate has not been increasing, it continues to be a social issue with broad consequences. Those who do not complete their education have a higher risk of developing health problems, experiencing unemployment and receiving government benefits (Hernes, 2010).

A key issue in the discussion over Norwegian dropout statistics is the drastic difference between the dropout rates of girls and boys, with boys having a lower completion rate (OECD, 2020). There are many explanations for the difference in school completion rates between the sexes. OECD (2020 highlights how the overly academic nature of the Norwegian Vocational Education Training (VET) programs and the failure of some students to get apprenticeship are two important issues that hinder the completion of upper secondary school for boys (p. 6).

Norway is also now in a transitioning phase in terms of curriculum. A new curriculum reform has just been implemented in Norwegian schools, gradually replacing LK06, *The Knowledge Promotion Reform* from 2006. LK06 kept the Core Curriculum from L94, but aimed to

strengthen basic skills like reading, writing and math and outlined more specified goals and competencies for students (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2004). With the newest reform, *Knowledge Promotion Reform* LK20, a new Core Curriculum was introduced. The new Core Curriculum has some new focus areas. It focuses more on in depth learning and core values across all subjects. It also represents a significantly revised subject curriculum. (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2017).

In addition, the current government (pre-September 2021 election) is planning to introduce an overarching new structural reform in upper secondary education called "Fullførings Reformen"/Completion reform (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2021). This reform has not been implemented yet but is expected to be in place in the next few years. The reform includes some main policies and purposes, but it is still in development. Therefore, what it will entail is still not finalized. The main goal of the reform is to reach a higher completion rate for students in Norwegian upper secondary schooling, achieved through adjusting the education more to individual students' different needs and interests. The current education minister describes the reform as:

> The time has come to examine the big stumbling stones in our system, for example the demand that everyone has to complete upper secondary within the same time and with the same content. With "Fullføringsreformen" we want to give better educational provisions for the students who don't have the academic skills from compulsory education, and give the vocational students without apprenticeship a better opportunity than they receive today. (Minister of Education, Ms. Gury Melby quoted at (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2021)

Today, students have the right to attend upper secondary education, but not the right to complete this education. Officially, students have three years to complete their education (newcomers are added two additional years), but now the government wants to remove this time limit for all students. According to The Ministry of Education (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2021) the other goals of the reform are:

- That everyone who starts in VGO (upper secondary) shall have the right to education up to study or vocational competence

- To give a duty to early intervention in VGO

- Better adapted educational trajectories

- That all students who have a short period of residence and weak Norwegian skills should receive a transitional offer when they start in VGO

- Measures to ensure that more people get an apprenticeship

- Opportunity to take several trade certificates

- A right to an apprenticeship or an equivalent offer

- Propose an extended right that allows adults to return to VGO to complete and pass

- Make module-structured education the main model for adult education

- More in-depth study, relevant training and freedom of choice

As we see here, minority language students are targeted, together with a special focus on students in vocational programs. All newcomer students should then have a right to a transitional program, but it is not specified what this should be. The reform also puts more responsibility on county authorities and schools to adjust the educational trajectories to students' needs and to follow-up students in risk of failing subjects.

1.4.3 The situation for newly arrived immigrant youth in Norway

There is no single definition of who is defined as a newly arrived youth in Norway since it is a highly diverse group. Europe had a high influx of refugees and migrants during 2015, which also affected the influx of asylum seekers to Norway. In 2016, over 30,000 refugees and asylum seekers came to Norway and 15,200 of these were given residency (SSB, 2018). This was a high number compared to previous years. The largest group were people from Syria due to the civil war. The two second largest groups were people from Afghanistan and Eritrea (SSB, 2018).

Today, around 14% of the population in Norway has an immigrant background (IMDi, 2021). This means that the Norwegian school system is meeting increased diversity and needs that require adapted and individualized education in order to provide educational opportunities for

all. Since 2006, the largest national groups independent of migration status are people from Poland, Lithuania, Somalia, Syria, Germany, Eritrea and the Philippines (SSB, 2018).

It is clear that newly arrived children and youth in the Norwegian school system are a diverse group. Children of work migrants, children from family reunification, and refugees and asylum seeking children coming alone or with family are all included in the definition of "newly arrived". About one third of the asylum seekers arriving in 2015 were children and young people under the age of 18 years old (UDI, 2016 referenced in Pastoor, 2017). Around half of the arriving minors were unaccompanied minors. Norway is now in the process of integrating this particularly vulnerable group into the education system. However, this integration is occurring alongside children and youth migrating with families who are seeking work in Norway, which has its own opportunities and challenges.

1.4.4 The organization of education for newly arrived youth

There are a multitude of approaches regarding how education for newly arrived children and youth is organized. As the Norwegian education system is decentralized, these choices are made by the local school ownership and school leaders based on the Education Act (1998) and the policies presented below.

The right to upper secondary education or adult education

According to the Education Act (1998, §3-1), all students, including the newly arrived, who have attended and not completed compulsory education, have the right to upper secondary education. This right also applies to those who have completed 9 years of equivalent education from their home country. They then hold the "youth right", meaning the right to upper secondary education if they can tick one of these two boxes. Other newcomers without 9 years of school background do not have that same automatic right to attend upper secondary as they were older when they arrived in Norway (over 15 years) and/or did not get the opportunity to get a diploma from lower secondary. If they do not have equivalent schooling from their home country these students' education will be managed by the municipality and often they will attend the closest adult education center for refugees and

immigrants. Here, they will receive basic education for adults according to the Education Act (1998, §4A-1.) After completing the equivalent of Norwegian compulsory education, the students can then apply to upper secondary for adults if they are older than 25 years. If they are younger than 25 and have completed lower secondary in Norway or their home country, then can enroll in upper secondary if there are available places.

Research shows that even when newly arrived youth attend upper secondary school, inclusion of students with little formal schooling from their home country is a challenge (Biseth & Changezi, 2016; Hilt, 2017; Hos, 2016; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). One of the main challenges pointed to is the entrance requirements for upper secondary school (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). All students who have been in lower secondary school, even for just weeks or months receive a diploma and can enter upper secondary. Many students are then ill-prepared and do not have the linguistic and academic skills to complete secondary school (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Before the policy change on expanded basic education, these students would also lose their right to more basic education with adult education. The question of whether or not there should be certain language requirements to enter upper secondary has also been discussed but is problematic as this would interfere with the principle of equal access to education (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

Specialized language education

All minority language students have a right to specialized language education according to the Education Act (1998) §2-8 in compulsory education and §3-12 for upper secondary school. This right consists of three options: basic Norwegian with adapted curriculum, extra bilingual education and/or additional mother tongue education. This bilingual support can be given in one or more subjects at school, not just in Norwegian class. There is no set method for how this support is provided as it can be in separate groups or in mainstream classes. It is also an option for the student; the student can decline the right. All students also have the right to two years extra in upper secondary school if they need it (Education Act, 1998, §3-12).

Previously, functional bilingual competency was also a goal in itself and therefore, minority language children were given the right to mother tongue education. Today's legal framework allows students to have this right until their Norwegian level is adequate to follow

mainstream education. A student's language skills should be evaluated before this decision is made and while the student is receiving specialized language education - so that the transition to mainstream curriculum and/or classes can be organized when the student is ready (UDIR, 2012). There are no national rules for how and with which tools the students should be mapped and evaluated. Udir has developed tools that are available, but it is not mandatory to use them (Udir, 2012).

In addition,newly arrived youth also have the same rights as non-immigrant youth to special education beyond language support if any learning difficulties have been detected during the school year or as a part of the screening process (Udir, 2012).

Transitory classes

Schools and local authorities can organize introductory and transitory classes for newcomers before entering mainstream classes as an extra adjustment for newly arrived students (Udir, 2012). This is one form of giving the student their right of specialized language education. This can be introduced in both compulsory and upper secondary education and can be arranged in a number of ways. There is no centralized policy for organizing this and the local authorities are not obliged to do this. The choice and responsibility of how and if to organize these classes falls on the local school ownership, a municipality for compulsory education and a county for upper secondary education. The organization of this right can take different forms, in groups, classes or separate welcome schools (Udir, 2012). According to the Education Act (1998, §3.12), schools can offer this to students for two years and are then for that time exempt from the rule of not segregating students based on level, ethnicity or gender.

There is no set time frame for who is considered "newly arrived." Municipalities and counties decide if the student is entitled to an introductory class (Udir, 2012). This decision is to be based on the student's best interest (Udir, 2012). For instance, if a student has been in Norway for a while, the student's need for integration should be considered as important (Udir, 2012).

Newly arrived students have the right to one or two years extra in both compulsory and secondary education. The students can then attend an introductory class, but this is optional

for the student. They can also refuse this offer and then they have the right to attend mainstream classes and in some cases, they are provided with individual adapted education and in some cases the schools could offer language support in classes or groups. Schools are not obliged to give this extra year without using their right to upper secondary, but the school owner has the option in upper secondary to offer students a "year 0", that will not count towards a student's 5 year right to complete upper secondary (Udir, 2012).

In 2016, it was decided that newly arrived students with specialized language education should be offered a separate curriculum in Norwegian for upper secondary schooling. This curriculum is a simplified version of the mainstream curriculum. But this right is only for students who have lived less than 6 years in Norway from the time of final examination (Udir, 2016).

Combination classes and expanded basic education

Following NOU (2010), an evaluation/white paper on diversity in the Norwegian education system and the labor market, there was a need to ensure students' transition from lower to upper secondary education with a holistic policy. It was found that immigrant students achieved lower than majority students on national and local tests and had a higher dropout rate (NOU, 2010). A new policy on expanded basic education, developed in 2016, therefor aims to make the education system more inclusive and adapted to newly arrived youth and their needs. The aim is also for students to be able to start upper secondary education better prepared and with stronger language skills. As part of a political package to strengthen inclusion, this policy provided for an extra one or two years of basic education for youth requiring this to be able to have the skills to succeed in upper secondary education (UDIR, 2016a). After an adjustment to § 4A-1 in the Education Act (1998) students with "youth right" can now retake curriculum and exams from year 1-10 of needed. It is voluntary and free for students. This educational course can be organized in many ways and take place in upper secondary schools.

It is stated in the Education Act (2018, § 13-10) that the school ownership must organize educational provisions that are "sound" in terms of introductory classes for newly arrived

youth. This means that the provisions must fulfill the demands of the Education Act. In Norway, it is the municipality or the county who are the "school owners". This creates the opportunity for collaboration between counties and municipalities as the municipality is responsible for compulsory education (year 1-10) and the county is responsible for upper secondary. However, providing these extra educational services to newly arrived youth is voluntary for the authorities. The municipalities and counties must finance the programs either alone, or they can work together. This policy provided a space for what has later been called "combination classes" (Rambøll Management Consulting 2018), combining newly arrived students in adult education and those with "youth right".

1.5 Research questions

In this study, I aim to explore practitioners' views on educational inclusion for newly arrived immigrant youth. As explained in the previous section, the organization of education for newly arrived immigrant youth can vary between different counties and municipalities. I chose to interview educational leaders implementing different models for the transition to upper secondary education. As explained in Section 1.4.4, the transition to upper secondary education is different for students depending on their age and school background. This can entail the transition from a lower secondary school, if the student was younger than 16 years old when they arrived in Norway. In this case, they might have spent some years or months in lower secondary school. Some students are transitioning from adult education if they are older than 16 years old. Others have 9 years school background from their home country but start with an introductory class because they need to learn more Norwegian before starting in mainstream classes. As explained in the section above, the school authorities and local authorities can decide how to organize the transitions.

The purpose of this study is to explore how school and local authorities experience the inclusion of the student group in this transition. It also aims to have a wider scope by detecting systemic challenges for inclusion and offering potential solutions.

Research question: *How do school leaders in upper secondary experience inclusion of newly arrived youth?*

Sub Questions:

3. *How have they chosen to organize the transition to upper secondary school and what do they see as successes and challenges for an inclusive transition?*
4. *What challenges do they meet in providing inclusive education for newly arrived youth and what do they see as solutions to this?*

1.6 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters.

This first chapter has provided an introduction of the topic, and the research questions that I aim to explore.

In chapter two, I present the theoretical framework for discussion, which will form the basis for the final discussions of my research.

Chapter three presents an overview of relevant research in regard to educational inclusion of newly arrived immigrant youth.

The fourth chapter illustrates the research design and applied methodology.

In chapter five, I present results from the data collected. The chapter is divided into two sections based on the research questions.

I discuss the research's main results, in chapter six.

Finally, chapter seven concludes the thesis.

2. Theoretical perspectives

Theoretical perspectives relevant to the inclusion of newly arrived youth will be presented in this chapter. In order to effectively understand the barriers and successes in attempting to provide inclusive education to newly arrived students, a diverse set of theories is required. Therefore, this study will draw on several perspectives, ranging from theories of inclusion, educational opportunity and Bronfenbrenner's systems approach.

2.1 What is inclusion?

Inclusion is a complex concept that can be understood through many lenses. Historically, inclusive education (IE) as a global construct was first primarily used in regard to creating better education for students with disabilities, but IE has now become a goal for all groups of students. The idea can be traced back to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1945. In the field of education, Article 26 of the Declaration proclaims the right of every citizen to an appropriate education regardless of gender, race, color and religion (Lillejord, 2015). This right is also enshrined in the constitutions of many independent nations. But, the question of what constitutes appropriate education for all groups remains unanswered. Even though access to education is viewed as a goal, many nations and their institutions still lack a fully coherent concept of inclusion.

Some important developments in inclusive education were initiated by the Salamanca Declaration in 1994 during the World Conference on Special Needs Education. It stated that students with disabilities should be integrated in mainstream schools with a student-centered focus, focusing on adapting education to their needs (Lillejord, 2015). Later, the global movement "Education for all" led by UNESCO aimed at meeting the learning needs of all children by 2015. This continued to put inclusive education on the global agenda. Today, inclusive education is stated in SDG4, as explained in Chapter 1. Now, youth skills and upper secondary education have also become main focuses.

At the micro level, an important step in developing an inclusive school is to move away from the segregation of students diverting from the mainstream, and to move towards more inclusive practices (Buli-Holmberg, Nilsen, & Skogen, 2015). Inclusion differs from segregation, assimilation, exclusion and integration. Segregation and exclusion are concepts based on separation of groups in different pathways, opportunities or locations. Exclusion aims to "separate and sort children into their allotted tracks, into the streams that assign them to unequal destinations" (Slee (2011) cited in Anderson et al., 2014, p. 25). Many groups have been segregated and excluded in the education system, two key examples being students during apartheid in South Africa and racial segregation in the US.

Inclusion can appear similar to integration, but it is wider in scope and demands systemic change to adapt to the learner's needs. The UN Committee distinguishes between integration and inclusion, stating that: "Integration is a process of placing persons with disabilities in existing mainstream educational institutions, as long as the former can adjust to the standardized requirements of such institutions" (Hehir et al., 2016), p. 3). When we discuss integration, the focus is on the students who differ from the norm and thus, who have to adjust themselves to the existing system.

On the other hand, inclusion entails an altering of the system to adapt to diverse individual needs. UNESCO (2005) defines inclusion as "a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education" (p. 13). UNESCO (2020) also states that inclusion mirrors equity. More than an outcome you can measure, inclusion is wide in scope and can entail actions and processes that value diversity and belonging for every person.

The UN Committee reiterates this in their definition of inclusion:

> *Inclusion* involves a process of systemic reform embodying changes and modifications in content, teaching methods, approaches, structures and strategies in education to overcome barriers with a vision serving to provide all students of the relevant age range with an equitable and participatory learning experience and environment that best corresponds to their requirements and preferences. (Hehir et al., 2016)

It is therefore important to separate integration and inclusion and understand their different meanings:

Placing students with disabilities within mainstream classes without accompanying structural changes to, for example, organisation, curriculum and teaching and learning strategies, does not constitute inclusion. Furthermore, integration does not automatically guarantee the transition from segregation to inclusion. (Hehir et al., 2016, p. 3)

Figure 1.2: Inclusion, Assimilation, Exclusion, Segregation and Integration
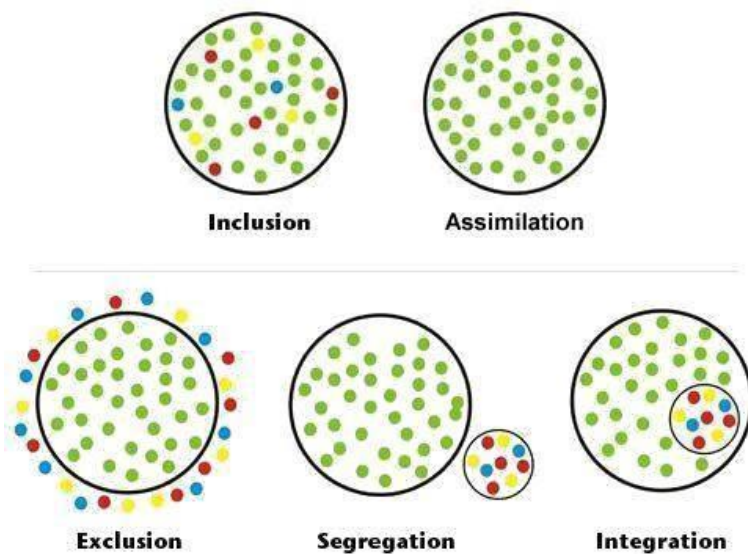
Source: United Nations Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities General Comment No. 4, depicted in Hehir et al., 2016

2.1.1 Inclusion in practice

One perspective that can assist our understanding of inclusion in practice is (Nilsen, 2017)'s three dimensions of inclusion. Nilsen (2017) looks at inclusion from three different dimensions: the physical/organizational, the social and the academic/cultural. These three elements are not seen as separate, but rather they are dependent on each other.

The physical and organizational dimension of inclusion is centred around how education is organized. This can mean location of the class, placement of a group or an individual student. It is important for students to have physical access to communities and to be able to participate in communal learning together with peers (Buli-Holmberg et al., 2015).

The social dimension of inclusion is about the social environment, everyone needs to have a real opportunity to participate in the social community and develop relationships with peers and teachers. Students from all backgrounds benefit from being in the same environment and can affect all stakeholders in a positive way (Buli-Holmberg et al., 2015).

The academic and cultural dimension of inclusion means giving access to academic learning and development in a way which is meaningful for each student. Cultural participation is important so that students feel a connection and belonging to the cultural aspects of the education. This dimension should also enhance participation. This could be done through communal learning activities, such as group projects.

The academic dimension should stimulate learning that utilizes students' potential and meet the students' diverse needs, while also taking the common goals and content into consideration. In this way, this might be the most challenging dimension to fulfil (Buli-Holmberg et al., 2015). If schools go too far in requiring the same competence for everyone, this ambition of inclusion might not succeed, and the student will instead meet a diversity of challenges. It is, therefore, important that differentiation in teaching and methods follows this dimension (Buli-Holmberg et al., 2015).

The concept of inclusive education has further shifted focus, acknowledging individual factors and how inclusion may manifest very differently from classroom to classroom and student to student (Anderson, Boyle, & Deppeler, 2014). In Norway, all students should benefit from adapted education to their needs according to the § 1-3 in the Education Act (1998). An important aspect of inclusive education is that it should also benefit all learners, not just those with special needs or linguistic minorities (Mitchell, 2020).

Although inclusive education may be perceived as being provided through various means, we can identify core factors that should pertain to its definition and implementation. Mitchell (2020) highlights 10 elements of importance in providing inclusive education: *vision, placement, adapted curriculum, adapted assessment, adapted teaching, acceptance, access, support, resources, leadership and evidence.* Due to the limited scope of this study, not all 10 factors were taken into consideration, however, the researcher explored vision, placement, curriculum, resources and leadership.

Vision and leadership form the foundation behind inclusive education. School leaders, teachers and staff must have a common vision of what inclusion is and how to implement it on all levels. Acceptance means that all stakeholders accept that there is room for diverse learners in the common learning environment. Mitchell (2020) also makes clear that inclusive education requires a high level of resourcing in terms of curriculum, teaching material, and human resources. Similar to Nilsen (2017), Mitchell (2020) also emphasizes how important placement is for inclusive education. Learners should be in an age adequate environment in the learner's neighborhood. Learners should also not be placed in ability-based groups for all of their activities, as this could create "within class segregation" (p. 29). Rather, Mitchell supports a "flexible mix of whole class instruction, mixed ability groups and ability groups with some individual attention if possible" (p. 29). These factors, together, assist us in assessing if education is inclusive to diverse learners or if adjustment is required to meet learners' needs.

An approach to inclusive education in Norway is based on the principle of adapted teaching. In Norway, all students have the right to receive teaching adapted to their needs (Education Act, 1998, §1-3). This is an individual right the students have, and the adapted education can take many forms, both at the individual and organizational level. There are no set guidelines for how education should be adapted, therefore, schools and teachers have freedom in terms of the chosen methods and organization.

2.1.2 Educational opportunity

While Mitchell's (2020) 10 factors and Nilsen's (2017) three dimensions focus on inclusion at the school level, schools are also dependent on inclusive systems and policies to be able to meet their students' needs. As such, educational opportunity is a concept that warrants discussion in this paper, as it is closely linked to inclusion. Educational opportunity addresses the opportunities afforded by the policies and systems administered by institutions. How can we create programs, curriculum and policies that aim for all students to succeed? This question demonstrates how educational opportunity is as complex as the concept of inclusive education with many overlapping intricacies. How inclusive an education system is can determine students' life opportunities. As the quote by Kalantzis and Cope (1999) illustrates, we can argue that there is a strong link between the two concepts.

Schools have always played a critical role in determining students' life opportunities. Schools regulate access to orders of discourse, to symbolic capital. They provide access to the world of work,; they shape citizenries; they provide a supplement to the discourses and activities of communities and private lifeworlds. As these three major realms of social activity have shifted, so the roles and responsibilities of schools must shift. (Kalantzis & Cope, 1999), p. 270)

When shaping educational policy and trying to create educational opportunities for diverse groups there are a set of questions we need to take into consideration. Kenneth Howe (1997) would argue that an important trait of an equal education system is how it works to create *real* opportunity for its students and separates between what he sees as *bare* and *real* educational opportunities. A bare opportunity would not provide the student with authentic chances to succeed in the education system. So what would these concepts mean in our context? In Norway the first connotation to educational opportunity would be graduating from upper secondary education with a certificate, either from vocational training or general courses. In vocational training this would also mean being able to get a vocational placement within the first two years after having completed this training.

Student *capabilities, knowledge* and *choice* are integral in providing real opportunities. (Howe, 1997). Howe illustrates this with an example in which a monolingual Chinese student is placed in an English speaking classroom. In this case the student would be provided with a formal opportunity in education, but would benefit less from that opportunity than an english speaking child. The student must have the capabilities to seize the opportunities in front of them.

An opportunity to merely undergo X, when failure is virtually assured, is simply an opportunity to futilely try X and is no advance over a bare opportunity. Such opportunities are neither real or worth wanting. (Howe, 1997, p. 19)

So the question that should be posed when shaping educational programs is; *Are the students equipped to undergo this course, curriculum etc.*? If the answer is no, then the program should be further developed to engage with the capabilities of the student. It must be within the students power to bring about the chosen outcome of an educational opportunity in order to be perceived as inclusive education (Howe, 1992, p. 18). Another example Howe refers to here is providing students second chances to try curricula in which they remain ill prepared. This would still be a bare opportunity if the students are not receiving the support they need to overcome this. More time does not always create more opportunity.

Howe (1997) also emphasizes how students' knowledge and information is key for them to attain real opportunities. Both knowledge on what choices exist and how to attain them as well as the capacity to deliberate between possibilities and outcomes is also essential. It's the combination of these factors that provides genuine opportunities for students. Students must have the capacity to succeed in an opportunity, they need to know what choices are possible and where those choices will lead them. But how much certainty in an outcome can educational opportunity provide? There is never any guarantee of results. But for educational opportunities to be real - you must minimise those uncertainties that are within the system's control. This could relate to school-informed factors such as organization, teaching methods, assessment, as well as macro factors such as policy and political climate. Howe (1997) emphasizes how the education system's job is to reduce uncertainty to the extent to which the context of choice is realistic and has meaning.

There are numerous approaches institutions can take to provide educational opportunities for students of differing backgrounds. Howe (1997) separates between the formal, the compensatory and the participatory approach. A *formal* understanding of opportunity focuses on equality through eliminating formal barriers for education. Howe's (1997) criticism against this is the potential for students to end up with bare opportunities they cannot benefit from. Educational input is here the measurement of equality, not results. An example here would be to only look at the students' opportunity to enter an educational program, not if they actually pass the exam.

A *compensatory* approach would focus on how the system can recompense the students personal characteristics/background with compensatory measures. This often results in segregational practices in order to give adapted education, where some experts and specialists are responsible for the students' education. Here both educational input and results are in focus when assessing whether or not the system responds to the student. An example here would be to look at both entrance requirements and exam results as an indicator of inclusion.

 A *participatory* approach separates itself from the other directions, by opening a conversation about how we can understand equality in educational outcomes and results. Howe discusses how and whether educational results should be an indicator of equal educational opportunity. Outcomes and results are central in that they are a part of shaping an

educational trajectory and here he uses an analogy of the tree to illustrate this. The outcomes must enable students further in their educational careers.

> (..) educational opportunity is *treelike* with respect to educational results. For example, if a given result, such as literacy, fails to obtain by a certain point of an individual's educational career, then the range of educational *opportunity branches* subsequently open to such an individual will be significantly pruned. (Howe, 1997, p. 20)

Educational outcome on the other hand is not the *only* indicator of educational success for Howe. Education needs to be meaningful for the individual and the values, content and trajectory of one education should be a product of negotiation. The question *if* educational results should be equalized is not relevant, it is rather *what kind* of educational results should be equalized and to *what degree* (Howe 1997, p. 4). It's not just about achieving the same outcomes, but also what outcomes that are pursued? So in this case, the two inputs and output are closely related. How features of the school and the education system interact with the characteristics, needs and wishes of the student. Howe writes that; "Precisely what educational results are adopted as the criterion of equality of educational opportunity is an important consideration" (Howe, 1997, p. 22). The quote under explains this:

> This participatory version of educational opportunity must be one that can be accessed through multiple pathways that require neither the dissolution of high academic expectations nor the devaluation of nondominant languages and cultures. (p. 22)

So should everyone be measured the same way? Another important aspect of Howe's theories is that creating educational opportunities must be a long term perspective. (Howe, 1992) refers to the term "educational careers rather than isolated incidents". Finding these careers must happen through dialogue with minority groups and the meaning of their education and having the power of choice within the educational system. Some central questions for us might be; Could there be alternative goals and pathways for students? While at the same time giving students equal opportunities? What needs to be in place to create real and enabling careers for newly arrived?

2.1.3 Inclusive systems

How can school leaders, administrators and politicians work systematically to create inclusion and real education opportunities? Hilt (2016) argues that systematic approaches are necessary in the field of inclusive education for minority language students. Systematic underachievement among this group of students is a recurring theme across borders, for both newly arrived and minority language students in general. Knowledge on how exclusion and inclusion processes function in our school systems is therefore essential.

As this study aims at analyzing the educational systems and processes surrounding a student group, Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory can be useful. Systems theory offers a suitable lense to map out educational systems, structures and relations. Anderson et al. (2014, p. 27) argues that inclusive education is a "social construct", relying on "relationships between people and societal systems". How leaders work to create educational opportunities will therefore depend on relationships between teachers, students, school leaders, administrators, and a wide range of actors. UNESCO (2020, p. 159) also finds that "collaborative relationships are one of the foundations of inclusive schools". It is important that all school stakeholders are involved in the processes of inclusion.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed a model to contextualize the students' learning and development within a set of processes and systems surrounding the student. This is relevant when exploring inclusive education. It shouldn't be the characteristics of the learner that should determine whether or not the students receive inclusive education, but rather the environments and factors that sit within these, along with the relation" (Anderson et al., 2014). Bronfenbrenner separates between the student's micro, meso, exo, and macro and systems around the student. These levels move from the child's inner circle with personal relationships and experiences of home and school to the policy level. The needs of a student are complex so the school cannot stand alone**.** Communication, collaboration and synergies are central concepts here.

The inner level is the micro level. These are the settings the child itself has direct involvement with. For example persons in their family, their friends, peers, neighbors and their teachers. When studying the micro level in a child's life one would analyze these relations. The next level is the meso level. This implies the networks of relations and connections between the different actors in a student's life. How is the relationship between home and school? How are school leaders collaborating in a district? How are the transitions

organized between school levels? An important factor in the mesosystem is the "supportive links" existing between actors in the student's microsystem and exosystem;

> The developmental potential of a setting is increased when supportive links exist between that setting and other settings (such as family and home). Thus the least favorable condition for development is one in which supplementary links are either non supportive or completely absent - when the mesosystem is weakly linked. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 215)

The child's exosystem is something the child itself is not directly involved with but affected by. This could be: school leadership structures, teaching and non-teaching staff, school culture, values and ideology, authority and collaborative patterns (leaders, staff, students, parents, community), support structures, resource allocation, school rituals, school policies and procedures and the student cohort. (Anderson et al., 2014). Municipalities and districts will all have a variety of policies targeting school, children and youth. This could also be school resources and how they are prioritized. This can be both centralized or decentralized decisions. UNESCO (2020, p. 88) highlights how both horizontal and vertical collaboration is important to create inclusive education. While "horizontal collaboration" is important to "share information, set standards and sequence support services", vertical collaboration is important among government levels for local authorities to fulfil their mandates (p. 88).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) emphasizes how power settings are central in the child's exosystem. How are resources distributed? Who makes decisions? And how close are they to the student?

> The developmental potential of a setting is enhanced to the extent that there exist direct and indirect link to power settings which participants in the original setting can influence allocation of resources and the making of decisions that are responsive to the needs of the developing person and the efforts of those who act in his behalf. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 256)

The macro system is the overarching systems in a child's life, national and global. This could be the national education system and political situation. Teacher education, curriculum are all expressions of societal and political values on a macro level affecting the child's micro system.

2.1.4 Active leadership and empowering school culture

UNESCO (2020) highlights how important an inclusive school ethos is for student belonging. A joint vision of inclusion and management that works to implement this vision on all levels is essential (Mitchell, 2020). This has proved to be especially important for schools with newcomers. (Hamilton & Moore, 2004) analyzes the post-migration face for newcomer students and which factors that can contribute to good educational conditions for this group, with a part of their studies focusing on school factors. Active school leadership is emphasized as important. The role of the principal is especially highlighted as important in successful education of refugee children and youth. The school leadership plays a critical role in implementing new policies and practices. For example, a new program or curriculum for refugee students. Another important role of the principal is being a "gatekeeper" between actors in the community and service. Principals need to show their support of the new initiatives, publicly.

Andersen (2017) combines the framework of inclusive leadership and multicultural education with the purpose of creating a lense for how school leaders can work to promote inclusion for ethnic and linguistic minorities. This is called creating an empowering school culture. The school leader is responsible for creating a supporting environment for teachers, students and staff through honest dialogue about the students' needs (Andersen, 2017). Creating good relations between students, teachers and leaders is a foundation for this work. Sharing these experiences and "building bridges between groups" is an important step in moving away within the first two years from exclusionary praxises. School leaders are also responsible for investigating how classroom activities are affecting different students with different learning needs and encourage teachers to critically engage with this. This means taking responsibility and seeking competency where it's necessary. An example here can be hiring bilingual teachers and staff (Andersen, 2017). Andersen (2017) also highlights the importance of empowering the students themselves. In helping them, helping themselves see opportunities in their own learning processes. For teachers the principal is important in guiding them in new methods for refugee education. In this work it is important that the leadership provides the right support for teachers when implementing new methods or policies. This can mean time to cooperate and arenas where they can express their experiences and concerns.

Teachers also need to be a part of the decision-making process. A unified school strategy and understanding of inclusion is thus important.

Implementation can often be a challenge in creating inclusive education as IE is dependent on many factors and stakeholders. (UNESCO, 2020a). UNESCO (2020) finds that funding and implementation can be a challenge in both centralized and decentralized systems. While centralized systems often lack local ownership and promote a "one size fits all" solution, decentralized systems can create inequality if differences in local economy are not accounted for (UNESCO, 2020a). UNESCO (2020) emphasizes how transitions between school levels often require much collaboration, funding and coordination to be inclusive. It's important to share resources and expertise.

2.2 Summary and framework for discussion

To summarize, we can see how inclusion is a concept that stretches through all levels of education, from educational policy, curriculum, school leaders, teachers, parents and the classroom itself. One of the most important aspects in inclusion, and what separates it from integration is that the system should always be in a process to adjust to the learners needs. It's an evolving construct and a vision more than a product or outcome. Here is an overview of what can constitute inclusive education. This will later be used as a framework for discussing the findings.

Inclusion in practice
- The educational system should be adjusted to the needs of diverse learners both in terms of content, teaching and structures. Educational policies should work to overcome barriers for diverse learners   - Learners should be located among peers the same age in their community.   - Learners shouldnt be placed in mainstream classes without structural changes to curriculum, teaching methods etc.   - Teaching and learning should be meaningful for the student and utilize their potential   - Educational authorities should work to create real educational opportunities, making sure students are enabled and capable to succeed   - Giving the students knowledge about educational pathways is important for real educational opportunity

- Student outcomes should be open for dialogue through a participatory approaches
- Inclusion should have a long terms perspective on creating educational careers for diverse students
- Inclusive education requires adequate resources
- Inclusive ethos, active leadership and common vision is important to implement inclusion
- Inclusion is dependent on collaborative relationships between all stakeholders, both horizontally and vertically

3. Literature review

3.1 Introduction

(..) the education of newly arrived students is characterised by the dilemma between separation and integration: a dilemma that transgresses both geographical borders and disciplinary fields. (Nilsson Folke, 2017)

This literature review will give an overview of the relevant research regarding newly arrived youth and educational inclusion in upper secondary schools. There will also be a brief exploration of some of the main issues in international literature related to this topic. The main focus will be on the Scandinavian and Norwegian context. As the participants in this study are working in educational leadership this review will also include studies about school leadership meetings with ethnic and linguistically diverse student groups. To my knowledge there is no single study focusing on leadership and inclusion of newly arrived students/immigrant/youths.

As the quote above by the Swedish researcher Nilsson illustrates, the field is both complex and broad. The complexity can be seen in both how diverse the students are and in the variety in educational provisions they are offered. There are large variations in how education for newly arrived students is organized. We can find these variations both on an international and a national level. In many western countries there is a lack of a common policy on how to implement good programs for this group of students ((Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013). The field is also broad in the sense that it crosses into many areas like language learning, inclusive education and migrant and refugee education. Experiences can be shared across borders, and hopefully this study can also contribute to the international field of migrant and refugee education, in the process of including newcomer youth into the secondary school system.

Even though the research on this topic in Norway is limited, a combination of studies can help us understand the educational landscape for newly arrived immigrant youth. In Sweden there is a substantial amount of research to draw on. In Norway there have been some reports focusing on newly arrived students with little school background. (Thorshaug & Svendsen,

2014)) point to the lack of educational support for these students and (Kulbrandstad & Dewilde, 2016) have also done a literature review and studied educational policies accommodating newly arrived students' needs. They conclude that there is a great need for more research on this topic.

It is not so easy to divide newly arrived students into simple categories as they often tick several boxes, such as student with little formal schooling, refugee, and unaccompanied minor. Many students belong to all three categories. The findings in the previous research are therefore relevant to different student groups, as there is overlap in categorization and classification.

3.2 Inclusion of refugee students

Refugees are an especially vulnerable group within the group of recently arrived individuals. In Norway only 46-66 % of refugees have finished upper secondary education by the age of 25. Among the majority population the number is 79% (Smith et al., 2020). The students who arrived late in their school trajectory, in their teens, are the most vulnerable in terms of school completion. Both international studies and studies from Norway point to the need for more psychosocial support for refugee students (K. S. Hernes, 2013; Hos, 2016; Pastoor, 2013, 2015).

A collaborative report by University in Copenhagen and other Nordic institutions highlights some important challenges for inclusion of refugees (Smith et al., 2020). Some relevant findings were lack of competence among teachers about the student groups' needs; "Schools and teachers had varying, and often insufficient, knowledge and competence of how to relate appropriately to a diverse group of refugee students with multifaceted needs" (p. 41). One of the co-writers of this report, Lutine de Wal, Pastoor from NKVTS[2] in Norway, has for a long time been calling for a more "refugee competent school" in Norway. Pastoor's (Pastoor, 2015, 2017) research focuses on how this is especially important for refugee students and youth migrating alone, unaccompanied minors. The risk factors the students experience are complex; the students' short period of residency in their new country, their lack of education

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[2] Nasjonalt kunnskapssenter om vold og traumatisk stress

from their home country and the status of being in a new country without parents and established networks. In addition to this many struggle with trauma and stress (p. 251). Pastoor (2015) points out how schools may have a role 'beyond education', (..), a mediational role in supporting the psychosocial transitions the refugees face upon resettlement" (p. 248). She explores three processes in this transition; *school as an arena for socialization, school as an arena for integration* and *school as a salutogenic arena.* The study finds that schools are fundamental for the students in these stages. If the students don't receive this support it can result in socioemotional issues and school exclusion. The study especially highlights the role of the teacher as important for the students. The teacher needs to adapt the teaching to the students academic needs and show interest in their "psychosocial wellbeing". But the study also points to several challenges for the teacher, for example lack of resources, competence and time. Pastoor asks if the role of the teacher needs to be redefined as the amount of students with refugee backgrounds increases. The study also points out how this student group's needs might become overlooked by the leadership as they often are few in numbers and fall between different administrative levels (adult education, primary education and upper secondary). The study suggests more school based interventions for the group and training in how war affects students well-being and development.

Research in Norway and international studies also emphasize the importance of an holistic approach to education for refugees (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012); (Moinolnolki & Han, 2017); Pastoor, 2017; (Smith et al., 2020); UNESCO, 2020). This means much collaboration between authorities, schools, teachers, caretakers and communities. One institution cannot be responsible for inclusion of this group. Pastoor (2017) focuses again on how UMA could benefit from a different approach to what education is. The study shows how the student group often has several important arenas for learning and integration;

> The knowledge and competence that young refugees acquire through participation in joint activities in diverse learning contexts, such as group homes, part-time work, NGOs, sports and other communities, promotes their overall learning, development and resilience. (p. 161)

Schools and municipalities can take advantage of this and collaborate about the students' development.

A master's thesis by K. S. Hernes (2013) showed how unaccompanied minors face several challenges in the Norwegian upper secondary school system. Both in terms of dealing with

their own worries about their situation and adapting to Norwegian school culture, feeling included and catching up with peers on an academic level. These young people are in an important transitioning phase in life and Hernes recommends that upper secondary schools play a more clear part in this transition. The school needs to support the student in many different ways. Many of the students felt a need for more academic support as they perceived the academic level to be too high for them. Hernes (2013) suggests that schools should meet the students on a closer academic level and emphasize their previous knowledge and background to help them thrive. A central factor is knowing the students' level and background. Teachers and staff also need to guide the students in their social integration process. The students wanted to learn about Norwegian life and have more interaction with Norwegian peers. Hernes also refers to the term "bridge builders", who can function as role models for the students - a person who has a connection to their home culture and their "new culture". Someone who can guide and inspire. This role can be served by teachers and other school staff with minority backgrounds.

3.3 Linguistic support

Newcomers often struggle with attaining an adequate level of the host language, especially for academic use. It can take 5-7 years for second language learners to develop a "school language" (Cummins, 2000). Language skills often play an important part in why students choose to leave upper secondary school in Norway (Kulbrandstad & Dewilde, 2016; Pastoor 2013).

More specialized Norwegian teaching together with bilingual and mother tongue education could be part of the solution for this (Pastoor, 2015). Even though this affects all minority students, unaccompanied minors and recently arrived need this support more as their education often has been interrupted (Pastoor, 2015). Cooperation between Norwegian teacher, subject teacher and bilingual/mother tongue teacher is important so that the students experience a holistic education where the teachers focus on the same terms, ideas and vocabulary (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

The use of the students' mother tongue and the students' multilingual repertoire is encouraged both to enhance feelings of inclusion and to support multilingual and academic development (Collier V. P., 2007; Cummins, 2000). In the last 10-15 years we have seen a substantial amount of research supporting bilingual education and/or multilingual approaches in schools. (Cummins, 2000; Dixon et al. 2012). These studies have argued for the use of students' first language in the classroom and a continued development of the students' mother tongue alongside the new language. In Europe, schools often lack this competency in supporting students' multilingual development (European Commision, 2015). Andersen (2013) also finds that school leadership in upper secondary schools in Norway lacks a common understanding of how to support the multilingual students. This is also found to be a challenge in schools working specifically with newly arrived students. In a case study Burner & Carlsen (2019) finds that teachers in a school for newly arrived possess some basic knowledge of multilingualism but fails to apply the knowledge in classroom settings.

Norwegian language education for minorities has been criticised by some researchers, as it has moved away from a perspective of functional bilingualism to more homogeneity in language learning (Seland, 2013). This development away from a goal of functional bilingualism for students, with an automatic right to mother tongue education has been criticized as a whole. In today's legal framework students only have the right to specialized language education if their skill level is not seen as high enough for the students to follow mainstream education. Mother tongue education has been used less after the Knowledge Promotion reform (Rambøll 2011 cited in Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). It was perceived as important for both the students' cultural belonging to their family and their home country but also as a way to strengthen their language education and also improve Norwegian skills through a stronger multilingual repertoire.

Multilingual competence among teachers and staff is a challenge in Norwegian schools, and particularly in rural schools (Smith et al., 2020). This might affect students' outcomes (Smith et al., 2020). Some studies have found that students have better learning outcomes when teachers have these competencies (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014, p. 39). Rambøll Management Consulting (2018) also calls out for more bilingual education for the students - many teachers and school leaders see this as an "unfulfilled" need among the students, often as there are no multilingual teacher resources or financing is the issue. Larger municipalities

reports more often that they have these resources to offer than small municipalities (Rambøll Management Consulting, 2018)

Good screening and mapping routines have been especially emphasized as important for newcomer students (Thorshaug & Svendsen 2014). It's vital to map both the students ``everyday language'' and "school language" as it can take significantly longer time for students to develop a school language even though they can appear fluent for everyday conversation (Hauge 2007 cited in Thorshaug & Svendsen 2014). In addition to this, newly arrived immigrants also have the right to special education beyond language learning if any learning difficulties have been detected during the school year or as a part of the screening process. Here the students' multilingual skills must be taken into consideration in the mapping process.

Fred Carlo Andersen (2013) explores the experiences and challenges of teachers and leaders in two multicultural upper secondary schools. In addition to this he also does a policy analysis of education policy regarding diversity in Norway. From Andersen's collected studies we can learn that the leadership and teachers working in the schools experience several challenges when meeting the needs of linguistic and ethnic minorities. The challenges vary from social inclusion of students, meeting their academic and linguistic needs, to transitions between classes and creating spaces for teacher collaboration. Inclusion of linguistic minority students was not a driving force in the schools strategic work and there were not many arenas to learn and share experiences about teaching this group of students. Especially in the case of multilingualism his studies indicated that the school leaders did not share a common understanding and vision of this concept. The study found that the students' first language was found to be of less value than Norwegian. Use of L1 was not promoted by the teachers in their work with learning and inclusion, neither as a "skill" or "prerequisite for further learning". Another challenge was the low Norwegian literacy level and understanding the curriculum. Mapping and testing the students skills were also challenging (p. 39). It is hard to find the right tools for learning, when you don't know what level the student is on. The management also found it difficult to separate what was a problem due to low language proficiency and what was caused by learning difficulties.

It is important to have educational leadership who has the competencies to manage multiculturalism and language diversity in schools (European Commision, 2015). Teacher

training also needs to be adapted more towards multilingual classrooms. In-service training has also shown good effect and additional resources to these schools is also influential. (European Commision, 2015)

In the Norwegian context it is relevant to bring up the diversity training program "Competence for Diversity" which took place the years 2013-2017 by the Norwegian Directorate of Education. This course was aimed at schools and kindergartens all over Norway and its goal was "to enable staff in kindergartens and schools to support children, students and adults from minority backgrounds in such a way that, as far as possible, they complete their formal education" (Wollscheid, 2018). The main findings from the evaluation are inconclusive, but still points out some major concerns. Overall, " a significant proportion of the leaders of participating primary schools considered that the in-service training provided did not respond well to their schools' competence needs" (Wollscheid, 2018). This was especially prevalent in upper secondary schools. The program has succeeded in reaching 600 units of education in Norway, but this wide ambition has also been one of the concerns. Wollscheid (2018) emphasizes how local, active ownership and initiative has been seen as one of the success factors, and if this is lacking, the implementation suffers (p. 14). The time limitations of the programs has also been seen as an impeding factor (p. 14). The report recommends more time for reflection and fewer participating units in the future.

Andersen, Boyle, and Deppeler (2014) focus on Norwegian policy documents regarding Norwegian Government's expectations for school leadership in a multicultural society. The findings indicate that there are "increasing concerns and focus on educational quality, student output and outcomes" aligning with previously stated goals. It does not so much promote a transformative leadership style, as implement "New Public Management". The study "exposes" that this form of leadership may foster less equity education for minority students and less focus on multicultural education in general, both in terms of creating empowering school cultures and more specific content integration.

3.4 Choice, information and guidance

Studies show the need for more guidance in the education for newcomers, especially for those with less formal school background (Hos, 2016; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). A study done in the US by (Hos, 2016) on students with little or no formal education shows that they are an especially vulnerable group in the education system as they all have unique backgrounds in education. This puts them at a special risk in the secondary school system both in school performance and "general well-being". Schools are important builders or destroyers of social capital and newly arrived often lack this social capital ((Hos, 2016). Students who have a familiarity with the dominant culture often have a higher chance of succeeding in school. Many refugees with low school backgrounds dont have this school capital (Hos, 2016). As this group often have high aspirations in education, providing them with opportunities and knowledge to fulfill these ambitions are important. Often the students don't have sufficient knowledge about the education system to reach their goals. Here the teacher is an important resource, but having a supportive teacher is not enough, the management needs to support the teachers as well (Hos, 2016).

In Norway, reports also show that bureaucracy can be a challenge for newly arrived (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Rambøll Management Consulting also found this in their report from 2018. They suggest that it is not the judiciary framework that is a reason behind lack of educational provisions for recently arrived, but rather a lack in information reaching the target group (NOU, 2010). Informing parents and students about the opportunities is important (European Commision, 2015; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). (Smith et al., 2020) also points out how free school choice based on grades can limit the educational choice and opportunity of newly arrived as they often have lower grades from lower secondary.

3.5 Inclusion in transitory classes or mainstream classes?

The issue of what inclusion for newly arrived *really is a*nd how to practice it is also something researchers and practitioners disagree on. In Norway there has been a debate in education media concerning what are the most inclusive practices for this group. A question often up for debate is whether or not newcomers should be immersed in mainstream classes or have a more segregated transition program adapted to their level and progress (Eide, 2019, 2020; Skjold, 2019; Wild, 2019)

The research on inclusion in mainstream classes versus separate classes is not conclusive. But many studies favour "support-oriented education systems than those focused on selectivity" (Aiazzi et al., 2017). One reason for this is that education plays an important role in social integration. According to a report from the European(European Commision, 2015) indicates that research supports immersion in mainstream classes rather than segregation. Segregation should rather be transitional, not constant. For older children the transition can be greater so they can attain basic competency before entering mainstream classes (European Commision 2015). OECD (2015) also recommends combining language training and content knowledge as soon as possible.

Newcomers do have a tendency to become segregated in the school system (European Commision, 2015). This segregation is complex and can take many forms.People with immigrant backgrounds, too, often find themselves segregated: In all but one OECD country, more than 50% of all immigrant students attend schools with a high number of other immigrants. (UNESCO, 2020b). Newcomers can be segregated between schools but also in separate classes within schools (Hilt, 2017). Also when students attend mainstream classes segregation can occur in different ways (Hägg-Ottesen, 2017; Ræstadholm, 2015). Migrant children are often segregated in separate classes and even schools. These are often schools with low educational attainment (European Commision, 2015). In attempts to include students and increase learning achievements, one can also exclude, by segregation and tracking of students with minority language or disabilities (Hilt & Bøyum, 2015; Anderson, Boyle and Deppler, 2014). Segregation might not be the cause of low achievement and research indicates that managing these schools with low attainment is more important than reducing segregation through controlling admission (European Commision, 2015). Some studies have shown that schools with a higher percentage of minority language students versus schools with a low number minority language students, the students performed better in school progress and completion (European Commision, 2015). This success was "attributed" to both better resources and more qualified teachers together with more support among peers with the same mother tongue.

Reducing segregation can on the other hand have other positive effects, on social integration, valuing diversity and better cultural awareness for all students. For these reasons educational authorities need to take some steps to reduce segregation (European Commision, 2015).

UNESCO (2020) also emphasizes how including diverse students in mainstream classrooms and schools can prevent stigma, stereotyping, discrimination and alienation.

Research on transitional introductory classes indicates that they can create both inclusion and exclusion for newcomers. There is no research done on outcomes and/or longitudinal studies of what models work best. We do have schools reporting results and preliminary studies, often by a teacher and student perspective. Introductory classes that entail both primary and upper secondary education have shown good results, especially in terms of transitions between levels (Thorhaug & Svendsen, 2014, p. 39). A report from Rambøll Management Consulting (2018) on introductory classes in Norway shows that both students, teachers and principals think this is a good model for education for recently arrived but we still need more research, especially on the transition from introductory classes to ordinary classes. Some challenges the research points to: Many upper secondary schools and sources from county school leadership report that they don't think newly arrived youth with a few years in Norwegian compulsory education have skills and knowledge for upper mainstream secondary school, even after they have gone through introductory classes. There is also a need for more adapted education and closer mapping of students skills is important, preferably by the start of the introductory class. More competencies among the staff to do mappings are also required - along with more specialized mapping tools for that group of students.

Hilt (2017) studies the processes of inclusion and exclusion in introductory classes. The studies are not critical of the organisational principles of introductory classes per se, as similar power structures might occur in other organisational models. The study "points out critically" how the introductory classes are based on the premise that newly arrived deviates from the mainstream. Hilt (2017) further suggests building the education for newly arrived on the "language skills, cultural references and competencies that these students already have." This might be a better basis for their educational careers. Within the introductory classes the students were also divided in groups by academic level and Norwegian level. This grouping was experienced by some students to be stigmatizing. Teachers also reported that they spent more resources on the highest levels as they were seen to "belong more" in upper secondary. The students on the lowest levels had several barriers for inclusion. Teachers reported that this also caused tension between the students and frustrations for the staff. The students on lower levels were seen as an obstacle for other students who could achieve more. Hilt argues that introductory classes create some barriers towards their educational careers. The students

on the lowest academic level are those most excluded. Especially if these students don't have a common mother tongue with other students. In principle the introductory courses are meant to be an initiative for inclusion in the long run and to be just a temporary class before a transition to mainstream classes, but Hilt (2017) questions this, especially for the students in the lowest level.

A Swedish case study on recently arrived student's perceptions of introductory and regular classes in Sweden finds both pros and cons with these two models (Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013)). In segregated introductory class students report to understand more of the curriculum, both for some the academic progress is too slow. In terms of inclusion the students feel a combination of both safety and exclusion, as they are "different" than the other students. The students often have strong motivation to be a part of the mainstream system, but some feel regret making that choice. Their analysis points to the system's risk of creating exclusionary environments, in both introductory and regular classes, if the mainstream system fails to develop social and pedagogical resources that cater for newly arrived students' needs. This study also aligns with Thorshaug and Svendsen (2014) on how combining subjects from different school levels can be conducive for a good transition so the students are better prepared academically.

A master thesis from 2018, (Jama, 2018) explores how these transitions between introductory classes and mainstream classes in Norwegian upper secondary schools can become better and more adapted to the students' needs. This is a qualitative study from 14 students' perspective. The main findings indicate that the transition from these classes can be experienced as abrupt by the students. The tempo in the mainstream classes is too high and the students report that they lack language skills and previous knowledge. Altogether, the study indicates that the students do not reach the skill level they need to follow mainstream classes in the introductory class. They start mainstream classes before they are ready. Another issue brought up by this study are the complex learning needs of students with limited or no school background as they struggle with both language skills, subject knowledge and digital skills. Thorshaug and Svendsen (2014) also finds that there is a lack of adapted curriculum to this group, especially for those with little or no school background.

There has also been some studies on the use of combination classes. The main difference from introductory classes is that these classes open up for taking subjects from lower secondary education and therefore open up for a collaboration between county and municipality. An advantage of the combination classes is that they can include both students with and without "youth right". The students with the youth right often have the same need as the ones without, which is more basic education (IMDi, 2020). Students can still focus on skills and curriculum from basic education, while being in an upper secondary school setting. There is an impression that the introductory course as described in the previous section hasn't managed to fill this gap for students (IMDi, 2020).

A report by a consulting company, Rambøll Management Consulting, published in 2018 investigated the development of combination classes and also derived some success criterias and main challenges. They interviewed school leaders in both school and at the administrative level, teachers and students. Their main findings are that the policy change has been well received among school leaders (Rambøll Management Consulting, 2018). Many have experienced that recently arrived have been caught between two administrative levels and have not been targeted properly, this policy changes that. Some important success criterias are that the program needs to be developed over time and an advantage is if the area has several combination classes in the county and is part of an overall strategy. Location is also important, the classrooms should be placed centrally in the school building to enhance inclusion. As the students are on very different skill and academic levels in these classes, the study points out that groups differentiated by level are important, together with teacher competence. It's important to have teachers with competence in both basic education and language learning. That is why the cooperation between municipality and county is very beneficial.

A case study by (Biseth & Changezi, 2016) investigates one collaborative project between Buskerud County/Åssiden Upper Secondary and the Adult Education in Drammen municipality. The target group for the combination class for students between 16-22 with and without youth right. It was a collocation of younger students in adult education into the space of an upper secondary school. There are some preliminary findings from this study, although they are not conclusive.

Before starting in the combination class some of the main challenges for these students was attendance and learning environment. The students without the "youth right" and no diploma

from compulsory education were in adult classes with huge age gaps, sometimes in classes with relatives. They reported that this hindered their communication and learning. Being a part of a youth environment in upper secondary school was experienced positively by the students (Biseth & Changezi, 2016). Collocation had positive effects on the learning environment, better attendance worked also as an indicator of this. The youth themselves also say the learning environment is better when they can learn among peers. The students in the same age group can also provide each other with psycho social support. Students are also able to get more knowledge and realistic expectations about upper secondary schooling before they make their own choices for further education.

But the study also finds that attendance is still an issue, despite improvement. Some students have complicated lives outside school that still hinders school attendance. This could be psychosocial challenges, poor economy that causes students having to work for a living, many meetings with other institutions like Child Services, NAV ect. (Biseth & Changezi, 2016). Despite this, the class that was in upper secondary had better attendance than the class in adult education. The location of the classroom itself was also seen as important, the class was located close to mainstream classes. This was positive for social inclusion, but also meant the students could visit mainstream classes in the vocational program. The program also facilitated a relocation for some of the teachers from the municipality who work with basic education, but the study finds that there is still more unused potential for collaboration between the different groups of teachers. The teachers reported that it was hard to find time to meet and collaborate. The study recommends that the leadership take more charge and facilitates this collaboration.

3.6 Meeting the demands of upper secondary education

As explained in Chapter 1, it is in upper secondary school that the achievement gap is at its largest between immigrant and mainstream students. Upper secondary has a high learning pressure and requires a more complex understanding of subjects and terms than compulsory education. This can be a part of increasing the differences between minority and majority students (Hilt, 2016; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

Hilt (2016) focuses on the meeting between academic expectations in upper secondary education and newly arrived students. The 21st century skills of being a "self managing learner", has become a mantra in Norwegian upper secondary schools. According to her

study among both teachers and students, newly arrived students struggle with this as they are often more used to more traditional styles of learning. This responsibility of being a self managing learner leaves them at the risk of marginalisation and exclusion in the school system and in life. The solution she brings forward is a more heterogeneous approach to learning and assessment adapted to all students.

Another challenge affecting newly arrived students is attaining a diploma when they are in vocational programs. A challenge for minority students in general is gaining an apprenticeship after two years of training in school (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Norwegian language proficiency is often seen as the main reason for this issue (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). School leaders also want to have more alternative educational pathways for newly arrived students, especially for those with limited school background (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). Vocational training can be difficult in terms of learning advanced concepts and as mentioned, gaining a placement. Some suggestions for alternative pathways are more practical courses focused on gaining language proficiency while in placement. It is not always traditional schooling that is the goal for the student, but finding employment (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

3.7 The deficit perspective

According to UNESCO (2020) a prerequisite to inclusion is to see learner diversity not as a problem but as an opportunity. Researchers also warn against a deficit perspective in the educational inclusion of newly arrived. This group can also have a lot to contribute to an education system as they have different life experiences than Norwegian youth, language and cultural competencies together with a strong motivation for school (Kulbrandstad & Dewilde, 2016; Pastoor, 2015). Swedish research also points to this. (Nilsson & Bunar, 2016) found that newly arrived students are faced with a situation in which they are not sufficiently recognised as bearers of pre-migratory resources and previous knowledge. Rather, their earlier life experiences are understood through a deficit model that produces a notion of a child having and facing multiple problems. In Norwegian research, Kulbrandstad & Dewilde (2016) finds that there is a need for studies focusing on newly arrived students' background, resources, skills and knowledge. According to other studies, education for this group needs to focus more on the students' migration experiences, resources and value (Hilt, 2017; (Nilsson & Bunar, 2016).

UNESCO (2020, p. 138) finds that while teachers often had positive attitudes towards diversity, they also had "reservations because they were not empowered to overcome certain barriers or because they believed the education system and learning environment were not supportive". UNESCO (2020) also finds that overall, teachers around the world lack access to comprehensive training on inclusion.

3.8 Summary and conclusion

In this section the relevant research regarding educational inclusion of newly arrived youth have been explored. In this part of the thesis we can further see the complexity behind ensuring inclusion for this group. The main findings from the literature review has been summarized here and will later be used as a framework for discussing the results from the interviews.

Important student needs detected in the literature	Challenges
- Psychosocial support of refugee students - Holistic approach to the education of refugee students, especially unaccompanied minors. It's also important to collaborate with learning areas outside school - Academic support and teaching adapted to their level. - Linguistic support through specialized Norwegian language training - Multilingual approaches in the classroom to support both a feeling of inclusion and academic development - Guidance in the education system - Recognising newcomers skills and previous experiences as resources	- Staff and teachers need more training in diversity, linguistic support and multilingual approaches in the classroom - Schools need more unified approaches to using the students multilingual repertoire - The students struggle with meeting the demands of upper secondary and especially the notion of being a "self managing learner" - Lack of adapted curriculum, especially for students with less school background - The students with little school background have complex needs as they need both linguistic, academic and digital support. - Introduction classes can create both inclusion and exclusion, especially for students with less school background - The transition from introduction classes to mainstream classes can be

	challenging ● Newly arrived students struggle with completing VET programs due to language skills

4. Methodology and research strategy

4.1 Epistemological and ontological perspectives

This is a qualitative study written within the interpretive paradigm in social science research. The purpose of this research is not to test a theory on what creates educational inclusion, but rather to explore the different viewpoints of practitioners in a field of interest. This explanation by Corbin & Strauss (2014) illustrates this:

> Qualitative studies are usually exploratory in nature. They aim at hypothesis generating, rather than hypothesis testing" (..) The purpose of the questions is to lead researchers into the data where they can explore the issues and problems important to the persons or group under investigation by asking further questions based on incoming data. (p. 35)

It is a study of "people and their institutions" and of social rather than natural phenomena. This requires a different logic of research procedure than quantitative research ((Bryman, 2012). When asking social questions, one also needs a more social approach. These findings, which will be based on the participants' lived experiences, will not be viewed as objective and universal. They will be seen as valuable perspectives, from a relevant context, that can add to the existing body of knowledge on education for immigrant and refugee students.

An important aspect of this study is how social actors shape the reality around them. This is what is referred to as the ontological position of constructionism (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). The institution of schooling is in focus here, and how school management interprets and works with the frameworks they have. How are they trying to create quality education for their students? Bryman (2012) writes that constructivism is a process which "invites the researcher to consider the ways in which social reality is an ongoing accomplishment of social actors rather than something external to them and that totally constrains them" (p. 34). This dynamic was something I was trying to explore in my research. In some cases the participants would go above and beyond their frameworks, take action into their own hands and in that sense influence the system they work in. Some participants feel that the frameworks are challenging for their work and their students' inclusion. Still, they are not passive, but rather react and advocate and create change. The researcher's job here is to communicate these understandings of the system they are working in and how we can learn from them.

Consequently, the purpose of this study is to add to the accumulation of knowledge in this field, while at the same time being practical. How can we improve the education policies for newly arrived youth? How can we work with inclusion of students at a school level? These are questions that are central to my participants' work life and the findings here are hopefully something that can be useful for both policymakers and school management. At the same time it is important to acknowledge the complexity of educational inclusion of newcomers and the results of this study must be seen in relation and addition to other studies. This will be discussed further in the part "Limitations of my study".

4.2 Research strategy

4.2.1 Qualitative approach

To be able to understand the complexity behind these education projects this study had a qualitative approach. The aim of a qualitative study is to understand the participant's viewpoint and see the world through their eyes (Bryman, 2012, p. 399). It can provide richer and deeper understanding of a complex phenomenon than a quantitative study. A quantitative study mainly focuses on large scale data and often causal connections between different factors. In this study, I wanted to explore rather than explain. I wanted to focus on experiences with the programs, working with the student group and the implementation of a legal framework that exists. How are organizations cooperating to provide education for this group of youth? What is seen as promising and what is seen as challenging on an organizational level? How do they experience their own opportunities to provide inclusive education for this group? What opportunities and challenges do they see for their students? Understanding how the practitioners work with these factors is also an important aim of this study.

Bryman (2012) describes the qualitative research process as a process where the researcher goes back and forth. Starting with broad research questions and narrowing them down as the phenomena enfolds."Taking an interpretative stance can mean that the researcher may come up with surprising findings, or at least findings that appear surprising if a largely external stance is taken—that is, a position from outside the particular social context being studied" (Bryman, 2012, p. 31). This was evident as I was conducting my fieldwork and I was

surprised by the turns the interviews took and the perspectives my participants brought up. I would later let these perspectives guide my search for literature and theoretical perspectives.

4.2.2 Comparative case study

In this study I wanted to explore challenges and successes for newcomers as a student group, not just investigate a single case. I chose to do this research across different field sites instead of focusing on a single school or education project. Bartlett & Vavrus (2017) calls this approach the Comparative Case Study. More traditional case study design has been discussed by Yin (2013), where a case study must have clear set boundaries. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) argue that it is essential to divorce the phenomenon of interest from the context in order to gain analytical purpose. They therefore encourage "tracing a phenomena of interest across sites and scales" (p. 6). This will entail a process oriented understanding of data collection where the researcher goes where the research leads them.

Bartlett and Vavrus also try to work between the traditional divide of "a case-driven studies versus a variable driven-case studies". To be able to understand and explore a phenomenon fully you need to have both. In this study both the empirical unit (school leadership) and the theoretical constructs (inclusion) will be in focus. In this research the phenomena is inclusion for recently arrived youth. Interviewing different educational leaders from different counties and schools, working with the same legal framework, would therefore be able to provide me with rich data on challenges and success for inclusion across contexts. This might give a more holistic picture of the phenomena.

4.3 Sampling strategy

This research revolves around two counties in Norway. Choosing these counties were purposive as they have both recently implemented new education projects for newly arrived youth, therefore comparing these districts are highly relevant. All together the school leaders were connected to 5 different education programs/schools for newly arrived. The 5 selected schools/education programs are the primary focus, but the participants might also have experience with other schools, so their perception will be based on more than just those five cases. The county leaders will have an overview over several schools in their district and might also draw on a wider perspective in their interviews.

To be able to ask my research questions, central stakeholders in education for recently arrived youth have been interviewed. I could have chosen a wide range of directions in which to take this project. What I really wanted to do was see what works for this group of students. So who to talk to? Teachers? Principals? Policymakers? Or the students themselves?

I chose a school management approach as educational authorities can provide an overarching perspective. Every student is unique and has individual needs and perspectives. The group discussed in this thesis, recently arrived youth, is particularly diverse. An approach I could have taken would be to measure more objective factors in the student's education, like attendance. But measuring educational performance or attendance would not necessarily be a good indicator for understanding educational inclusion. Many students within this group struggle with psychological issues that can make going to school every day challenging. Their school experience can also vary from a solid academic background to no previous school experience at all. To be able to measure educational inclusion in a group this diverse attending programs with different approaches would be very difficult within the boundaries of a master thesis.

A school leader, on the other hand, gets feedback from the teachers, who see their students evolving and growing every day. A representative of the school ownership working for the county will again get feedback from school leaders in their county. I wanted to know what these school leaders are doing to achieve success for their students, and what they perceive as inclusion. An experienced education manager will over time gather knowledge of what they see as successful strategies for the students and what part of the educational policies frameworks that can be impeding on a macro level.

In this case school owners (who are representatives from the county) principals and other local school leaders are relevant participants. These are the ones responsible for organizing the classes and ensuring every student's right. They are also working with these frameworks I'm exploring every day. To give these practitioners a "combined voice" in how they experience their work life is also an important aim of this study.

Another reason for using these informants is access. I was fortunate enough to be connected to a research group that also works with schools on building competence for diversity in the area. This helped me contact participants. Altogether, I chose eight school leaders and two

representatives from the county school department as my participants. The participants who work directly in schools go by the code names SL (School leader). These participants are different representatives from school management who work closely with shaping the programs for newly arrived. This includes principals, guidance counsellors and heads of different departments or school development projects. Two other participants go by the code name CL (County leader). These participants work in the school section of the county administration and represent the school ownership in the two counties. In upper secondary schooling, it is the county that is the school owner and who are then accountable in ensuring that the county fulfills the demands in the Education Act.

4.4 Data collection and Analysis

4.4.1 Semi structured interviews

By using semi structured interviews, I will be able to get detailed information on the implementation process and why certain choices and priorities have been made. The stakeholders will also be able to share their experiences and views on student welfare and performance. Another important aspect is how the participants experience the frameworks they are working in. This form of interviewing gives both the researcher and the participant a lot of freedom. This was important to my study as I wanted to highlight the participants' own feelings of what were the pressing issues. As I was doing an exploratory study I wanted to make sure the interview was not just based on my own abstract assumptions or just based on theory and literature review. I wanted the participants to be able to bring forward their own focus areas. One advantage of this freedom is that one can delve into specific areas of interest and ask follow up questions. On the other hand a semi structured interview can make it hard to know that all the issues and problems that could be relevant to participants are covered. (Corbin & Strauss, 2014, p. 39). To be able to meet this challenge I always made sure we had time during the interviews (1 -1 ½ hours) to make sure the participants were able to add other topics than the ones we had covered.

4.4.2 Interview guide

In this study the interview guide was based on the preliminary literature and theory I had read to familiarize myself with the topic. As my research is open ended, my interview guide was used primarily as an introduction but also as a way for myself to remember topics I wanted to cover. For me conducting the interviews in the best way was also a learning curve and the interview guide was also affected by this. It was a living, working document more than a structured guide. An interview guide can be helpful as it serves as an introduction into the topics but it should not structure the interview (Corbin & Strauss, 2014, p. 43).

I would always start the interview by introducing my topic and say that I was looking for their perceptions of inclusion and challenges for this group of youth. In the first interviews I would start off with concrete questions, but after a while I learned that it was better if I started the interview with a broad question like; just tell me about how you organize education for recently arrived youth in your county/school. This way the participants could structure what they saw as the most important factors to explain and most pressing issues to discuss. Both on the success and the challenge side.

I ended up structuring my interviews around my research questions:

Research question: *How do school leaders in upper secondary experience inclusion of newly arrived youth?*

Sub Questions:
5. *How have they chosen to organize the transition to upper secondary school and what do they see as successes and challenges for an inclusive transition?*
6. *What challenges do they meet in providing inclusive education for newly arrived youth and what do they see as solutions to these challenges?*

The main themes and factors to answer this question here would be:
- Organization of the classes and reasoning behind this
- Implementation of either policy or other educational model (cooperation between administrative levels/schools and staff and financing of projects)

- What the school leaders perceive as challenges and success factors for this group

I would ask follow-up questions to explore the participants' feeling of support from the systems around them, room for action, important experiences, and of course successes and challenges so far.

4.4.3 Transcribing and coding

According to Postholm (2010) a qualitative analysis starts already with the "first interview, first observation or look through a document" (p. 86). It's a dynamic process and the researchers' own presumptions are always present. The researcher herself/himself is the main tool of analysis (Postholm, 2010). Keeping this in mind, I tried to have an open approach to what concepts could prove to be important. Not letting myself become too stressed about fitting everything into a "neat scheme" that would have to fit a particular theoretical framework.

I tried not to let the conversations from the interviews be too colored by what I had already read about the topic, and the theory I had studied. This was a process where many of my assumptions were challenged. A focus on factors like "language acquisition" and "bilingual education" got downplayed during the process, as I discovered that this was only a focus area for some participants. I let the participants' own ideas influence the structure of our conversations, and I also changed my interview guide as a part of the process.

As I was transcribing my data, categories started to take shape. This was the descriptive part of my analysis, where I organized my thoughts. In the beginning I would fill the topics the participants brought up into a scheme divided by levels; *School management, teaching and learning, competencies, teaching resources and student factors*. Later I would then divide the keywords into challenges and success factors. Eventually I changed this strategy and started with more thematic coding. I would then organize my findings after what became the main successes and challenges in terms of inclusion.

4.5 Validity and Reliability

In social sciences it is essential to have validity and reliability in mind while conducting research (Yin, 2013). It is not easy to give a clear answer as to what this means in research, as one is always just portraying elements and fragments of reality and no one can claim "the truth" (Postholm 2016). Especially in educational research this can offer many challenges, classes and schools are constantly changing. It is therefore important to have an open reflexivity as a researcher and discuss what could be the strengths and weaknesses of the research (Postholm 2016, p. 126).

According to Creswell & Creswell (2018, p. 199) validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research and is based on determining whether findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, the participant, or the reader of an account (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility are important and often discussed topics. In this research I aimed at having a rich data material and wanted to let the participants' own words and experiences dominate the results. A challenge in qualitative research is that data material and interpretation can be subjective and biased (Bryman, 2012). A potential risk when interviewing school leaders could be that they would like to portray their school in a positive light and not be honest about challenges. I attempted to mitigate this by having a lot of detail-rich material. I also experienced during the interviews that the participants wanted to be open about the challenges they faced as they were passionate in advocating for their students. I was also trying to create a sense of trust and a good conversation flow between me and the participants.

In order to enhance reliability, I wanted to make my research as transparent as possible. This was something I tried to be aware of all through the process, from the interviews, transcribing and data coding. The interviews have been conducted in Norwegian and then quotes have been translated to English by me. This might affect some of the original meaning, but I have tried my best to translate as accurately as possible.

4.6 Ethical considerations

There are many ethical concerns to take into consideration while conducting research. Some of them have been discussed in the sections above. Before the research began, I received ethical clearance from the Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD) through my research group. This clearance belongs to the research group and is therefore not included in the appendix. I also got in touch with my participants through my supervisor and informed them over email about my research. Before every interview they were informed about what the data was going to be used for and they gave their consent on the phone or over email. When transcribing and coding the data I never used the participants name or the school names. This was important to ensure anonymity. The data was stored safely on my personal computer.

Qualitative research is dependent on the researcher's constant interpretation of the materiale. It is therefore important to be aware of how the researchers' own biases can affect the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In this study I therefore had to be mindful of how my previous experiences in this field could shape my research. One important consideration to reflect over here is my own work as a teacher in upper secondary, sometimes working with newcomer students. It was therefore important throughout the study to separate my own experiences from my participants.

4.7 Limitations of the study

As the sample size is small and data obtained only through interviews, limitations are present as to what kind of interferences I can make from this study. A variation in research methods and stakeholders could have made nuanced inferences possible. Time limitations and the scope of this research prevented me from expanding my study.

This thesis alone is not meant to be a "recipe for success" in education for recently arrived youth. This work will have to be seen as an addition to other research focusing on the issues from different angles. Only then can we reach a more holistic image of what this group needs in our education system. Triangulating this data with the students' own voices could have been a good way to ensure more validity in this study, but newcomers students are a very vulnerable group. Since I don't work regularly at either one of these schools, a good

relationship with a sufficient number of students would have been hard to accomplish. Without a good relationship intruding in the students personal lives would not have been ethical. I also would not trust my ability to get reliable data. I hope on the other hand that the results from this thesis can bring up issues that can be explored further from a student perspective.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the methodology and the research strategies for this study. The ethical considerations and limitations of the study have also been discussed. In the next chapter the results from the interviews will be presented.

5. Results

In this chapter the results of the interviews will be presented. The results will be presented with each sub research question. For the sub question the different schools in the case study will function as headlines. For the second question the main themes that emerged from the data analysis will function as headlines through the presentation.

5.1 How have school leaders chosen to organize the transition to upper secondary school and what do they see as successes and challenges for an inclusive transition?

The schools had chosen different organizational models for newly arrived students. Newly arrived students could be vastly different and have different rights. A commonality among these schools was that they all included newly arrived in their upper secondary schools, except for one school where the students were preparing for upper secondary, but outside a mainstream school location. This was also intentional from my part in the sampling. It is therefore interesting to look at the similarities and differences in how the schools and school districts organize the transition to upper secondary.

	School A	School B	School C	School D & E
Expanded basic education	x	x		x
Located in upper secondary	x		x	x
Located outside school		x		
More time in upper secondary (1-2 years)	x	x	x	x
Mainstream classes			x	

Students with "youth right" belonging to county	x	x	x	x
Students from municipality with no formal right to upper secondary				x

5.1.1 Introduction class with expanded basic education

"A burden has been lifted from my shoulders as a leader now. They get to fill their gap before starting." (SL1)

School A had organized an introduction class, but with the possibility to focus on basic education subjects and retake exams from basic education. The school using this model saw that the students had gaps in skills and came into introductory courses with not enough basic skills. They therefore wanted to create a program focusing on both basic skills and the Norwegian language. The leadership were very satisfied with having this opportunity after the policy change of expanded basic education. Feeling that the students have "filled their gap" before starting mainstream programs. They call their classes introduction classes, but with an opportunity to focus on basic education level and curriculum for those who need it. The students are organized in two classes, but they map the students' level and divide them into groups based on level in Norwegian, maths and English. Norwegian level is an important factor in this divide. In addition to that the students also get taught in social science, science, physical education and an introduction to a vocational program. In some subjects they might retake the curriculum from basic education, in others they might be on upper secondary level.

A main success factor with this model was the opportunity to adapt the teaching to the student's level and fill their gap in skill level.

> SL2: This group is so diverse, right.. You get some students with good academic skills from Syria., And then you have refugees from Eritrea, who have been through Ethiopia and then many years alone on the run. They don't have any school background. So, it's an enormous challenge to adapt the teaching for the whole group. But that's why this project is so good. You can go up and down.
>
> I am very happy with more basic education. A burden has been lifted from my shoulders as a leader now. They get to fill their gap before starting (..) There is no doubt that education at the level you're on is the best. You have to learn how to drive before you can master a truck for example.

66

> CL2: Why is basic education so important? Specialized language education is very important when you are a newcomer. We have chosen to focus a lot on that. But what we also know is just as important, is to fill the knowledge gaps the students have. Then they can actually utilize their right to upper secondary

The leaders also have the impression that the teachers are positive to this organization. Being able to teach at the student's level is important for them!

The school has also opened up for extra opportunities for students on a high level in certain subjects. They can visit mainstream classes in subjects like English and maths: "We see that students are on a high level in English and maths. They can go into mainstream classes of that if they also have the Norwegian level"

A challenge with this model was on the other hand teacher stability and building close relationships between teacher and students. This is due to the different groups the students are divided in. Some challenges and dilemmas occur - each teacher, and especially the main class room teacher gets less time with the students when they are divided in different groups. The homeroom teacher is seen as especially important in ensuring the students psychosocial needs.

> SL2: The only challenge we had is that they are in two main groups and then divided in three. Especially in Norwegian, that's 12 hours. We regret not getting more students so we could have had three home room teachers and three groups organized after Norwegian level. If we had more students we could have afforded to have three groups. Because the homeroom teachers are so important. The teachers working with this group are so good at following them closely. In a whole different way than in mainstream classes.

This dilemma of organization was also brought up by the school owner in the district.

> CL2: The way you choose to organize the teaching is also important for the other job you do, the one that is not about academic learning and subjects. It's also about building a relationship and getting to know the student. You need an insight in what they carry with them from their past and what their needs are apart from the academics. It has maybe been focused less on that before. But now the diversity in skill level and other needs are larger.

This school had chosen to organize their teaching of subjects in bulks and reported that they were satisfied with that. The school would do only one subject for a certain time and then switch, especially in maths they reported that this has shown good results.

Another success factor that was mentioned was creating social belonging and inclusion through projects together with mainstream classes. They also emphasized how important it was to encourage students' friendships across classes.

Summary School A

Model: Introduction class with expanded basic education, students with youth right Responsibility: County
Successfactors: ● Students can focus on building basic skills before entering mainstream classes ● Students are divided in groups by level in different subjects. The participants report that its easier to adapt the teaching ● Hiring teachers with basic education competence ● Students can visit mainstream classes ● Subjects divided by long terms bulks instead of a traditional weekly timetable ● Students in the introduction class have many social arenas and some projects with mainstream classes
Challenges: ● The home room teacher gets little time with each student as the students are divided in different groups in different subjects. This can affect the important teacher - student relationship and the students psychosocial support

5.1.2 Expanded basic education outside a classic school setting

"We have to help them become the boss in their own life." (SL3)

School B in this case study is an alternative school program. This program is a year offered to anyone who applies and fits the criteria, not just newcomers and second language students. This is a mixed class of students who in different ways don't feel ready for upper secondary. The goal is to prepare the students for upper secondary education. The students are recruited from lower secondary schools in the area so the students have finished year 10 and have "youth right" This group includes students who struggle with different challenges, it could be with illnesses, school anxiety, but also newly arrived students who want to learn Norwegian better.

When asked about the diversity of the program, the school leader answers that the diversity is a part of the goal. "Diversity is the goal. We can't say no to anyone, but we still want a

heterogenous group. How can we get both genders for example. We can't become a small niche, it's supposed to be diversity" (SL3).

This model is already used a lot in Denmark as a "10th year", in Norway this will be the extra "11th year". The program is *not* located in a school, the goal is to give the students a different experience than classic schooling. They work a lot across subjects and focus on active learning. A big focus in the program is to prepare them for upper secondary on a general level with a focus on learning strategies and life skills. This involves everything from "getting out of bed in the morning to preparing for exams". The students need to have some school background from Norway or their home country before they can enter this program. Language should be their main challenge according to the school leader. The students here have the "youth right". The subjects they focus on are maths, Norwegian, science, religion, English and social science.

Here is an example of how the SL3 describes it:

> SL3: The schools in the municipality are different, but some are very "facts oriented". Of course the kids need facts and knowledge, but they also have to gain a competency that is real. Facts, you can google. We work with alternative approaches to how you can reach the goals in the curriculum. And the basic education competencies, that is our "Bible" But we also ask the questions "Who are you?" How can I be a part of the community?". That's our main focus area. And then they suddenly forget that they are doing maths, because we use statistics etc. We work in theme modules. They don't have a timetable where it says "norwegian", "maths", "english".

Their starting point is "what does each individual need?" Some go here to be "showered in the language". The students' needs can range between both language and subjects.

> Sl3: We have 10 students. 6 are Norwegian, 4 are here with main focus on language. But if you had asked them yourself number 1 would say he is here for language and number 2 would say maths. Maths and language are two common denominators.

According to SL3, the main success factor in this program was the holistic approach and the close relationships, both between teachers and students and between the students themselves. The project leader emphasized how the small groups made the students feel "seen". A lot of the students here had gone a bit "under the radar" in lower secondary. Here the teachers work closely with each student to support them, but also push them out of their comfort zone. The holistic approach with an alternative timetable also creates freedom to adapt the teaching to the students they have at the moment.

The diversity in the student group was also seen as a strength here. The project leader experienced that when newcomers were mingling with Norwegian students their Norwegian improved. The project leader referred to the diverse student group as a big advantage with this program. The newcomers would learn language from the other students and meet the kind of diversity they will eventually meet in a mainstream classroom. SL3 gave one example of a student who needed an interpreter for the interview for the program, but now "the words are falling out". "It's at a basic level but after 2.5 months his Norwegian has improved a lot". But they also report how they want the students to have some academic background, and the language must be the main barrier, not academic skills.

The program leader seemed overall very positive regarding inclusion in the newcomer students. Though a few concerns were raised as well. One concern could be that they were moving too fast for the newcomers, but they also experienced that the students seemed to handle it. They report that they screen the students beforehand and try to make sure they can handle the level. The project leader also saw the need for more specialized language resources if there is an increase in newcomer students. But this was more viewed as an opportunity than a challenge.

Retaking exams from lower secondary as a success factor. Students can get new grades: (extra school year) and this helps their motivation as their chances of a new and better diploma is there. This can help them when they apply for upper secondary.

Summary School B

Model: Extra school year outside a school setting, students from all background, with youth right Responsibility: Municipality

Success factors:
 	
    ● Students can focus on building basic skills before entering mainstream classes
    ● Small group of students with strong teacher support and life skills education
    ● Teachers have much flexibility in what to focus on. Strong focus on teaching adapted to every student need
    ● Working across subjects
    ● Diverse student group with a mix of Norwegian students and newly arrived students
    ● Students can retake exams from basic education

5.1.3 Newly arrived integrating in mainstream vocational programs with one extra school year

"It's been positive for the classroom environment" (SL4)

School C had chosen a different approach to education for newly arrived. The students will attend mainstream classes where they do their first school year over two years instead of going to a separate introductory class. The main reason pointed out for this was practical concerns and travel distance for the students. Another rationale was "socializing with Norwegian students" and giving the students the education, they are entitled to. This is how the school leader presents it:

> SL4: Why? We got a request from the municipality that they had some students that they wanted to send to upper secondary. We had a meeting with the county leadership. Should we then say that we didn't have a program and then they can send them to another school. But it turns out that would have been very far for the students.

> SL4: So we thought, maybe we can give them an opportunity at our school. Here they can get socialized towards the Norwegian and at the same time get the education they are entitled to. So we talked to the school owner and decided that they can start year 1 here and then do it twice. We gather them in two vocational classes. They follow the regular timetable with the other students but they also get extra Norwegian education as their own group. They will learn the Norwegian school culture and make friends. But the first priority is to get them on a level where they can follow an ordinary education.

Since this was fresh SL4 expressed insecurity about what model that would work best. "It remains to be seen if this model or separate introduction classes work best. It's what works best we need to spend time on." As mentioned in the quote, the students have extra Norwegian education in separate groups. The school leader reported that they have a teacher specialized in Norwegian as a second language for these classes. He also mentioned that the students said the Norwegian classes were going a bit "slow", that they maybe didn't quite understand what the subject Norwegian is about, that it is also about mode advanced concepts, not just learning Norwegian.

The program has a focus on vocational schooling and the newcomer students are divided between TIP (Technical, industry production) and Health and upbringing. From the interview it seemed like the boys went to TIP and the girls to Health. According to the school leader some of the students benefit more from being placed in professional placement than following all subjects, and therefore they have a few days a week where they work in the cafeteria. After the first year the students can decide for themselves if they wanna take the year again, change to another program.

The principal said that the program is mostly focused on the subject and doesn't put that much emphasis on the other factors surrounding the students. He puts it like this when asked about the competence they emphasize for their students:

> SL4: It has been mostly the subjects. But I do see that maybe we should involve them more in social activities. But if that's our job or the municipality? Include them in sports for example, and social settings. We should maybe get better at that. We do get very focused on subject here, without seeing the whole human"

One of the main successes the participant lifted here was the small classes and good teacher coverage. In the vocational classes there are usually two teachers (one assisting) "so they have good coverage". But there is no mention of more teacher support in the other subjects like maths and English, for example.

Another positive thing the participant emphasized was how the newcomers have had a positive impact on the classroom environment. The students are described as active and motivated. That spirit has had a good impact on the other students. Previously they have had some more disciplinary issues in the vocational classes, but the newcomers seem to have had a positive effect on that as they were perceived to be more disciplined.

One of the challenges that was revealed was the school's ability to meet the needs of those with little school background. The school leader reported that the biggest challenges for those students with little school background. But he also said that he is not quite informed about it, but he has participated in some meetings where it has come up. There was a need for more competence to meet the needs of those with less school background.

SL4: We see that maybe we need more resources for the weakest students. Use more support for them. It's about language, so that they actually understand what's going on in the classroom. Get them more "hooked on" the class.

Some of the adjustments they have done has been to put one student in the school cafeteria for more vocational training. The school leader also wishes for more support in language learning and bilingual support. This, he says, is especially important in the workshops where they work with heavy machinery and dangerous situations can occur.

The school leader reports that they have support in terms of questions they have, but they get no extra economic support. As this is no official introduction class, the principal doesn't get the financial support that would come with that. They therefore get no extra support per student and have to finance it from their own initial budget. At the time of the interview the principal said they had enough money for it, but that could change.

Another issue that was emphasized was the communication between the municipality and the school. One problem that came up was the transfer of information from surrounding municipalities. Upper secondary combines students from all over the county and it was hard to get a good information flow from the municipalities other than their own. They had several meetings with their own municipality about the students' levels and needs, but not the other. So, it was hard to know how much resources to allocate to the student's needs. The school did try to do their own mapping of level, but it took a while. The principle then refers to a student with very little school background that they have struggled to adjust the teaching to. Now they have ended up giving the student placement in the school cafeteria, but if they had known more maybe they could have done it a different way and "been ahead" of the problem.

Summary School C

Model: Newly arrived integrating in mainstream vocational programs with one extra school year, with youth right Responsibility: County
Success factors: ● Small group of students ● Teachers focusing on student - teacher relationships

● Social inclusion in mainstream classes. This has also benefited the mainstream students in terms of learning environment
Challenges: ● Hard to accommodate the needs of students with less school background ● There was a lack of transfer of information about the students from some of the municipal schools the students arrived from ● No teacher with second language learning competence

5.1.4 Combination class for newcomers with different rights: Including students without youth right in upper secondary

> CL1: Your chances of completing upper secondary increases a lot the more points you have from your basic education. (...) It's like teaching someone percentage calculations, but then they never learned how to multiply. It is a bit like that, and that's not right. I think this policy reform opens a lot of opportunities and a larger room for action!

This model was also founded on the new law where you can use basic expanded education. Combination classes work as transitory classes for one or two years. Two of the schools (School D and E) have chosen to include students without the "youth right" in a combination class. These are located at upper secondary school. As explained in previous chapters these are students who traditionally belong to the municipality and not the county as they do not have formal right to upper secondary yet. Before these students would go to the municipal adult education center as that's where they have language training for newcomers and basic education. The cooperation with the county made it possible for some of the newcomers to be a part of an upper secondary school environment. At one school they prioritized the newcomers who were not on the lowest level, they might need more time in adult education or Norwegian training. They have also prioritized the youngest students, those below 22. Even though they have some limitations for entrance, the school leader seems happy about managing to include so many newcomers despite their different rights. "What is so nice about this is that no matter what status you have, you can come here and get the same provisions" (SL7).

One of the biggest rationales and success factors of the program is the social inclusion among peers. As the students who before went to adult education with maybe their parents and relatives, they can now be in a youth environment. This has helped their motivation and social environment. It is also seen as more "prestigious" for the students to be in upper secondary:

> SL6: There were strong signals from the youth that they didn't want to go here (adult education) with their aunts and mothers. It wasn't real school for them and they wanted to be around youth. It was a bit embarrassing being down here with the adults. Hard to explain to their friends that they are at the introduction centre. It is much tougher to say they are in upper secondary.

The information about the program often travelled by "word of mouth" especially among unaccompanied minors living in shared houses. This was seen as helpful when motivating the students to choose this program.

Students' motivation was perceived as one of the biggest success factors. The participants agree that this is a better place for the students, and it has been noticed on both school attendance and motivation to choose this extra time to prepare for mainstream classes.

The participant reports that the students gain a better insight into level and grade. The participants have experienced students wanting to move on very fast in the system when they were in adult education, even though they are not ready. When asked how the process was of guiding the students to choose this program one participant clearly sees a change now when they are located in upper secondary:

> SL6:They are motivated. Of course some are a bit inpatient, but it was a much bigger challenge when they were down here (in adult education (red.). They thought they were on a much higher level. They wanted to go straight up to 10th grade and move on.

The school leaders in these programs also reported that the flexibility to differentiate between levels was one of their main success factors. It was now easier to adapt the teaching to the students' skill level. "the combination classes (....) creates more flexibility in the system, you can for example start at a higher level in math as we make groups across levels" (SL6).

At both schools with combination classes this flexibility in level was a dynamic process. Screening and mapping the students as they go was an important part of this. Then the students could change levels if needed. This does not just mean testing of skill level,but also

gradually knowing and observing the student. "We know our students" one of the participants said when asked if it helps keeping the students at the same school.

Another school leader specifically said that this was part of their success:

> SL5: We have chosen to organize 60 students in 5 classes with 12 students. And we try as fast as we can to identify through screening and mapping where you are. And then go in dialogue, start teaching and then consecutively assess the students as they go. This way you can shift groups if needed. That the students can change group depending on their development, I think that as been at the core of doing this well.

One of the other success factors that was pointed out among the school leaders using the expanded basic education and combination classes was that the students could retake their exams from basic education and get a new diploma. But a challenge occured when these programs were not in pilot format anymore, now the law is actualizing. This meant that the schools had to stick to stricter rules regarding assessment. In the pilot phase, all students could retake exams no matter results from before. In the final law it was pointed out that only students who had previously failed could retake their exams (this meant students with the grade 1 or IV (not assessed).) This the school leaders replied was bad for both the student motivation and for their chances further in their educational careers. Several of the participants from upper secondary pointed out how "too good" grades from lower secondary can remove the opportunity of partaking in expanded basic education. They wished the teachers in lower secondary knew how important this was as they were just probably acting out of kindness when giving the students a passing grade.

Another topic that came up was the advantage was bridging teachers from vocational training and adult education. This has been perceived as positive for collective learning and benefited the students. Here you can both connect the students to professional life while also giving students adapted academic and linguistic schooling on a basic education level. The students get education that is adapted to them in the present, but also preparing them for the future. These quotes sum up some of the advantages well:

> SL5: We saw that there was a need to connect teachers who work in different ways. Because in total, we saw that there was a huge potential and force in this group of teachers that we needed to utilize. With a collective focus. And I think we have accomplished this. We see that we have to focus on vocation and the future, but we also have to be present in the now and think about how we can adapt the teaching to prepare them for the future. We work well with this.

SL5: We are a vocational school and the teachers here have close relationships with the industry and how to connect the students to it. So we have lots of resources "inhouse". We give the students the opportunity to visit the vocational programs, they wouldn't have that option at the adult education. In the adult education center they work more "traditional" with basic education, but what is good about that is the structure. That creates a good frame for us, too much freedom isn't always good. We have managed to create a focused learning environment and a professionalism among the teachers

In the combination classes creating relationships at school was seen as key for a good transition from the introductory program to the mainstream classes. This includes both relations between peers in the class, to other students as between teachers and students. These relationships are a part of building a connection to the school when making the transitions.

SL5: The students in the introduction class are well prepared. Academically they are on different levels, but after a while now they are knowledgeable on what they are moving on into. They are prepared for the transition and they have relations by being here. This was one of our focus areas in ensuring higher school completion. To connect them and give them that belonging. They are a part of our school now.

Summary School D and E

Model: Combination class for newcomers with different rights: Including students with and without youth right in upper secondary
Responsibility: Cooperation between municipality and county
Success factors: • Young students who traditionally belong in adult education get to be around peers the same age in upper secondary   • Through expanded basic education the students get to focus on building basic skills before entering mainstream classes   • Mapping and screening and placing the students after different levels   • Students are divided in groups by level in different subjects. The participants report that its easier to adapt the teaching   • Mixing teachers from basic education, upper secondary and vocational programs   • Creating belonging and good relationships
Challenges: • Only students who have previously failed subjects can retake exams from basic education. Previously all students in the program could do this.

5.2 What challenges do school leaders meet in providing inclusive education for newly arrived students and what do they see as solutions to this?

5.2.1 Diversity, organization and inclusion

The diversity of the group was something that came up as both a challenge and success for inclusion. Here I will highlight some of the topics that came up concerning the diversity of the group and diversity as a concept related to inclusion.

The challenges

Although many of the participants praised diversity in their schools, concerns were also raised about the education system's capability to handle a diverse student mass. Especially the school leaders on the county level raised this issue. A theme that came up for most participants was how to organize education for such a diverse student group. This diversity could mean a number of things for the participants, students' skills and school background, language, ethnicity, culture, but also the students' history in Norway and their rights within the education system.

One school owner voiced this concern over the challenges of organization, and especially in the introduction classes. The participant said that yes there are advantages of the introduction classes, but also the challenge of diversity:

> CL2: The challenges are pretty similar with this group. It is the diversity It is very demanding to organize. One school I just visited had 21 nationalities in the introduction class. (..) It is both the cultural diversity, but also the skill level. It is a major gap in school background. Even though they fill the formal criteria to be in upper secondary, it's such a diverse group and it's hard for us to understand what they're school background really is.

One of the main factors that came up was the different statuses and rights the students have in the Norwegian education system. The fact that they also belong to different administrative levels could also be challenging. What became clear from the interviews was that the youth in this group often would have the same needs even if they had very different rights on paper. The students with a diploma from a short visit to lower secondary were still lacking basic

skills. The skills and the school background the students had in this group could also be very diverse like one school owner describes her county;

The challenges of delivering education to both those with much and those with little school background emerged as a challenge in both the transitions in both compulsory and secondary education. Others will have completely different needs, maybe more basic education, but still have the same rights on paper.

Making diversity a strength

Even though organizing education for a group that's diverse in backgrounds and skills levels, many of the participants revealed how they also have managed to make diversity a strength in their school community. School E was especially proud of how they had made the term diversity a part of their school ethos, and not just in the sense of multicultural education. The school leader saw diversity as an overall value benefiting all student groups, also newly arrived.

> SL7: I think we have managed to tear down the borders between general studies and vocational studies. Around 50% of the students in the municipality choose vocational programs by interest and motivation, not because they couldn't get into anything else. and that's quite rare. I think it shows that we have managed to create diversity in this building and an acceptance for different pathways in tertiary education in Norway.

The school leader further reflects on how in the past the town was more divided in terms of school background and socioeconomic factors. There used to be different schools for general studies and different vocational programs. Now the larger upper secondary schools included many layers of the town, also including newly arrived. The same school leader also highlighted how the very adapted curriculum and teaching was a success factor in their school. In addition to this, they have managed to: "include and integrate newly arrived youth in traditional VGS. I think that's the biggest accomplishment with our school. How we have managed to make diversity one of our strengths" (SL7). The school leader also emphasized highly differentiated teaching through adapted education as a success factor. In addition to this, the school also focused on making the students realize this and have used a social pedagogics program directed towards newcomer youth focusing on how to utilize their diverse and multicultural backgrounds as a strength.

When talking about cultural diversity, School A and School E also pointed out how working over time with newcomers had made the school more robust and capable of handling diversity and conflicts that can occur. This could be internal conflicts between students, maybe older conflicts coming from home countries that could suddenly occur again in classes. Thus, experience and time was an important factor in handling these challenges. This was also something that would happen more in the startup phase of these programs, now the teachers and leaders have approaches and techniques ready.

5.2.2 Students with little school background and inclusion in mainstream classes

Even though many participants were positive about the progress they now made with expanded basic education, inclusion of students with little school background often came up as a challenge. And especially the inclusion in mainstream classes. For all programs in our cases this has been the final goal. The students still need support when they enter mainstream, and this was by one leader seen as a matter of resources:

> CL2: We get funding from the state for teaching newcomers age 16-18 and the moment they get permanent stay, we lose that support. This support is good, but many of these students who arrived when they are 16,17,18 are in VGS longer than 2 years. There will be more and more students in the system who require that extra support. So I don't think there is one school who wouldn't ask for more resources. It is demanding to organize introduction classes and it's demanding to adapt the teaching in mainstream classes.

These challenges of inclusion in the mainstream are apparent in both the compulsory school and upper secondary. I will also bring this up as part of my results as some of my participants experienced that this also had consequences for the students later. One school leader reported that in their area newly arrived children and youth attend a welcome school for 1 (2 years in special cases) for intensive language training (also with subjects). After this the students would go into their local mainstream school for the remaining years of basic education. Here they would receive a diploma and then have the right to start mainstream upper secondary classes even though their skill level was low. These youth would often have a low score and many subjects with no assessment. This limited their educational choices further in choosing upper secondary. This would also be different from students - some could learn language fast enough and adapt to the Norwegian school system. Those with less school background would struggle.

> SL8: I have some Polish students, real good. But they don't speak Norwegian. They learn Norwegian fast and manage well. But then you have those from Eritrea, Somalia, maybe traumatized by war, and now Syria and Afghanistan, the boys. They have been herders and have no schooling. It just doesn't work, they can't do it.

The school leader at the welcome school in this case was passionate about this matter and especially how the mainstream school subjects and curriculum was too challenging for the newly arrived, in many ways, especially as they have not attained a good level of academic language for school. The school leader would have liked to keep them in the welcome school for longer than just 1 or 2 years before transferring to the mainstream school, that is especially for those with not much school background.

> SL8: So the big question is. If you come from a country and haven't had any school before and you come to Norway and start in 8th grade with me (welcome school). You struggle reaching an adequate level in the subjects, you learn spoken Norwegian but not the school language. Research says that takes 6-8 years. And then I have to kick you out after 9.thgrade and you have to attend 10th grade at a mainstream school. The county says a maximum 2 years with us and then I have to send you to your closest school.

This school leader has a long experience as a leader of welcome school and with the transition to upper and lower secondary. They raise some of the same questions and dilemmas that are touched upon in the literature review. Is it better for the students to be in an adapted segregated program or to achieve this in the mainstream? They especially voice a concern about the lack of coherence for the student, as quoted above.

> SL8: And what happens in 10th grade in a mainstream school? Its exams, midterms, high academic level and much reflection. Just imagine the level in the subject Norwegian, all the genres. They don't know who Alf Prøysen is. it's not good for their development, they experience all the stuff they can't do and think of themselves as losers. I'm thinking they are a bit doomed to fail. But if they had more time they could have done it. And that's where the problem is. Some say it might be better to just put them straight in their local mainstream school in these cases. And try to make the best of it the years they are there and then send them to combination class or VGS. But I don't know.

Especially in VGS the subjects are seen as challenging for the newcomers, especially math and English. Both curriculum and subjects were perceived as challenging to adapt to newly arrived. Curriculum in basic education and upper secondary only have separate curriculum for newly arrived or linguistic minorities in Norwegian, not in other subjects like math and science.

> SL6: The curriculum in the mainstream school addresses this group to a very small degree. In adult education it is adapted to the group, but not in the mainstream compulsory or secondary education. It

was a huge step that we got a new Norwegian curriculum and exam adapted for newcomers in upper secondary.

CL2: First and foremost, we can't forget what is good about it, it is diversity. It gives us insight into new cultures. Lots of knowledge that they can convey to us. So, in a class we wish to have a focus on that diversity and the opportunities it gives us. But it is challenging to learn subjects in VGS, it's a lot of focus on the subjects. And it moves fast. It requires adapting and that requires resources. But VGS doesn't have that many adapted resources.

Some school leaders were more concerned about the curriculum than others, who felt that adapting the curriculum is something they are obliged to do for everyone. "There is a demand for us as a school to adapt the teaching to everyone. So, I don't see it as "linguistic minority" and ``everyone else" (SL5).

One subject that came up several times among several participants as a big stumbling block was English. One county leader reported that this could hinder newcomers in vocational programs from getting their qualifications. You cannot get a vocational diploma without passing all other subjects. The leader reported that many newcomer students don't speak much English when they arrive and often the English classes compulsory schooling are spent practicing Norwegian instead. There is no need to pass English to enter upper secondary, but you do need it to complete. When asked how to solve this issue, they reported that they wished for more cooperation with the municipality regarding this, as they are responsible for lower secondary. Another school leader also voiced this concern: "We struggle with this transition from lower to upper secondary. We receive students who have passed English, but still don't know it" (SL1). Several of the participants reported that it is a problem for upper secondary school when the students enter with grades from lower secondary in subjects, they don't have skills in. "They come in with a 2 (grade), I think the teachers do it out of ignorance". Many reported that there is a lack of coherence in grading from lower to upper secondary.

The models chosen by the school leaders showed a great variety in organization but they all included more time to get through upper secondary. This was also perceived as important, especially for those with little school background. As one leader said, "Time is their best friend" (CL1). The students on the other hand, can choose themselves if they want to choose introduction and combination classes or go straight through to mainstream classes.

More time for the students to develop and learn both on an academic and social level was perceived as a success factor with expanded basic education. As one participant expressed it, *"This is a lot about maturing. Getting an extra year both linguistically, mentally and socially"* (SL5). Another participant puts it like this and refers to research on academic language development:

> CL1: When we know it takes 7-8 years for someone to become ready for school, and then they are here maybe for just 1 year in 10th grade and we expect them to be ready. So of course time is a successfactor here.

The same participant also expressed concern over the fast progression of the educational trajectory, even with an opportunity like this. "1 year is like a drop in the ocean for many. That's a challenge" *(*CL1). Even though expanded basic education gives extra time, the school owner indicates that the system still is not adequate in meeting the student's needs.

These same concerns were also expressed by another participant. It takes a lot of time for the students to get through the whole educational trajectory - especially for those with low literacy skills and limited school background. But at the same time there is no "quick fix".

> SL6: This is something we discuss all the time, because they want to advance quicker. And we wish that for them too. (..) You start basic education in your twenties, but you have to learn Norwegian first. Then you have to do upper secondary education. Suddenly you are getting close to 30 years old before you even finish upper secondary. It takes too much time. But on the other hand, if you are illiterate and you are 18-19, it takes time. It takes 6-9 years. There is no quick fix.

The question of whether or not the "youth right" that allows students to enter upper secondary without any qualifications, was beneficial, came up with some of the participants.

> CL2: Yes, many who work with this group say that they wish that they could hold on to them longer and say that progressing to upper secondary is not the best for you, and that might be right. When you are young, you don't always see the big picture for yourself. But I do think it is dangerous to limit someone's rights, and who should decide? I think we have to start with ourselves. It is easier for us to change, than to change those who wish for something else than us. We are good at making adjustments, we know how to do guidance as we see in the combination classes. So many won't say no to expanded basic education.

This county leader didn't think even more years in VGS and to expand this right even further was the solution, but rather to work well with adapting within the extra years that's already given.

> CL2: I don't think even more time will solve anything. Now you can get an expanded basic education and introduction class for two years. Then three years with adapted teaching. Then suddenly you have 6

years. And we know school X does it in 5 years with some. So I dont think this is where the pressure is. Our challenge is to work with the quality of the teaching and content, and to organize this across administrative levels.

5.2.3 Mapping and screening

Many of the participants highlighted screening and mapping as an important success factor. This entailed routines and tools for initial mapping, and mapping as an ongoing process. Especially the school leaders in combination classes highlighted this. An important factor here was not just mapping, but also having the tools and flexibility to act upon the results. This could mean that the students could be in different groups based on level and/or even move into certain subjects in mainstream classes. It was also preferable if the students could change groups if it was needed. Some also emphasized how screening and mapping does not just mean testing of skill level, but also gradually knowing and observing the student.

According to SL5, teacher cooperation and team development was an important prerequisite to achieve this

> SL5: The most important thing has been creating a professional teaching community among the teachers. By working systematically with these students from the mapping stage, to how you read the results, how you differentiate and organize the teaching. It requires that we talk together. You have to see your strengths as a teacher and assess where it is appropriate that I go in and teach.

Not all the schools had the flexibility to put students in different groups divided by level. In School C where students were included in mainstream, they met some challenges with mapping and screening as they did not receive enough information about all the students' skills and school background from the municipality.

Some participants also wished for more mapping tools adapted to multilingual students. They also wished for more tools to map other skills, like social competence. It could be a challenge not knowing where the students' challenges lie, in language, learning abilities or social competence.

5.2.4 Choice and guidance

> CL1: Time is their best friend, but they don't always understand that, so good guidance is important.

As illustrated in the quote above, the students want to advance fast and the school leadership puts emphasis on career guidance so they take the time they need. Providing the students with choice and knowledge over their educational paths was something many participants emphasized as a success factor. The students have many choices they have to make. Will they say yes to expanded basic education? This is if the schools offer this. Or will they attend mainstream straight away? Will I say yes to specialized language support? Will I go to vocational programs or general studies? But having this choice also came with challenges, and therefore good guidance counselors or systems for this was seen as important.

> CL2: When all this is optional, high demands rely on us to be aware of our responsibility in guidance. Of course, like everyone else in VGS they want to get through as fast as possible.

Giving the student system knowledge as they go was pointed out as important, a combination of "reality orientation" and guidance. Many of the participants emphasized this about having realistic expectations and realizing one's own strengths as a student. This they could also get by being in an upper secondary, seeing the level and the different opportunities. In the school with combination classes the students could also visit the mainstream programs. In some cases, partake in classes for a shorter time. This meant the students could get a mental picture of the future. This was also pointed out as important for School B (the extra school year) that was not placed in a school. They would still try to visit different programs in VGS.

One school leader was also particularly passionate about the students' metacognitive level and ability to assess their own level. Guiding the students is not just important in making the right choices, but also guiding the students is their own learning. The same leader highlighted the importance of learning strategies for this group:

> SL5: What might separate them from other students is the need to take more time and have more structure in their learning strategies. They need to know more about "What's a good way for me to learn a new concept?" "How should I work with this subject?"

Another leader highlighted how the students wanting to progress was a big success factor but also one of their main challenges. They also emphasized their parents' role in this. They have to play on the same team as the counselors, advising the students to take the time they need. For the younger students in the group this might be very important.

5.2.5 Student economy

The students' financial situation was perceived as an important factor for inclusion. Some students struggled financially outside school and needed to work full time for a living. Even though Norway has the Norwegian State educational loan fund for students in upper secondary and higher education, there are different opportunities for different student groups. During the interviews it became apparent that within the category "newly arrived " different groups of students had different financial opportunities, even though they often had the same educational needs and were in the same class. There was a difference between the students belonging to the county with the youth right and those belonging to the municipality.

> CL2: Another challenge is the rights to get loans and scholarships Some students (belonging to chapter 4 adult education.) don't have this right. Many might say no to a year of extra basic education simply because they can't afford it. That is a challenge. (..) This especially affects those who have parental obligation, those who live alone and those who have to work for a living. Maybe they have to work to provide for their families too. They don't get anything, not even support for a computer. So within the same class you will have huge differences.

This especially affected those with little school background as they often belong to adult education. For some students taking the time they need to improve their skills was not always an option as they could not afford it.

Another issue that came up was that some students will have the same needs as others to learn Norwegian when they first arrive, but don't have that right for free, this was regarding youth migrating from inside EØS. The local school leader had then decided to put them up in Norwegian classes for free on their own initiative, but by law they should have paid for Norwegian classes. This is not Norwegian classes in upper or lower secondary, but at the municipal language center.

As part of the solution to this some participants called for different routes for students to reach a qualification. The long route through upper secondary education was seen as an obstacle among some of the leaders

> SL6: I wish there were more alternative routes for those with little time and little money. Possibly taking their vocational diploma without that many years in upper secondary. There should be more flexible ways.

> CL1: Qualification through practical working could be a success factor.

Some participants also emphasized that even though loans and scholarships existed it still was not always desirable for the students to be left with large student loans.

5.2.6 Linguistic support

Many of the participants expressed a concern about meeting the linguistic needs of the students. This included both the need to learn Norwegian while they are in the transition class but also after. Another concern that came up was the ability to provide the students with scaffolding in their mother tongue/bilingual support.

One need was especially emphasized, after they are done with their introductory class and enter the mainstream. How to then maintain their language training, when the mainstream teachers and schools don't have training in this. Literacy skills in all subjects is something that is highlighted in the current school reform, *The Knowledge Promotion Reform* as important in all subjects, but in practice some of the leaders said this still wasn't something everyone had competence in.

> SL5: What is challenging is that the students should learn Norwegian language in all subjects. In the combination/introduction class this is the teacher's main mission, but at the school in general it's something we need to work with (..) How the teachers can become more conscious in this and gain more competency in what this entails.

> SL5: Some are really good at this. In the different departments we have resource persons with different backgrounds and education. They do that little extra which is necessary. Others don't have the same relationship to this - because they don't know enough about it.

> CL1: We say "Norwegian in every subject", but that doesn't help if you have a math teacher who never learned any didactics in language training. So of course, it's hard.

This view was also shared by the school owner. The work is not done when the students finish the introductory class, but is a continued project:

> CL1: If you give enough time for language learning, keep it focused and sustain this balance between Norwegian, basic education and upper secondary education. This is how it should be. Everyone who works in upper secondary should have competence in language training.

Many of the participants expressed some concerns regarding the ability to provide the students with bilingual scaffolding. This was either that it didn't exist in their district or

schools, or that it was an opportunity, but it was hard to find teacher resources for all the language groups. One leader also said how she knew the Norwegian teacher had a bad conscience for this, feeling they should have more competence in language learning. One school leader said they unfortunately didn't have a "tradition for it" in the area, even though it would be beneficial for the students, especially those in need of special needs education.

Linguistic diversity can be a challenge for the availability of bilingual teachers. It was also hard logistically:

> CL2: We do bilingual teaching at all our schools, but we also have 51 mother tongues. So many don't get it. It's not easy to find teachers and resources for that many languages. We wish there was more. It's also hard with the schedules, how to divide the time up between the schools.

One school leader at School C especially wanted this for the students with little school background in the vocational tracks in mainstream class.

> SL4: When you walk around with machinery, you don't understand what the teachers are saying. Of course that's a challenge and it would be great if we could explain things in their language. Then you'll get into the task faster and you don't get stuck.

The school leadership sometimes referred to the use of multilingualism in the classroom as an ideal, more than systematic implementation. Two of them refer to research and the benefits of using the students' mother tongue in the classroom. But how to implement this in reality seemed harder. Some did on the other hand have ideas for how this could be easier.

> SL6: They should be able to learn in that language they are strongest in. That would help their academic development, we have had a lot of focus on that in "Competence for diversity".

> CL1: I think we have to dare to use the languages that already exist in the class (refers to research and "Competence for Diversity"). To dare to use the diversity that is there. It's called peer support, when someone has the same mother tongue but is on different levels in Norwegian. I think a success factor would be that the role of the teacher changed a bit. The demands for teacher qualification have to go.

Another school leader had a different solution as well, more competence among teachers:

> SL6: In upper secondary I think we need more competence and training for the teachers. You need a pedagogic community with competence who also have faith in it. if not it just becomes something "on the side", not a part of the main teaching but just some teachers coming and going.

It became apparent that the participants didn't have a unified idea of how this is to be implemented in practice. One participant also confirms that the leadership and the teachers have an awareness of it, but don't have a unified strategy on this to his knowledge. This does not mean that this doesn't happen in the classroom, but it's not a major focus in the implementation of the program. SL5 also refers "to a time and place to facilitate for this" and that there is a lot to already go through in the curriculum and in preparation for exams.

> SL5: No, it's a challenge, and I don't know much about the effect of it. I know it has been written about it alot and it's regarded as positive for students to use their mother tongue. I think many teachers have a low threshold to let the students do it, but there is no systematic standard in place. There is a conscience around it, but we need to clear space for it. A lot of the teaching is a bit "traditional" and focuses on the curriculum and competence you have to get through for the exams. It demands a more systematic approach for what a lesson should contain.

When talking about linguistic support another topic also became important, the students in vocational training and their placements. Some newcomers struggled finding a placement as their Norwegian wasn't strong enough. This could eventually lead to them not getting a placement and therefore not a diploma. Communication with businesses for students in vocational training was therefore seen as important. One county leader reported that they wanted to make some changes to the traditional way this has been done. In the past the school has traditionally had responsibility for the student the first two years in vocational training, and then later they become the businesses responsibility. Now they wanted a more holistic program where the school still followed the student up when they were in placement.

> CL2: The problem of not being strong enough in Norwegian to pass school is just as relevant for vocational placements. We are now working together with the municipality and the businesses to adapt it better to each student. (..) This will give the students continuity, or at least it could if we do it the right way. Then you have a lot more knowledge about the students' needs and can transfer that to the businesses.

5.2.7 Holistic approach and psychosocial support

Teachers, relationships and belonging

> SL6: Language and integration has to go hand in hand.

> SL3: As teachers we are bearers of knowledge, but we are also so much more in the Norwegian school. We have to accept this fully. It's not that many years ago that I met teachers saying "that's not my job". But yes it is. And if it isn't your job you shouldn't work in Norwegian schools in 2016.

As this quote illustrates, many of the participants emphasized a holistic approach to education as a success factor for the group. And not just for this group, but as a general important job as a teacher. It's not just about the teaching anymore, also about other needs the student had. Some of the leaders pointed out that achieving this holistic view can be a challenge in upper secondary, where focus on subject and progress often takes priority.

> CL1: VGS might not have such a holistic mindset as primary education, it's more focused on single subjects. It's almost like you just reached the teacher's goal and that's it.

A school leader reported the same concerns some of the teachers in mainstream classes were skeptical to hear they were getting newcomers. "How would it affect progress? They wanted the subject itself to be the priority" (SL4). But in the school this perception has changed as the newcomer students performed well according to the teacher and acted as positive for the learning environment.

All the participants reported that they valued relationships, even though they worked with this in different ways. Many of the participants reported that they prioritized small classes, often 12/15 students in each class. SL5 explains how this has been helpful for the teachers getting an overview of students' needs, beyond the academic, especially for the main teacher/home room teacher. They also highlight the teacher's role in in the work with the students psychosocial needs:

> SL5: We have quite a few students here who have challenges beyond academics. So that part of seeing them and taking care of them is important. We have so much research now on how important the teacher is. You can invest in as many extra resources you want, but in the end it's that person who is together with who makes the impact. But as a backdrop to this, the students need more adults around them. Who knows their stories and knows how to work with the relationship.
> .

A challenge that also came up in an interview was that not all students were automatically entitled to have a contact teacher, but the school had still prioritized this. This again was the students in the combination class doing expanded basic education but belonging to the municipality.

> CL2: When they belong to chapter 4, you are not obliged to give them contact teacher or guidance counsellors or special needs services. We have chosen to go for that and more, but you don't have to. This law opens up for so much freedom and that's good, but if you are trying to save money it's not positive.

The social school environment was an important factor for many participants. When asked about their views on educational success factors for this group, being around peers the same age and a feeling of safety and belonging to the school was seen as important. As CL1 said, "I think belonging is a central factor. You need to know the people around you. We have to motivate them to come."

This could mean both socializing with Norwegian students - but also having "good role models from their own language group". The participant from a combination class reports that they have made a big effort trying to create good social relationships between the students in the class. This has been the first priority. One of the most important initiatives by one school on this is a common breakfast every morning. They have also arranged overnight trips. The school leadership has focused less on creating meeting arenas for mingling particularly for newcomers and "ethnic" Norwegian students, but that this might occur in more natural settings when the school organizes "practical days" or similar things when students are outside their context and meet. They wanted this to happen more on students' own initiative.

This was slightly different in a school who had done measures to increase interaction between newcomers and other students. This was done both in the common area, but also by arranging a class where the newcomers and the drama students would meet and put up a show together. The focus of this was the newcomers' stories and their past. By the school leader this was seen as one of the most important success factors for inclusion.

The participants working with expanded basic education especially highlighted life skills education and described this in different ways, "Life skills can be just getting out of bed and having meals" or "not hiding under the covers when things get hard", or "learn structures and strategies for learning".

> CL2: The most important thing for this group might be life skills education, and we focus a lot on that. We want to give you everything you need to master your life cognitively, mentally, socially, physically and emotionally (...) But this is a new area for us, to see the whole student and not just subjects. We are trying to get in a position where we can work with this systematically over time.

One school especially had challenges with student attendance and managing this has become one of their main successes.

> SL6: We call them in the morning if they don't show up. And you can't say" Now you are late and all that", but we rather say "We are so happy to see you, we have missed you ". It's something about how you talk to them. You can't talk down to them, that's important. You have to really show that you are committed and that you care. And you have to care about all of them, no matter what they have done and not done. It's unconditional love, like what we talk about with kids. It's also important with these teenagers. You can't have a deficit perspective, then you won't succeed.

A more formal measure has also been taken by introducing the 10% attendance rule. This is a national policy affecting all upper secondary school students. If the student reaches the 10% limit in a subject, they don't have the right to get a grade. Newcomers in introductory courses are not traditionally affected by this rule as they are outside the mainstream system. The newcomers students in one combination class (those coming from adult education) will lose their place and get sent back to complete their preparatory courses there if they reach this limit. The students "belonging" to the county do not have this option, so here the consequences for the students seems to be more unclear. One possibility is that the students won't pass their subjects, and this can limit their choice of education further as they will get a "lower score" on their diploma. SL5 explains how it is more difficult to uphold this rule with "county" students, but communication is the key to make them understand the importance of attendance and the consequences of missing classes. According to the leader this has helped in improving the attendance and to give students and teachers some "frames".

> SL5: As an adult it is incredibly demanding trying to "catch" the students. Talk and talk, rein them in. This rule has helped us here. We will still do everything we can to help you and the principal can show discretion but there are some demands (frames) here.

Trauma sensitive approaches were also something that came up with one school running a combination class. They wanted to "give the students tools to handle stress and past traumas in their daily lives" (SL7). This was something the school themselves initiated when they a while back received many unaccompanied minors from war torn areas. They asked themselves how they could handle this in their school. It ended up with them contacting a university which worked with a resilience program to help them set it up in their school.

But all in all, many of the participants wished for more resources in this field.

> SL6: We have big challenges, especially with mental health. We wish there were more resources.

This was also the case regarding special needs and learning disabilities. As commented in the section about screening and mapping, it could be hard for the participants to catch if the

students required special needs support, mainly because of language. Close relationships with "PPT" and school nurse were seen as important in the combination classes.

Social inclusion both inside and outside school was perceived as important by most participants, but the latter could also be challenging. Participant SL5 told me about a conversation they had with one of the students in the combination class.

> SL5: One girl told me: It's ok to be here, the school program is good, but Norwegians are hard to get to know. I think this was a description of how many feel.

When asked what the school leaders wished for to meet this group's needs, this came up:

> SL5: In the ideal world there would be more social activities in the afternoon. They want Norwegian friends and are still lonely a lot when they come home from school. Even though they have 30 hours a week at school the weekends are long.

He also refers to the students who come with traumas:

> SL5: They have some traumas, and we need to understand that at times they struggle. Many sit all alone in their apartments. They might have some adults around them, but still. This is a big challenge in being included in a social community. To feel that inclusion. (...) They are depending on us Norwegians to be active, give them an arena and invite them in.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the school leader from School C also reflected on this but was uncertain concerning who's responsibility the social inclusion was, the school or the municipality.

5.2.8 Success: Sharing of knowledge and resources between teachers, administrative levels and school levels

A theme that became important in all the interviews was the sharing of knowledge and resources. Knowledge about the students, about teaching methods, culture etc could all be a part of this. Sharing financial responsibilities of the students was also a big contributor to success according to many of the participants.

Mixing teachers and levels

> CL1: I think mixing the teaching profession from different school levels would create something more dynamic.

Among the participants in the combination classes mixing teachers and school levels was perceived as an important part of the program's success. As combination classes are a collaboration between municipality including basic education and county including upper secondary. This is then two different types of curriculum, but there can also be big differences in terms of teaching styles and cultures. In the introduction class using expanded basic education they had hired a teacher with basic education experience even though they didn't have a collaboration with the municipality. Retaking subjects and exams from basic education was also perceived by some to give the introduction class more focus:

> CL1: We have had good success with mixing the school levels. The basic education curriculum is very exam focused, but the introduction classes didn't even give grades to the students. So they had big potensial for more focus and learning.

Having basic education expertise was seen as important for the leaders in the introduction class. One leader described the basic education expertise as pivotal for the students with less school background from their home country. The school leaders in School A was also very enthusiastic about the basic education teacher that they had hired

> SL8&9: The array of didactical tools that this teacher has, to be able to go to that level that these students are on. That has been very good for us.

One school owner also brings up how more collaboration could create more opportunity to bring in bilingual teachers. If the county and municipality shared these resources, maybe they could become more available for students across school levels. Bilingual teachers could be able to fill up their positions.

> CL2: Last time we counted, we had 100 Arabic speaking students. And then we should be able to provide a teacher a good position. It's challenging, but through a collaboration between primary and secondary it could be possible to give the students a bilingual teacher.

The question of competence and training came up when we were talking about the sharing of knowledge. Many of these participants had been connected to a diversity training program. In

addition to this one of the counties had their own network for training and sharing experiences across schools.

Whose student? Shared responsibility between county and municipality as a success factor

> CL1: the biggest revolution here is not having different money bags.

Regarding expanded basic education, many of the participants emphasized how the shared responsibility, both financial and administrative, had been an important success factor in creating good educational opportunities for newly arrived. It was important for most participants using expanded basic education that this was an opportunity but not a right the students had. And this concerned many. At the time of the interviews there was no obligation to work together as a county and municipality. The county leaders were worried that if the law was followed up by external financial support it wouldn't be utilized enough.

> CL2: That county and municipality can decide for themselves whether or not to offer this means that it will depend on both the economy and the people sitting in those positions (..) When the municipality has gotten their students through year 10 they are not always gonna be interested in investing more, as there isn't dedicated any more money. So this concerns me regarding those newcomers who arrived late in compulsory schooling and need more basic education. The students then have the youth right and it is the county's responsibility.

> CL1: I don't think this change is radical enough. All counties should have this opportunity in place, with extra money of course.

Another important factor that came up in the interviews was to make sure schools had a good flow of information about the students, for example information about previous students' screening or mapping. This could be a challenge as CL1 put it "county and municipality don't talk together automatically". The fact that the Norwegian schooling system was divided between county and municipality was seen as a challenge of inclusion. One county leader put it like this:

> CL1: I think it's great that you have the right to 13 years of schooling in Norway, but it shouldn't be divided in two. It should be one coherent track. We spend a lot of resources blaming each other for not ensuring the students their rights. (..) You spend maybe 3 years in upper secondary, or more. But then might go back to the municipality, maybe even as an extra cost for them. This competition, and the different understandings and organizations are hindering students' to complete upper secondary.

Positive and proactive leadership was something that many of the participants highlighted. The joint responsibility that municipality and county both shared appeared to be motivating for the school leaders. Financial support was also seen as an important factor. As SL3 described it: "It is awesome to be a part of a municipality who takes responsibility for what the dropout statistics tells us."

Another participant tells me a bit more about the relationship between county and municipality in their area, it had been a good relationship for years and they both saw this challenge. As the leader describes it:

> SL7: We see it as a democratic mission, whether you work for the municipality or county. Both the politicians and the administrators have had a big focus on multicultural education. We want to highlight this. The political parties might have different ways of solving this, but they are united in wanting to solve this challenge. Some might be more against or pro-immigration. But everyone agrees that it is important to create the best opportunities we can for those who are here. That will eventually reward our community.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter the main results have been presented. The participants emphasized different challenges and success factors for inclusion on a general basis and specifically in terms of the model they had chosen. The next chapter will discuss the results in light of theoretical perspectives on inclusion and the research from the literature review.

Overview over success factors and challenges

Successes	Challenges
- Inclusive school ethos and making diversity a strength - Expanded basic education - Good mapping and screening routines - Being able to organize the students in levels - Career guidance - Teaching students metacognitive skills	- Organizing education for a such a diverse group of students, especially in skills, language and school background - Including students with limited school background in mainstream classes - Passing English is a challenge for many newly arrived - Student economy creates inequality

to assess their own learning ● Creating belonging and good relationships between teachers and students ● Life skills education and psychosocial support ● Shared responsibility and collaboration between county and municipality in organization and financing ● Mixing teachers from different levels	● Teachers in mainstream programs lacking competence in supporting the students language development ● Lack of strategy and competency in multilingual approaches in the classroom ● Lack of resources and competence in psychosocial support ● Inclusion of newly arrived in local community outside school

6. Discussion

6.1 How have school leaders chosen to organize the transition to upper secondary school and what do they see as successes and challenges for an inclusive transition?

Transitions between school levels are an especially important part for successful inclusion of vulnerable groups (UNESCO, 2020a). As described in Chapter 1 section 1.3, the transition between compulsory education and upper secondary school can be extra challenging for newly arrived students as they are a diverse group in terms of educational backgrounds (Biseth & Changezi, 2016). This especially affects the inclusion of students with little formal schooling from their home country (Biseth & Changezi, 2016; Hilt, 2017; Hos, 2016; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

One of the main challenges pointed to by the school leaders is the entrance requirements for upper secondary school (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). All students of school age, both non-immigrant and immigrant, who have been in lower secondary school, even for just weeks or months receive a diploma and can enter upper secondary regardless of skill and language level. Many students are then ill-prepared and don't have the linguistic and academic skills to complete (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). So, how have the school leaders in this study chosen to organize this transition for newly arrived youth and what do they perceive as important successes and impeding factors for inclusion?

Howe (1997) separates between three approaches institutions can take to provide educational opportunities for students of differing backgrounds: *the formal, the compensatory and the participatory approach.* The approach we see in this study can be described as a compensatory approach. While a formal approach only focuses on eliminating formal barriers for enrollment, the compensatory approach aims to see how the system can recompense the students' personal characteristics/background with compensatory measures. This often results in segregational practices in order to give adapted education, where some experts and

specialists are responsible for the students' education. In these cases, the students get the opportunity to enter a transitional class either through an introduction class, a combination class, the extra school year model, or a one year extra in a mainstream class. The mainstream model is different than the others as it does not segregate the students but rather integrate straight away. The extra school year model focuses on bringing together different educational needs, not just immigrant students.

But, what does this compensation consist of and how is it implemented? This leads us further to Nilsen's (2017) three dimensions of inclusion. This study shows how complex implementation of inclusion can be, especially in the transitions there are many considerations to take. We can not see these dimensions as separate from each other, but they all intertwine and affect each other. In this study we could see that the school leaders had chosen very different models for organizing the transition from compulsory to upper secondary education for newly arrived youth. The models ranged from integration in mainstream classes, to separate introduction and combination classes, to extra school years outside of the traditional school setting. The interviews revealed that school leaders meet dilemmas when trying to organize these transitions.

Nilsen's (2017) three dimensions can help us understand the participants' views. Inclusion is a multifaceted concept, and participants had to decide which dimension (physical/organizational, social, or academic/cultural) should be the focus. This study indicates that school leaders find it hard to fulfill all these dimensions and factors. This is supported in the research regarding students with limited formal school background as they have complex needs (Hilt 2016, 2017; Nilsson Folke, 2017; Thorshaug & Svendsen 2014). Here, there is a fine balance to be taken into consideration when ensuring effective schooling for the students. Feeling of inclusion, creating motivation and stimulating language and subject learning all has to be balanced (Thorshaug & Svendsen 2014).However, the majority of participants focused their discussion on social and academic inclusion.

6.1.1 Organizational dimension

The organizational dimension of inclusion is the overarching dimension and can affect the social, academic and cultural inclusiveness of schooling. Location of a class or a student is therefore important to ensure this. In terms of location, all models except from the extra school year had chosen to locate students in upper secondary in this transition. In most of the schools the students were also segregated in their own classes, but with the opportunity to visit mainstream classes. School B/Extra School year also had a social focus with a diverse student group, both ethnic Norwegian and migrant students together in the same program, so the students were not segregated based on their immigrant status. According to the (European Commision, 2015), and (Hilt, 2017), newcomers can become segregated in the education system. In the long run, this might have negative overall societal effects.

6.1.2 Social inclusion

The participants emphasized belonging and relationships in school as important. This could imply that schools find it less hard to ensure this dimension of inclusion. Overall, the participants expressed that social inclusion among peers the same age was an important factor in the transition for the newly arrived youth. The participants were positive about the social inclusion and integration of newly arrived students in upper secondary school, the challenges were more prevalent in terms of linguistic and academic needs. However, there were some challenges in terms of inclusion outside school. Here some school leaders wished for more support and collaboration with the local community. These statements mirror the findings from (Pastoor, 2013, 2017). For refugees and UAM students, school also functions as an important arena for social integration. More collaboration with stakeholders outside schools could enhance this.

 The school leaders from combination classes (School D & E) communicated that it was very positive that they now could include students without the "youth right" in upper secondary schools. A whole group who has not been included in that way before, now have that opportunity in these counties. The students were in separate classes with only other

newcomer students and the school leaders emphasized belonging and a positive connection between the students in the class. The school leaders did, on the other hand, try to facilitate visiting mainstream classes in certain subjects so they could get a stronger connection to the mainstream programs and students there. This has also supported the academic and cultural aspect of inclusion.

6.1.3 Academic inclusion

In regard to academic inclusion, the school leaders using expanded basic education appeared more confident in the academic inclusion of students. They all used groups in differentiated levels, and this was seen as a success factor. Overall, the school leaders working in combination classes and the other models using expanded basic education were very positive about the improvement in inclusion of the group. This made it easier fulfilling the students' academic needs. Having teachers with competency from basic education and being able to retake subjects and exams was also important. These findings also mirror the report from Rambøll Management Consulting (2018) on combination classes.

Being able to give the students more time to retake subjects from basic education was seen as a success factor. Howe's (1997) theories on educational opportunity can help us shed light on this. The leaders perceived more basic education as a way of creating real educational opportunity. The already existing frame and "youth right" was seen as what Howe (1997) refers to as a *bare* opportunity by some of the participants. This meaning, a right they are not able to actually employ. Without more basic education skills, the students would not be able to utilize their formal right to upper secondary education. This also mirrors the (European Commision, 2015) findings on how transitory classes can be positive for older students so they can attain basic competency before entering mainstream classes. Here we can look back to Howe (1997)'s perspectives on creating opportunity.

> (..) educational opportunity is *treelike* with respect to educational results. For example, if a given result, such as literacy, fails to obtain by a certain point of an individual's educational career, then the range of educational *opportunity branches* subsequently open to such an individual will be significantly pruned. (Howe, 1997, p. 20)

Providing students, the ability to build skills from basic education could hopefully help their opportunities later. As of today, local authorities are not obligated to organize any introductory or transitory classes for newcomers. Students with §3-12 rights have the right to apply for two extra years in upper secondary, but this time can also be spent in mainstream classes. A concern based on this study is how mainstream classes are able to include students with less school background. A relevant question here is whether it should be mandatory for counties to organize introductory classes or expanded basic education. Would this ensure that more newcomers build basic skills before entering mainstream classes? On the other hand, several studies point out the complexity of inclusion of newly arrived, especially those with less school background (Hilt, 2016, 2017; Nilsson Folke, 2017). Hilt (2017) finds that introductory classes can create both inclusive and exclusionary dynamics. According to Hilt (2017), segregation based on academic skills and level can be problematic. This affected the students with less school background. They felt stigmatized and they did not interact much with Norwegian students. Nilsson Folke (2017) found that newcomers often strive to be in the mainstream class, but sometimes regret it when they make the move. This dilemma was also something many of the participants in this study expressed.

The participants with combinational classes expressed they were happy with including many students in the "newcomer" category. Even though they didn't necessarily accept everyone in the age group, they had a wide variety of skills. They were also satisfied with how expanded basic education made it easier to adapt the teaching. The findings align with (Biseth & Changezi, 2016) research on combination classes. It was perceived as more inclusive, both on a social and academic level, for the students to be in upper secondary than in adult education. They still got the education on the level they were in and were being prepared for their educational careers. This is an important aspect of upper secondary education; it leads to a concrete qualification, especially in the vocational programs.

The school leaders had to make choices regarding which dimension they should focus on to provide inclusion. With for example School A where the students were divided in several groups by level, it was challenging for the home room teacher to support their needs that lie more in the psychosocial arena. The academic support was in focus, and they had to make a sacrifice.

The extra school year model had a wide perspective of inclusion, psychosocial, life skills, and the academic, but with less focus on the linguistic support by a teacher. The strength in this model was especially the diversity in the group, there was a mix of all students, not just minority language students and newcomers. The holistic profile and strong teacher support could also benefit newcomers (Pastoor, 2015; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014). The holistic view and psychosocial focus was also a greater part of the combination classes. Participants expressed that the flexibility to adapt to the students' needs might be very positive for inclusion on all dimensions.

The school leader (SL4) from School C, representing the mainstream program, seemed overall satisfied over how most of the students were doing, both socially and academically, but had heard there were challenges in including students with little school background. This aligns with other research (K. S. Hernes, 2013; Hilt, 2016; Jama, 2018; Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013). The school also had less experience with minority language students and only offered extra support in Norwegian. The lack of communication with some of the municipalities also made mapping and screening harder. As many studies point to the exclusion of students with less school background and refugee students in mainstream classes, this is something that should be further taken into consideration when deciding on which model is more inclusive for each student group. The rationale behind creating these classes was mainly organizational and social, and we can ask ourselves if the academic dimension is able to meet the students' needs. On the other hand, they are not segregated like the students in their own transition classes. They were in mainstream classes with Norwegian students. This could be positive overall for belonging and social integration.

6.1.4 Collaboration

This study also found that collaboration was a success factor in the transition. Mitchell (2020) and UNESCO (2020) highlights the importance of joint vision for inclusive education. This study found that a joint between stakeholders was positive for an inclusive transition between school levels and classes. In the counties introducing a combination class including students from adult education we could see a horizontal collaboration between county and municipality. They had both wanted to solve the challenges regarding inclusion of newly

arrived. The importance of collaboration for inclusion is also supported by (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and (Anderson et al., 2014). The municipality and the county have a joint vision for how to organize education for newly arrived. School leaders and teachers can learn from each other and support each other in funding and organization. This might create a more solid basis for an overall vision of inclusion in several areas.

Expanded basic education could be an important step towards inclusion. The participants reported several advantages with this policy. For the students belonging to Adult Education without youth rights this policy can mean social inclusion among peers. This is an important dimension of inclusion. For the students with youth rights, but who have only been in school for a short time it can help them build basic skills. This improves the academic dimension of inclusion of newly arrived.

But t is important to look at the development of expanded basic education. The participants pointed out that they were skeptical of if and how this would be implemented in municipalities or counties with poor economies. This critical aspect of policy and implementation is also brought up by UNESCO (2020). For local governments to be able to provide inclusive education they need not just be held accountable but also supported financially.

Another critical point is whether the students who have passed subjects from lower secondary still can get new grades if they choose to do expanded basic education. Many of the participants wanted to raise awareness around this, as the grade from lower secondary did not necessarily reflect the student's skills. Even if they had passed with the lowest grade, the school leaders still experienced that their skills could be below the required level. This requires more communication and collaboration between school levels.

To conclude it would appear that expanded basic education and social inclusion are two important success factors for an inclusive transition into upper secondary education. the flexibility to teach on different levels, preferably mixing teachers from different levels are also important. This, along with differentiation in teaching, might be more challenging to achieve in the mainstream classes than in classes with more room for flexibility.

6.2 What challenges do school leaders meet in providing inclusive education for newly arrived youth and what do they see as solutions to this?

6.2.1 Diversity in skills and language - can we handle it?

According to UNESCO (2020) inclusion is a notion that values diversity and sees the potential in every learner. It shouldn't be the characteristics of the learner that should determine whether or not the students receive inclusive education, but rather the environments and factors that sit within these, along with the relation (Anderson et al., 2014). So how was this expressed among the participants?

This study found that the participants had different perceptions of diversity and how the system responded to it. The leaders see many advantages of including the students in upper secondary; social inclusion, increased motivation, giving system knowledge and connection to work life through vocational schooling. But inclusion of students with little school background in mainstream classes was seen as a challenge. Many students still struggle with the academic level when they are finished with the introduction classes. This aligns with findings from other studies (Jama, 2018; Nilsson & Axelsson, 2013; Rambøll Management Consulting, 2018). But still many of the participants seemed hesitant to restrict students' rights to upper secondary even though they saw the challenges of inclusion.

Some of the participants saw this diversity in skill level and language as very hard to organize. It was hard to adapt the teaching and have resources for all newcomers. The notion of using and valuing the student's post migration experiences and linguistic repertoire was also something that was challenging. These findings align with the studies of Nilsson and Bunar (2016). School leaders and authorities sometimes take a "deficit perspective" on newcomer students. The perspectives from the school leaders, also mirrors the findings on teachers by (UNESCO, 2020a). That even though teachers can be positive to the notion of inclusion, they don't necessarily have faith that the education system can meet and include this diverse student mass.

The school leaders were not unified in this, and some schools had found ways to use the students' background as a strength. Seeing diversity as a strength was also pointed out by

some of the participants as an important success factor for inclusion. A key is to see the students' background as a strength and not just as a barrier. Newcomer students can also have a lot to contribute as carriers of personal, cultural and linguistic competencies that are easily overlooked. The participants had found different ways of utilizing the students' background as a resource. One interesting example was from School A where the newcomers had been included in school theatre where the newcomers' background stories became the focus of the show. School E also had a social pedagogics program where they wanted to teach the students how to use their own multicultural identity as a strength. This mirrors the "empowering school culture" brought up by Andersen (2017). Both these schools emphasized how their experience working with this group was useful for handling the diversity.

One of Nilsson's (2017) dimensions of inclusion is the cultural and academic dimension. This dimension should aim at utilizing the learners potential. In the context of newly arrived students, using their multilingual repertoire to support subject learning would be of importance. In terms of linguistic diversity the study found that there was little use of the students' diverse linguistic background as a resource in their education. Many of the school leaders are aware of the advantages of using more bilingual scaffolding and approaches but are missing a unified strategy and competence in how to utilize this in their school. This finding mirrors studies by Andersen (2017), Burner & Carlsen (2019) and European Commision, 2015). An important factor here was also teachers and resources. Here Bronfenbrenner's perspective of a supportive macro system becomes important. Even though the leaders had ideas of how to get more bilingual teachers, this needs to be supported in the national policies. Inclusion also entails changing the structures on the macro level if needed to adapt to the student's needs. In this case the school leader wished for both more collaboration regarding multilingual teachers and changes in policies for teacher competencies.

Many of the school leaders refer to the training program Competence for Diversity when talking about language diversity, but it also became clear that the theoretical knowledge they had learnt was hard to put to practice. A multilingual approach was hard to work with strategically. Time and a busy curriculum with a focus on exams was partly the reason for this, together with resources. This finding is supported by (Wollscheid, 2018) evaluation of the training program. Participants in upper secondary were the school level that struggled the

most. This can also be connected to Anderson's (2017) research on how the outcome-oriented leadership style can be a barrier for transformation within schools. This can lead to less focus on multicultural education, when there are already set goals to be met by the school leaders. The school leaders mention the "tight schedule" and demands from upper secondary as an obstacle to achieve this.

6.2.2 Students with limited formal school background inclusion in mainstream classes

In inclusive education it is important to separate between inclusion and integration (Hehir et al., 2016). Integration can entail that students with diverse learning needs are being placed in mainstream classes without there being a significant change in teaching methods, curriculum and assessment.

Many of the school leaders revealed that inclusion in mainstream classes was one of the main challenges, especially for the students with less school background. Some expressed that it was easier to include in the transitory phase, but we have to remember that the goal is the mainstream system. Many of the challenges the leaders reported were found here. These findings align with the research from Rambøll Management Consulting (2018) and Thorshaug and Svendsen (2014). It is often perceived by teachers and leaders that students from introduction classes don't always have a high enough skill level to follow the mainstream classes and school leaders and teachers find it challenging to adapt to the students' level. The school leaders' experiences also align with the current research on language development (Cummins, 2000). It takes 5-7 years for newcomer students to develop a "school language". This time frame became a dilemma for the school leaders as the students wanted to progress fast and the school leaders could only offer the students 2 extra years.

The school leaders reported that the challenge was often a question of resources. Both financial resources and teaching material and curriculum was brought up here. They experienced that there was not much teaching material made for the group. One county leader especially pointed out how the upper secondary school can lack support and resources in general to do adapted education. The importance of adapted resources is emphasized by Mitchell (2020) as one of the important aspects of creating an inclusive learning environment.

One school leader reported that including students in mainstream classes was not just reported as a problem in upper secondary, it was also a challenge for the students being in lower secondary for a short while, here they would be put in learning situations that were too hard. This mirrors Nilsen (2017)'s view on the academic inclusion and the importance of differentiation in teaching and content. If schools go too far in requiring the same competence for everyone, this ambition of inclusion might not succeed and the student will instead just meet " a diversity of challenges". (Buli-Holmberg et al., 2015). In this case we could also look back to Howe (1998)'s metaphor on educational opportunity being "tree like". Howe states that: "if a given result, such as literacy, fails to be obtained by a certain point of an individual's educational career, then the range of educational opportunity branches subsequently open to such an individual will be significantly pruned. (Howe, 1997, p. 20). SL8 was concerned about how this affected the students' educational opportunity further regarding choice in educational programs, as entrance to upper secondary often is based on grades. They were also concerned it could affect the students' sense of mastery and self-esteem.

In upper secondary the subjects in mainstream classes were pointed out as challenging, especially English. The participants also emphasized that it was challenging for teachers in mainstream classes to support the students linguistically. Even though there is supposed to be a focus on language learning in all subjects the teacher doesn't always have training in this. Like one participant said"We say "Norwegian in every subject", but that doesn't help if you have a math teacher who never learned any didactics in language training. So of course, it's hard" (CL1). This is also found in other studies. Many teachers lack competence in supporting minority language students ((Smith et al., 2020; UNESCO, 2020a)

6.2.3 Knowledge is key - mapping, guidance and choice

Giving education adapted to the student's skills and level is a central part of inclusive education (Hehir et al. 2014; Nilsen 2017; Mitchell 2020). Adapted teaching is also something that is stated in § 3-2 in the Education Act (1998).

By all the participants having good knowledge about the student's skills was seen as important. But they also emphasized giving the student self-insight and knowledge about the upper secondary school system. As the students in Norway have much freedom to decide for

themselves what courses they want to choose, some leaders also emphasized the responsibility of the system as to enlighten and guide the students.

Knowledge about the students' skill level and the ability to act upon this by differentiating teaching was also highlighted by the participants, especially in the combination classes. An important question for Howe (1997) is whether or not students are equipped to undergo a course or curriculum. *Knowledge* and *choice* are also two terms that are important for educational opportunity. The educators need to have knowledge about the student's abilities and be able to adjust their programs according to. If not, the educational opportunity will be *bare*.

Mapping and screening were therefore seen as an important success factor. All newly arrived students should be evaluated to get specialized language education according § 3- 12 in the Education Act (1998). But some participants reported that they struggled finding good tools for this. It was hard getting an overview of the students' competence and challenges in different fields. Some also wished for tools that could help mapping the student's social competence and or learning disabilities. This was a challenge attaining in different languages. This finding also aligns with Andersen (2013) research on how teachers experience working with minority language students. It was hard for teachers in this study to know whether the students' lack of understanding of the curriculum was due to a lack of language proficiency or other learning challenges.

 It was also important for some of the school leaders to give the students' knowledge about their own learning processes. The emphasis on learning structures also aligns with research on newly arrived students and the ideal of the independent learner (Hilt, 2016). Newly arrived students are not always used to this way of approaching education and it's important that the schools address this.

Many of the participants emphasized the guidance counselors as very important for inclusion. Without guidance the students could end up not taking the time they needed to choose a transitional program. The students often wanted to rush through the system. It was therefore important that they get a realistic depiction of their level and their opportunities. The importance of good counselling for newcomers is supported by Hos (2016) and Thorshaug &

Svendsen (2014). This group is very vulnerable in the education system as they miss the "system knowledge" and social capital majority students have (Hos, 2016).

6.2.4 The importance of student economy

The interviews revealed how personal economy can be a struggle for many students and affect their choices in education. How the student's economy can be a barrier for inclusion is also mentioned in several other studies like (Pastoor, 2015) and (Biseth & Changezi, 2016). It is important that the students actually have the time, money and opportunity to attend school of not formal access to schooling would become what Howe (1997) refers to as a *bare* opportunity. If the student is not financially supported to attend education, it can become a form of exclusion. Here the school leader also reports that this affects the students who do not have the youth right but belong to the municipality. These are often students with less school background and are therefore the ones who are most vulnerable in the existing system (Hilt, 2017; Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014).

6.2.5 Holistic approach and psychosocial support

Many of the participants saw a holistic approach and psychosocial support as key for success in working with these students. One school had even implemented a program to meet students' trauma and educate the students themselves on how to combat this. But participants also called for more support and resources in this.

These findings mirror many other studies in the field like (Smith et al., 2020), (Pastoor, 2013, 2015, 2017) and (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). There is a need for a holistic approach with a strong focus on mental health. As Pastoor (2015) points out, school functions as both an arena for socialization, integration and the salutogenic. These factors together can help the student thrive in school and battle traumas. Without this support the vulnerable students will struggle. The teachers and leaders therefore need training in this. Pastoor's research also indicates that more resources need to be prioritized on this. The teacher is vital in this process, but the teacher needs to feel competent and supported. Pastoor (2015) emphasizes how this is not always the case. The participants in this study all expressed how important the teacher - student relationship was for inclusion of newcomers. The teacher was seen as an important

part of giving students psychosocial support and motivation to attend school. But some participants also expressed that not all teachers had this image of their job. Often the subjects and academic progress was more important for teachers than the more social and relational aspect of the job, especially in upper secondary.

Many of the participants also wished for more social inclusion of newcomers outside school, this aligns with Pastoor (2017) in how students could benefit from a more holistic approach to education bringing in supportive networks outside school like part time work, hobbies and sport, here there is much potential and increased learning and inclusion in the local community.

6.2.6 Sharing responsibility, knowledge and resources

Overall, it appears as though much collaboration between school levels has been positive for how school leaders experience the inclusion of newcomers in these counties. This aligns with UNESCO (2020) finding that "collaborative relationships are essential for an inclusive education system". In this study the question of "who is responsible for this student between county and municipality" was something the participants brought up as something that had been a challenge with this student group. One school leader (CL1) was very passionate about how decentralization and the divide between county and municipality in the responsibility for the student's education could be damaging for inclusion. Instead of focusing on how to create inclusive education together, they would blame each other for not ensuring the students' right to inclusive education. Transfer of information about the students could also be challenging between the two administrative levels. To meet these challenges county and municipalities had started collaborating more. These findings mirror (Andersen, 2017; Hamilton & Moore, 2004)'s perspectives on how active leadership is for the inclusion of minority language students and newcomers.

At for example school D and E we can see the school leader functions as what Hamilton and Moore (2004) refers to as a "gatekeeper" in the community when trying to create an empowering school culture. UNESCO (2020) also highlights how a school ethos for diversity could help the inclusion of vulnerable groups. This was pointed out as important for both the districts with combination classes. Both municipalities and counties had wanted to address

the challenges for newcomers and had joined forces to solve this. On the other hand, it is important to mention here that the school leaders were concerned about whether these programs would continue in the future. Some were also concerned over how the economy could affect this collaboration as the counties and municipalities are not obliged to offer expanded basic education.

Bronfenbrenners (1979) and Anderson et al. (2014) can also help shed light on inclusion here. According to these perspectives, inclusion is dependent on good relationships and connections between actors. In the cases of collaboration with combination classes the supporting links between administrators, school leaders and politicians appear to be strong. This has also created supporting links between teachers between different school levels which have all helped the students in their educational careers. An important success factor for academic inclusion was mixing teachers from different levels and fields. Different teachers from both basic education, upper secondary and vocational programs could together meet the students' needs.

6.2.7 Different paths to qualifications?

In several areas the participants reported that the mainstream school system struggled adapting to the students' diverse backgrounds and needs, especially the students with less formal school background. Some of the school leaders therefore call out for more flexible and shorter routes to qualifications, for example through more practical courses. This is also mentioned in Thorshaug & Svendsen (2014) as an alternative for students with little school background. These students are the ones struggling most in mainstream classes (Hilt, 2016). Does everyone need to go through upper secondary? Would they benefit from a more practical form of qualification? One school leader (SL6) compared the Norwegian system to other countries and contemplated whether other countries might have more inclusive solutions for this group. She referred to programs focusing solely on language skills and learning a vocation. This is a dilemma in terms of inclusion and educational opportunity. Should we have different tracks for different students? Is that inclusion or segregation?

Howe (1997) refers to a participatory approach to educational opportunity where the student's outcomes are open for dialogue. This differs from a formal or compensatory approach where

all students strive to achieve the same goal. What would be meaningful educational outcomes for newly arrived students in different situations? Some students might want to attempt higher education, while others have financial obligations and less time, like the older students SL6 refers to. Here different educational tracks could be a solution as it could lead to more realistic educational qualifications. But on the other hand, as Thorshaug & Svendsen (2014) also points out, this could interfere with the Norwegian principle of "one school for all".

According to Howe (1992) real educational opportunity needs to be focused around creating long term educational careers for students. Howe (1992) emphasizes that this needs to be based on the skills the students have and what goals they want to pursue. This requires a holistic approach to the students' needs. We can see this in light of Thorshaug & Svendsen, (2014) report on education for newly arrived with less formal school background. They find that the students meet many stumbling blocks in the system due to their educational status. The participants also expressed similar views. The students might not get their vocational diploma because they fail English, but the participants also knew that many had never had English in school before. Some also experienced that the English classes in lower secondary were used for Norwegian. The participants here described what Howe (1992) would refer to as a bare opportunity as the students are not able to complete the program they are in.

The Completion Reform (not yet implemented) also promises more adapted and flexible educational trajectories. Some of the participants also called out for this. Do all students need to go through the same curriculum or could there be more practical ways of achieving a vocational diploma? On the other hand this can create different educational tracks for different students and perhaps create programs that later can hinder educational opportunity and social mobility. According to UNESCO (2020), it is important that policies don't divert from the long term ideal of inclusion. Choice, guidance and system knowledge is also something that still needs to be ensured. Inclusion in the short term can lead to exclusion and segregation in the long term. It is also important that all students are financially supported and are able to take the time they need to complete their education. Educational opportunity shouldn't be a question of financial status.

The need for a more holistic approach was also brought up as important for students in vocational apprenticeship who struggled with finding an apprenticeship due to their language

level. Here it's important that the schools still take responsibility for the student even though they are in placement. Here the schools can help in guiding both the students and the businesses. These findings are supported by (Thorshaug & Svendsen, 2014) where there is a call for a more holistic approach to vocational placements for newly arrived.

7. Conclusion

In the Norwegian school system, the goal is to get every student as far as they can. An important question to ask is whether the "one school for all" model is, as of today, able to handle a diverse student population. Can the school system make sure that we can offer inclusive education for Berhane, Agatha, Fariha and Ibrahim and all other newly arrived youth entering our school system in the future? If so, what would it take to ensure this inclusion that the Norwegian system holds high?

This study revealed some challenges for school leadership regarding inclusion of newly arrived students in upper secondary schooling. In terms of organizing inclusive education and transitions to upper secondary school, school leaders encountered dilemmas and it was hard to ensure all dimensions of inclusion in the transition. When organizing transitory programs for newly arrived the dilemmas were often regarding the social and academic aspects of inclusion. This research might indicate that there is a strong focus on social inclusion, but that academic inclusion is more challenging. The study also found that a focus on basic education and social inclusion are two important success factors for an inclusive transition into upper secondary education. The flexibility to teach on different levels, preferably mixing teachers from different levels are also important. The study indicates that this might be more challenging to achieve in the mainstream classes than in classes with more room for flexibility.

One of the main success factors found in this study is being able to offer expanded basic education to newcomers. The participants stress how this makes going through upper secondary a more realistic goal for newly arrived students, especially those with less school background. The participants working with expanded basic education highlighted how this opened up for a high-level differentiation in different groups. It was also a success being able to include students without the "youth right" in a youth environment where they could feel included and learn more about the Norwegian school system than in adult education.

Inclusion means making sure students have a real opportunity to succeed. The students then need to have the abilities and skills to complete upper secondary. Hopefully expanded basic education is a step in the right direction. This policy might prevent the formal right to upper

secondary becoming what Howe refers to as a "bare opportunity" that students cannot utilize. As this is a new model there is a need for more research on the longitudinal effects this policy might have on student inclusion. The students also need guidance to be convinced to take the time they need to utilize their education and choose the extra time it takes. Students' personal economy could also be important for the students choosing to take this extra time. There is also a need for more research on collaboration between county and municipality regarding this policy. As of today, it is not mandatory for local authorities to offer expanded basic education and many participants were worried that the local economy could be a deciding factor for whether or not they would initiate this. Another challenge with this policy is also that it could exclude the students who had already passed their subjects from year 10, even though their skill level was too low for upper secondary.

When students entered the mainstream system the school leaders reported of both success and challenges. Organizing education for such a diverse group in skills, school background and culture was seen as a challenge, but some of the schools had also found many ways to use diversity as a strength and empower newly arrived students.

One of the main challenges found in the study was integrating newly arrived students in mainstream classes. The mainstream system struggled making adaptations to fit the students' needs. Several of the participants report that it's hard to find resources and use the students' backgrounds as a resource. Giving the students enough linguistic support, both in Norwegian and in their mother tongue was seen as important, but challenging. The emphasis on many of the participants was the need for more competence among mainstream teachers in upper secondary on how to teach second language learners. Using the students' multilingual repertoire in a strategic way in school was something many school leaders saw as a challenge, both in the transition and in the mainstream. Many also reported that there were very little resources available to do bilingual support. The leaders also struggled with finding curriculum adapted to the group. Especially English as a subject was hard for many newcomers to pass, as many have not learnt much English before. Not passing this subject hindered students in VET programs to get their diploma. Newly arrived students in VET programs also had challenges with getting apprenticeships due to language difficulties. One way of meeting this challenge could be a more holistic approach to the VET programs where schools and businesses share responsibility for the students' education.

Creating a strong belonging to school, together with good teacher-student relationships was seen as important by the participants. Some of the leaders also reported that they wanted more resources and competence to support the students' psychosocial needs. Life skills education was also highlighted as important for the group. As of today, schools in Norway are transitioning into a new Core Curriculum (LK20) where Life skills education is prioritized as a key competence across all subjects. This new focus could be beneficial for inclusion of newly arrived youth.

Collaboration became a key factor for success throughout the study. Facilitating inclusive education requires that the schools have many competencies. Municipality and county sharing educational and financial responsibility for the student, together with active leadership were important success factors. A success factor has also been teacher collaboration. Together, between basic education and upper secondary the teachers have many of the competencies needed to support the students. To encourage more collaboration between schools and other important stakeholders in the students' lives is also something the study found could benefit the group. Some of the school leaders reported that this was challenging, and the students often lacked this social inclusion in their communities. This is all a part of the holistic support that the students need.

The models for organizing education for newly arrived youth were identified in this study as compensatory approaches, where the focus is to compensate for the students' challenges and the goal is to enter the mainstream system. A question that was brought up among some participants is whether or not it would be more inclusive to aim for more flexible routes to a vocational qualification. In that case all students would not have to go through the entire upper secondary school system. None of the participants did not want to restrict the access to upper secondary education, but still wondered if having more options available could ensure more inclusion.

The new completion reform addresses some of the challenges that's been discussed in this study. As mentioned in Chapter 1 section 1.3.2 , this reform will try to expand the students' formal right to education by giving the students a "right to complete" upper secondary. To this day students only have a certain amount of time with the youth right. The reform also promises that there will be more early intervention in upper secondary and that all newly arrived should be offered a transitory program. It has not been specified what models should

be used. It would therefore be beneficial to do more research on the different models and how they ensure inclusion.

Succeeding with newcomers is not just a question of giving more time, but also inclusion through adapted schooling. Therefore, future school reforms also need to be followed by competence and resources. Competence in supporting second language learners, multilingual approaches, mental health and trauma sensitive teaching needs to be in focus. There needs to be a holistic approach to education for newly arrived students. These findings indicate that to ensure all dimensions of inclusion it requires a diverse set of competencies in schools and much collaboration between stakeholders. A mixing of teachers with different competencies has benefited the academic support and inclusion for newly arrived students and more research on how this is important.

There is a need for more studies from the lived classroom realities of newly arrived students. How the teachers, and of course, students themselves experience inclusion is important. Hopefully this study can help open some perspectives on what areas to explore further.

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Appendix

1. Original interview guide

Informanter:

- Representanter fra fylkeskommune

- Skoleledere

Først:

Introdusere meg selv og prosjektet mitt. Forklare at datamaterialet skal brukes i en masteroppgave og spørre om samtykke. Takke for at vedkommende tar seg tid. Om det er noen spørsmål du ikke vil eller kan svare på er det helt ok. Om du trenger mer tid til å finne informasjon for å svare på spørsmålet kan vi godt ta det over e-post. Om du mener det er noe informasjon det er best for meg å få skriftlig (gjennom rapporter o.l, statistikk) er det også greit.

Intervju:

Ca. hvor mange nyankomne ungdommer har dere i fylket/på skolen? Hvordan er fordelingen i kommunene?

Hvordan vil du beskrive fylket/ skolens erfaringer med mangfold i skolen?

Hvordan blir utdanning for nyankomne ungdommer organisert i ditt fylke/på din skole?

Hva har vært bakgrunnen for den organisatoriske modellen dere har valgt

Hvem har vært aktive i denne prosessen?

Om relevant: Hvordan vil du beskrive handlingsrommet de har fått nå etter denne utvida muligheten for grunnskoleopplæring?

Om relevant: Hvordan har ansvarsfordelingen vært her mellom fylke og kommune?

De pengene som har gått til disse klassene er de fra statlig hold eller er det kommunens egne penger? Hva har vært viktig i finansierings-prosessen?

Hvis du skulle gitt noen råd til andre skoler/kommuner/fylke som skulle samarbeida om det her? Er det noe du ville trekt ut?

Hvem har samarbeidet om dette? Hvordan har samarbeidet vært mellom skolene? De ansatte i kommunene og i vgs, lærer, rektor

Hvordan ble det avgjort hvem som skal gå i klassene?

Hvordan vil du beskrive mangfoldet i gruppa?   Hvordan møter dere mangfoldet?

.Bruker de av retten til vgs?

Hva er reglene for fravær?

Kan du si litt om lærerne og kompetansen i gruppa. Hva har dere sett etter?

Synes du at ungdomsretten er til hjelp for elevene eller mer et hinder? Kan du si litt om det

Kan du si litt mer om hva som kan sikre en god overgang fra grunnskole til vgs?

Hva synes du er de viktigste utfordringene i arbeidet med gruppa?

Hva er de viktigste suksessfaktorene?

Hvordan synes du at rammeverket i dag møter gruppas behov?

Hvordan synes du en ideell ordning for ungdom med kort botid skulle sett ut?

2.Translated interview guide

Topic: Organisation of education for recently arrived youth in Norway

Informants:
- County representatives
- School leaders

Some questions are changed depending on if they are addressed to school leaders or county representatives

First:

First: Introduce myself and my project. Explain that the data material is going to be used in a master thesis and ask for consent. (This has also been ensured in the previous communication). Thank the participant for taking time. If there are any questions they cannot or will not answer, that is ok. If they need more time to find information, we can also continue through email. You can also send me reports/statistics if you find it relevant.

Questions:

Approximately, how many newcomers do you have in the county/municipality or school?

How do you want to describe the county/school experience with diversity in school?

How is education for newly arrived youth organized here?

What was the reasoning for this model?

Who has been active in this process?

If relevant: How would you describe your room for action after implementing expanded basic education?

If relevant: How has the collaboration between county and municipality been? Who has been responsible for what?

How has the program for newly arrived youth been financed? What has been important in this process?

What advice would you give other schools/counties/municipalities if they are starting up with newcomers?

If relevant: What advice do you have for good collaboration? How do you ensure good collaboration between stakeholders?

What do you think is important for a good transition from compulsory education to upper secondary?

How was it decided which students should be in the class?

How do you want to describe the diversity in the group?

How do you try to meet this diversity?

Are the students using their 5 year right to VGS?

What are the rules for attendance?

Do you think the youth right is a success or barrier for inclusion?

What kind of competence do you see as important for teachers working in this group?

What do you find challenging working with this group?

What have been important successfactors?

How do you think today's legal framework meets this group's needs?

What do you think an ideal arrangement for newly arrived youth would look like?