

MIGRANT PUPILS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES?



How does Norwegian teacher education qualify to
teaching
in multicultural schools?

Master Thesis

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Photo: Wako Roba



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And so-

Thanks to Kari Hempel and Geir Skeie at the University of Stavanger for positive and inspiring comments whenever I sighed and whenever they were asked, what was quite often.

The beforehand inspiration was, however, Wellela, a 12 year old girl who among other refugee children told her story to Selam Kidane (2001), a story of going alone with a six year old brother to London. Her parents were deported from Ethiopia. She said:

When I was told I would go to London because it was safe and there would be people to look after me, I did not say anything. I just said OK. I had nothing to compare it to. I had no idea what it was going to be like.... But now I know, and I would have said no, I think.

I hope she has a good time and a lucky future now.

Martha lea

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MIGRANT PUPILS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES ?

How does Norwegian Teacher Education qualify to teaching in a
multicultural school?

When it is explained better

I had history today
It was about the Roman way
The teacher talked so fast
Lots of questions were asked
I could not answer any
But now you explain
I could answer many

Sara -11 year-old Eritrean girl
(Kidane,2001)

1 Student teachers' competences for a multicultural school

1.1 *Abstract*

If the prognosis of the future demographic situation in Norway is right, the percentage of immigrants will more than double the next 50 years, and become somewhere between 21 and 31 %. Today migrant pupils seem to be underachievers compared with majority pupils according to Pisa results. To avoid this situation, and with even more migrant pupils included, the education of teachers of central importance. In this study I analyse and sum up challenges the Norwegian teacher education has to face, in order to give future teachers adequate competence for filling their tasks in a the multicultural society.

The results points in the following direction:

The first challenge is to develop a policy that is consistent from the ministerial level to the Framework Plan for teacher education to secure that the content of the local curricula for institutions with teacher education are in the accordance with policy documents and that all this is in harmony with the plan for elementary education, Knowledge Promotion. In my document analyse I have registered great inconsistencies between the levels, because of either too great openness to different interpretations, neglect of prescriptions or lack of direct communication between the levels of authorities.

The second challenge is to analyse the practice of the teacher education in order to enhance the language education for teacher students including knowledge about decisive factors in the process of learning a second language, and characteristics of the migrant pupils' cultural and linguistic background and life situation. Student teachers have to become able to support the pupils' self-security and subject area learning by relating to the children where they are culturally, including religion and values. According to the research work both language knowledge, cultural knowledge and ways of adapting it in elementary school ought to be included in every subject in teacher education. Last, but not least is the teacher educations' obligation to coordinate the theoretical education and practice experiences. According to practice plans and the interviews with professors and students, it seems as if student practice in multicultural schools has almost been absent. This lack of experience has negative consequences for the future teachers' capability to communicate also with migrant parents which is important for all parts, teachers, pupils, parents and families. Probably many of the challenges mentioned are similar in other countries with increasing immigration.

If Norway is going to be the "most inclusive society in the world" like the Minister for Labour and Social Inclusion Ministry expressed, it needs to take these issues very seriously.

1.2 Introduction

It can be discussed whether the aims and content of the Pisa Tests (2003 and 2006) are relevant for immigrants or also whether the results reveal what competence the young people need to develop for life in a European society. Nevertheless, it is of interest to see what support minority children ought to get in order to secure their future opportunities in a western society. The United Nation's Convention on Rights of the Child (1989) (later Child Convention), ratified by most countries, is a sort of guardian to secure fair treatment to all immigrant children, expressed it like this in § 29 Part 1:

- a) "The obligation is to develop "the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to the fullest potential".
- b) the education of the child shall be directed to the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, the national values of the country in which the child is living; the country from which he or she may originate, civilizations different from his or her own.

This is relevant for all children. In this study the situation for children with different cultural backgrounds living in a multicultural society is the main concern. One said: "I did not choose to come here" (Kidane, 2001). Children are in many ways dependent on what adults decide and organise on their behalf. This is the also the case in terms of formal education. In a knowledge society education is crucial for migrants and in school the impact of teachers is vital (Jim Cummins (2001/1986).

1.2.1 A broad perspective

I have chosen to discuss obligations, possibilities, limitations and challenges facing school and teacher education in a society marked by increasing cultural diversity. Jim Cummins has worked for many years with issues important for migrant children in education. He presented these theories in the article "Empowering minority students" 1986 in Harvard Educational Review (HER), and reissued in 2001.

On the basis of his theories and other relevant ones, I have in this study focused on education in Norway. My research question is to see how the Norwegian Teacher Education qualifies or ought to qualify the teacher students to meet the migrant children's needs for equal future opportunities like majority children. I have chosen some important aspects of the theory of Cummins that are particularly relevant for migrant pupils, and the focus is on education policy and the teaching practice. These aspects chosen are primarily related to language and identity, culture and values and social aspects. It also includes parents' participation in the responsibility of education and the teacher students' opportunities to practice.

Based on the above mentioned research question and theories, I have studied relevant policy texts and framework plans for both the Norwegian national primary education, level 1 to 6, and the teacher education, in addition to the local curricula in three universities providing teacher training. In these universities I have interviewed professors and students in order to investigate how the policy for the migrant group seems to be implemented, and school directors' in the near area about their experiences of needed teacher competence in multicultural school.

It is part of my background as teacher in kindergartens and elementary school many years ago; and many years in Teacher Training for Pre-school Teachers with a responsibility to operationalise general political intentions. This has made me aware of how important it is to analyse and discuss what good intentions mean in the concrete everyday life. Still, we might agree in intentions, but disagree about consequences. My interest, therefore, has been to produce a relatively detailed picture of how intentions are concretised in documents and plans, and in professors, students and school directors thinking. Another interest has been to see how the different levels of education influence each other, to use the domino picture, does the effect of the angle of one brick have an effect on the next. I have looked for a broad approach to the questions mentioned, which might be concurrent with Cummins' and others' theories about the dynamics of multicultural education.

1.2.2 *Research literature*

Jim Cummins' article (2001/1986) I found to be a coherent presentation of the needs of migrant students, even if some aspects I had met before. Reports by Selame Kidane (2001) brought in the voices of refugee children and their needs. Refugee children were interviewed about their manifold experience. This was a touching eye-opener regarding the children's situation.

I found it particularly important to get an overview over experiences and theories, of political aspects, consequences for education and reported experiences of the impact. Bikhu Parekh with a rather varied experience as professor of political theories in different countries discusses in his book *Rethinking multiculturalism* (2006) the important aspects of equality, identity, cultural dynamics and political influence. Portes and Rumbaut's book *Legacies* (2001) is set in USA, but has a wider perspective, including school achievement, family influence, failures and general ideologies. Through references to other research work like Bernd Simon's : *Identity in Modern Society* (2004) one sees how many interesting nuances about identity for minority groups that are relevant. Also works by Frank van Tubergen

(2006) and Norwegian literature by Kamil Øzerk (2006) and Thor Ola Engen (2007) can be mentioned as rather relevant. Many presented views about diverse elements the school education had to care for, like Cummins', who was especially occupied with the teacher's role, language learning and parent's participation. Few gave a coherent presentation of the general qualifications teacher education ought to comprehend. Based on literature search I got hold of three important contributors, Xavier Besalú Costa (1997) from Catalonia, Spain, Nieto (2000 2002) and Marilyn Cochran-Smith (2004), both from USA. I wanted to see which special competences were emphasised in the education for teachers in the mentioned fields of language, culture, social science, cooperation with parents etc. as being relevant for the teaching in multicultural schools. Most cited authors are shortly presented in a foot-note.

1.2.3 Some language questions

My sources in this study are coming from several languages. Some of the documents I cite are published in English, some not, the interviews are accomplished in Norwegian, and the theory literature is mixed, mostly English and some Norwegian. The translations will be mine. This may have caused lack of nuances in certain cases. Some expressions are deliberately chosen. I use "mother tongue" instead of the more recent expression "first language" because I then think the origin is obvious. I also use "pupil" about the children in Norwegian elementary school instead of "student" often used in English literature, because I want to distinguish from "students" in Teacher Education. For the same reason I talk about "teachers" in elementary school and "professors" in teacher training. The Framework plan for teacher education defines teacher "competences", but also talks about "qualifications". Sometimes one may think that there are nuances between, as one might say that a qualification consists of many competences. On the other hand you might say that you qualify for language competence. I therefore do not make clear distinctions. In my ears the Norwegian word "samarbeid" have slightly other connotations than the word "cooperation", more in the direction of collaboration or perhaps interaction with mutual influence. The two parts are not on equal footing. But as the collaboration responsibility is declared in the Education Act I use both phrases because of stylistic variations. I do not think the distinctions have a decisive effect in this context. Sometimes I use "primary education, (school (grade 1 to 6), or sometimes elementary school (grade 1 to 10). I have analysed the subject plans for grade 1 to 6, the general principles are the same for the whole elementary education. Other concepts are discussed in the text.

I define the migration children in this study to be children in primary school either immigrated in Norway or born in Norway by two migrant parents. Most of these are of non-

European origin. In greater towns English-speaking or French families often have separate schools, and there are other regulations for children from the Scandinavian countries.

1.2.4 Research methods

In this study I primarily analyse literature and documents presenting important factors in the education of migrant children. The analyses form the basis for discussing how the factors might be related to each other and how relevant they are to the teacher education. In addition I have interviewed professors, students and directors of schools to get a closer picture of how the same factors are understood and valued from their perspective.

The main question in my Master thesis proposal was “What qualifications are important for teachers in multicultural classes?” The question might be answered generally, based on international research, and I refer to such literature, but focus my attention on the Norwegian situation. Theoretically speaking, I have based much of my investigation on the work of Jim Cummins, and as said, Cummins presented some important factors in the education of immigrant students. Compared with other theorists they did not always have the same fundamental view on what was important, but with such a varied literature, it has been necessary to choose a starting point. In my analysis I have tried to keep in mind goals for the education, the background and perspective of the writer, and at the same time how it was relevant to the expressed equality policy in Norway. In the analysis of the Norwegian policy documents I had to be conscious about the status of and relation between the policy documents, but still tries to see if the same factors and nuances of them could give clarifying answers. One extra challenge were factors like identity, language, culture or values that are many-faceted and to a certain degree intertwined.

In my “picture” of the field I also wanted to do interviews with professors, teacher students and directors at multicultural schools. By doing this I could to some extent check out the understandings that were present in the field without time-consuming observations. I could not do all researching simultaneously. Of practical reasons I had to start with interviews. I chose to follow the needed competence definitions in the Framework plan for Teacher Education, adding the cultural aspect, asking the informants about what they thought was most important when qualifying teacher students to teaching in multicultural schools. I used interview guides with the same structure, but some varied questions (App.I), relevant for the three categories informants: Professors (9), newly finished teacher students (4) and school directors of schools with minority pupils included (3). Of necessary, practical reasons the three universities had to help me with the team and the time plan. This meant that the

respondents accepted to become interviewed. Three of the interviews were carried out via telephone. One of these respondents did not feel comfortable with that. I have transcribed the interviews in order not to miss important details (Appendix II¹). The particular interview was also transcribed and is not referred to. Generally speaking it did not differ from the rest.

The factors used for discussing theories, analysing documents and interviews are already presented in the introduction: language, cultural identity, religion and values, cooperation between school and parents and how teacher training has to prepare the students in this field to equalise migrant children's future opportunities with majority pupils. The total data material gives a range of perspectives on the issues under investigation.

The Ministerial documents present the intended policy, the official plans for primary school and teacher education shows how this policy is meant to be implemented. The local plans for teacher education at the three universities exemplify local concretisation of the responsibility for teacher education in practice. The interviewed persons from different arenas expressed how apolitical aims and regulations ought to be or were implemented in teacher education, to develop competences for teaching in multicultural schools.

My analyse work was not only one process. First I had to decide what factors, already presented, were important for migrant pupils in school. To get the theoretical platform for these I tried to find nuances and views presented in literature. The next was to see what political documents and plans promised for migrant children's education. This could for example be what "equality" meant or which intentions and prescriptions for the different factors were presented, or how teacher education seemed to implement the policy to in the next run, be relevant for teaching in multicultural schools. So the one process was to see systematically what the documents said about the factors, but simultaneously to note how these could be regarded from theoretical views or seemed to harmonise with documents from other instances. The transcribed interviews. I analysed in the same way, from the point of view how students, professors and school directors evaluated teacher competences necessary for the multicultural school. The analysis has been challenging because the "factors" are not clear-cut, but intertwined in the policy, in human life, inside the single persons, in the mutual discourse between persons or inside groups. I had to be at least double-sighted. The dynamics between the factors is not casual: "if so then the result is that", but calls for further research.

¹ The transcription of interviews are not translated to English (103 p.) or included in this work, but available.

To keep some clarity in the written presentation I have therefore presented aspects under headlines, for example language and identity, language and culture, development of concepts, language learning, bilingualism etc.

My work with this analysis has made me more conscious of how many facets are to be taken into account in these matters. I still think my study, with its insecurities and reservations, has brought forth important nuances regarding the Norwegian intended education, the implementation of it and the realities.

Even if a lot of the results are limited to Norway, this in my opinion does not invalidate the analysis. There are coincidental results in my research. I feel sure that the results are worth taking into account when planning and effectuating a teacher education, both in Norway and other countries. Education and teaching are to some extent similar processes everywhere and part of the society.

2 Theoretical aspects of support for minority children

Already in the 1986 article Cummins referred to 20 years' experience with a high percentage of drop-out black students and students from Mexico or Puerto Rico. He presented an alternative to earlier compensatory programs. The reason for the reprinting of Cummins' article 15 years later was its relevance for the current debate. The hope of the editorial board was to solve "the problem of the minority achievement gap" (HER, 2001/1986: 649). The need of educational reforms for this purpose is evidently not a new challenge.

2.1 Power relations

2.1.1 Cummins' view on power

The heading of the introduction for the 2001 reissue points at the dynamism of discourse by asking: "Are the constructs of Power and Identity Relevant to School Failure?" (ibid: 649). In his introduction Cummins emphasises the importance of the reciprocal discourse of identity and power among the educators, the students and their parents, and the community. He refers to sociological and anthropological research where status and power relations are part of minority students' school failure. In 2000 Cummins' thoughts were presented in an article by Villamil Tinajero et al.: *Cummins, J.: Biliteracy, Empowerment, and Transformative Pedagogy*. He differentiates between coercive and collaborative relations of power between the teacher and the students.

Society and the school dominate the subordinate, immigrant group, he maintains. That means a coercive power relation. Cummins says in 1986 that individual educators are not powerless, even with a National Curriculum. What lacks is a will to acknowledge that the power structure in school reflects the power relation in society, and that this has a decisive influence on educational outcomes (2001/1986: 650). Cummins calls the alternative a "collaborative relations of power". This means an open discourse between teachers, minority students, their peers and parents, presenting their identities and cultural fundament. As differences between identities are open and accepted, he says, they get the power to change their life situation (ibid: 653). Cummins maintains that minority groups who show great school failures "tend overwhelmingly to be in a dominated relationship to the majority group" (ibid: 261).

Could the situation for immigrants from another culture be said to be predestined? Apparently immigrant children's situation in school seems to have been the same for decades. Based on elements in Cummins' and others theories we might see if his recipe is relevant from a

theoretical point of view and whether different theories modify what schools, teachers and consequently the Teacher Education have to achieve in the program for educating migrant children.

2.1.2 The power of a society

When Western, democratic countries open their borders for immigrants, it is a decision of their own. Having ratified the UN Convention on Refugees (1950/54) they then are open to receive the persons defined by the UN system (UNHCR) as refugees, but this has to be agreed. Asylum seekers coming directly to the country have to prove that they are entitled to be refugee persons. Apart from these groups others might be accepted. The first dilemma for a country is to define and decide who are invited. The next question is to define what kind of conditions they want to offer immigrants. One thing is that a treatment “as favourable as possible” (UN Refugees Convention, article 22) might be defined differently in different countries; another is that the “treatment” might seem to lead to inequality between minority and majority groups, not only in school results. Not all immigrants are refugees, they have, however, to accept the conditions set by the society.

2.1.3 The power of the teacher

An important element in Cummins’ perspective on power is that the power relation between teachers, students and their parents ought to be collaborative instead of coercive. (2001/1986). Students in this collaborative setting define and develop their identity in the interaction with their peers, teachers and parents. At the same time the dynamism between the groups is mutual. Teachers, being the formally responsible at school, have to respect and bring in students’ resources, their cultural identity with values, religion and perhaps first and foremost the mother tongue which is most important in all communication. This should be part of the school’s program. When being encouraged to use their own language, migrant students should develop their own knowledge. Parents and also peers have to be included in this respect. These aims seem to match the obligations of the Child Convention. One may ask how it is possible to accomplish this.

2.1.4 A powerless minority group?

,In his book *Identity in Modern Society* (2004), Bernd Simon² discusses theories, experiences and implications for minority groups and immigrants in a society. He says that being a

² Professor in sociology at Kiel University

member of a minority group is a permanent challenge, “if not a threat” to the persons’ well-being. It is especially serious if it is combined with a power disadvantage (Ibid: 131). Simon also discusses the implication of cultural differences. Cultural differences might be perceived as “immutable and insurmountable differences” and consequently obstacles between the indigenous people and immigrants (ibid: 152).

Differences do not only consist of facts. The attitudes and interests of the ones who perceive differences or similarities, are important, and may result in stereotypes. It seems as if it is necessary to fight against stereotypic images in all cultures. Immigrant minority groups and having a different culture are rather dependent on the majority’s attitude of acceptance or no acceptance. Acceptance is important for everyone, furthermore for children or students and their self-image. One knows that “well-being” most likely is a condition for good achievement. So, one might conclude that it is the societies’ definition of “fair treatment” that decides the status and future for immigrant groups, including the children, and what seems to be characterised by “coercive power”. Cummins’ positive statement that teachers at school are not powerless (2001/1986): 353), whatever the societal prescriptions might be, has to be discussed.

2.1.5 How power might be implemented

The concept of “power” is well known from political theory. It is domination, the ability to implement a political program, and this dominating power is evaluated differently if one agrees to the program or not Ichak Adizes.³, (1991) analyses the power relation for organisations more nuanced and generally than Cummins, out of a wish to make changes in the relationship in an institution. He presents four elements which may help to see the teachers’ possibility for collaboration or the opposite as s/he has:

1. The responsibility, her/his obligations in the work,
2. The authority, the right he/she has to implement actions or choose action policy
- 3) The power, the possibility to punish or reward and
- 4) The influence, not deciding for others, but to try to move them in this or that direction.

If we use these concepts on the teachers’ situation, it is easy to say that the responsibility (point 1) of the teacher is to develop the students’ possibilities according to the laws, the curriculum plans and regulations given by the society and also to the nation’s commitment to the Child Convention. He or she has the authority (point 2) within given regulations to define teaching methods or activities that may give the desired development for the students and the

³ Ichak Adizes is leading expert on organisational performance and change, with a PhD from Columbia University.

power (point 3) to punish or reward, to hinder or support, say “yes” or “no” as to registered signs of development. Lastly he/she has a possibility (point 4) to influence more indirectly, in the way he organises the teaching situation, communicates with the students, inspires, supports etc. To choose his teaching style is also part of his given authority, so the concepts might be interrelated. The student’s development is usually thought to be the object of the activities.

2.1.6 Different power levels

The levels of different official regulations also represent power, not disputed by Cummins (2001/1986). In Norway it is relevant to see what the policy expresses, if there is coordination between the levels, including the plans for primary school and teacher education, later returned to. The dynamics in a minority/majority situation together with the possibility of stereotyping cultural differences seem to be unfavourable to immigrants, including migrant students in the school setting who get a low self-image. Cummins’ idea is that openness to, and respect for, cultural differences in the dialogue between the teacher and the students will have a positive effect on the students’ perceptions of their own values, their “wellbeing” and feeling of identity. There is apparently a possibility for the teacher to choose his style of teaching and if the style is collaborative, it may support the students’ development.

Immigrants and their children arrive with another mother tongue, another culture and values, other experiences and often another status. The majority “owns” the language and the preconditions behind the society’s definition of the school content and organisation. The inequality is a fact, but the ideal in all conventions is that they shall have the same opportunities. The more general power relationship between different levels might be followed from policy to the pupil in school, the more consistent the education might become. Therefore it is of interest to see how power is implemented and what this means for the education of teacher students and the school situation for the migrant pupils and their parents, their language, culture and values.

2.2 Language, identity and education

2.2.1 Language, a central part of life

There are many facets in the function of language of which communication is a vital part of the development. Portes⁴ and Rumbaut⁵, in their book: *Legacies. The story of the immigrant*

⁴ Alejandro Portes, is Chair of the department of sociology at Princeton University (Princeton,

second generation (2001 113 ff.) say that the language from the childhood is “closely linked to the development of the self as well as to mental ability”. It also defines the limit of a nation or society. Therefore one is identified through the language both as a person and part of a nation. When migrants settle in a new nation they often meet a clear policy to learn the relevant language for this country. This has an important impact on the migrants’ cultural identity on the one hand, and on the other hand on their possibility to be acquainted with and being able to participate in the new culture. So, language is part of identity and at the same time a tool for developing identity. One side of the language function for migrants I want to clarify is its importance for cultural identity. Another side is the weight a monolingual versus a bilingual approach to education. The third aspect is development of concept understanding in a new culture.

2.2.2 *Identity and culture, aspects of language*

In history there are many examples of how important the preservation of their language is for the first generation emigrants. It protects their identity and their culture. Svein Mønnesland, professor at Oslo University, in his book: *Før Jugoslavia og etter*, (1999) describes how Slovenians preserved their cultural identity through hundreds of turbulent years living between Hungarian neighbours, Slavic, German and Roman Culture. The language seems to be important in this process. Some written texts have been preserved from 900. From 1550 the Slovene language was used in schoolbooks, later (1790) in their history. They got a grammar, newspaper, could use the language in administration (1848) and lastly got their independent status as a nation in 1991. Later the turbulent history seems to have consequences for minority groups in Slovenia. Sonja Novak Lukanovič (1997:113/114) refers to accepted bilingualism in groups of Italians and Hungarians. These groups are not new immigrants, so the situation is different. The bilingualism has for them a social and linguistic function, but is more relevant to school than other spheres of life.

Bikhu Parekh⁶ has presented many aspects of multiculturalism in his book *Rethinking Multiculturalism* (2006). The most basic level of culture is articulated through language, Parekh says, and continues: “Syntax, grammar and vocabulary divide up and describe the world.” Persons having the same language, share a possibility to discuss common and different cultural experiences. Learning a new language gives them the possibility to understand aspects in a new culture (Parekh, 2006: 143). Coming to a new country means that

⁵ Rubén G. Rumbaut is Professor of Sociology at Michigan State University.

⁶ Bikhu Parekh, professor at the Centre for Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster, UK.

the capacity to learn a new language is an essential part of the acculturation process. In short one's identity is expressed and developed through language. There are examples of effects it might have if one's mother tongue is prohibited. Tove Skutnabb Kangas⁷ (1997: 219) tells about Finnish children in Sweden who were prohibited to write in Finnish at school. The children learnt that it was despicable to be a Finn, and one, Antii Jalava, expressed it like this:

My mother tongue was worthless (...) it made me the butt of abuse and ridicule. So down with the Finnish language! I spat on myself, gradually committed internal suicide. (In Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, 164)

She continues: "Finnish children often reacted with silence (extreme shyness, mutism (Takač, 1974) or physical violence and playing truant (Tukomaa, 1973), and were highly over-represented in special classes (Kuusela, 1973)", (ibid,1997: 219).

The Norwegian linguist Pia Lane, (Stokland, 2006) has in her doctorate work (2006) compared the language policy to Kvens, a minority group of Finnish origin, in Norway and Finnish Kven immigrants in Canada. Earlier Norway wanted to "Norwegianise" the Kvens, while Canada has given the immigrants the possibility to keep their language and cultural heritage without special support. Lane said in a radio program that the Finns in Canada have contributed to Canadian economy. They are aristocrats among the immigrants and conscious of their two identities, first as Canadians, then as Finns. Norway wanted a one-language society. This gave the Kvens a double minority feeling. Pia Lane, who is herself a 7th generation Kven, says: "After I became an adult person I really understood how great the cultural loss has been." She got another relation to own culture, parents and grandparents after having learnt the Kven language. Lane's conclusion is: "If the new country receive you as the person you are, you get a feeling of belonging. "

The language is most decisively the tool for what Cummins (2001/1986) calls "negotiations" and for education. Kymlicka⁸ (in Parekh, 2006: 102 ff.) makes it clear that immigrants have to be required to learn the language of the new country, and to get acquainted with the history of the country and its form of government. He thinks that the newcomers ought to be somehow forced into the society. He accepts the importance of maintaining the culture and language for national minorities, but this is for their own sake. He distinguishes between immigrants and national minorities. Immigrants have left their home country voluntarily, and he will not grant them the same right to their own culture, a view that Parekh disagrees with.

⁷ Skutnabb-Kangas, Dr.philos at University of Roskilde, Denmark.

⁸ Will Kymlicka is a [Canadian political philosopher](#) best known for his work on [multiculturalism](#). He is currently [Professor](#) of Philosophy and [Canada Research Chair](#) in Political Philosophy at [Queen's University at Kingston](#).

Kymlicka does not seem to open up for “negotiations” between the teacher and the migrant students like Cummins advises, but points primarily at the integration at the social level. Armando Oliveira (2002) (Portuguese professor) who tries to find an explanation to the low interest for education shown by the Portuguese immigrants in Canada wonders about an effect of recognizing their background culture and says;

And let us go on to imagine the particular case of a school downtown in Toronto, attended by children of, say Portuguese, Italian, Nicaraguan Jamaican (----) and British background. One (----) wonder about the levels of self-esteem of some of these youths at the end of a class in which they were taught about the achievements of each one of these groups, as well as their respective contributions to the history of mankind. (AEMI. 2002: 152-159 ff).

He discusses the effect of self-esteem and concludes by referring to Portuguese youths with high self-esteem and low academic performance compared to Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian youths who have low self-esteem and good school results. One might wonder what different factors are important for “self-esteem”, and why. At least, one knows that having a common language for communicating across cultures is decisive for the opportunity of collaboration, education and mutual influence.

2.2.3 Language education

Cummins emphasises especially the aspects of openness to both languages as important for the learning process. The teacher who respects the students’ mother tongue, shows respect for their identity and culture. As the students learn a new language, it opens for what he calls mutual negotiations and development of identities and culture (Cummins, 2001/1986: 653). It also leads to a better understanding of the content and language structure. Consequently Cummins is a fervent advocate for bilingual education. In the articles (2000 and 2001/1986) he refers to a debate between supporters of bilingual education and those who argues that migrant children first and foremost have to learn and use the language of their new country. This discussion started already in the 1960s. A main argument from the bilingual supporters is that children cannot learn through a language they do not understand. Portes et al. give an example of how it is experienced, and cite:

----- When I sat in class those first few months, I was lost. I couldn’t follow the teacher. It was complete nonsense to me. I couldn’t talk to my classmates either. Actually, it was horrible.--- I felt stupid and ignorant for years before learning that there was nothing abnormal with me. ---In the COBOL class in my first year in college, I could not understand the teacher very well. After asking him something, he answered, “You gotta be really stupid to ask that question. Well, now I am the computer expert in my office” (2001: 128).

It is relevant to distinguish between an academic language which one needs five or more years to learn, relevant for education in schools (Høigård, 2006: 191), and the everyday

language is more easily mastered. Language competence is clearly decisive. Advocates for both monolingual and bilingual education refer to project experiences in the argumentation. In the article (Villamil et al.) from 2000 Cummins presents research projects and arguments used by both groups, but maintains that the experiences used as evidence by the one-language supporters are analysed in a deficient way. Portes and Rimbaut (2001: 131) have analysed second generation immigrant groups in English speaking classes. They discern between four levels of language acquisition in the immigrant group:

- 1) “Fluent bilinguals” who know their own language very well and English just at least well.
- 2) “English-dominant children” with fluency in English, with less knowledge of a foreign language.
- 3) “Foreign-dominant children” who know their parents’ language, but less the English
- 4) “Limited bilinguals” who do not have full competence in either language.

They find that the fluent bilinguals are “considerably” more competent at school than the rest of the students, including the monolinguals. Kamil Øzerk⁹ (1996: 174) refers to Lambert (1955) and says that fluent bilingualism is dependent on full support in both languages during childhood. A new OECD¹⁰ report about the Migrant Education in Norway (2009: 36) refers to other resources without a clear conclusion about effects except one, that mother-tongue teaching raise motivation, builds self-confidence, facilitate communication between school and their family. This result is, however, in term wit other experiences. With the category “limited bilinguals” Portes and Rimbaut define pupils meeting “forced language acculturation” (Portes et R., 2001: 210). They point at negative experiences for immigrant children having to learn English quickly. The result is lowered self-esteem, heightened alienation and a “tendency of loss of fluency in the original language” (ibid: 130).

2.2.4 Concept understanding

Another aspect, not always underlined, is the connection between experiences of different kinds and fully understanding of the content of concepts. (Øzerk (1996: 181) who refers to Vygotsky¹¹, emphasises the importance of background knowledge, experiences and insight for the understanding of concepts. Thor Ola Engen¹² (2007: 75) also refers to Vygotsky who says that the child has a web of everyday concepts or spontaneous concepts. Consequently, concepts in a new country’s language might cover parts of life in this country with few

⁹ Øzerk, professor, dr.polit. in pedagogy at Oslo University, Norway

¹⁰ OECD Reviews of Migrant Education for Norway was presented in an informal meeting of OECD Ministers of Education in Oslo 9. June 2009.

¹¹ Vygotsky was born in 1896 in [Orsha](#), in the [Russian Empire](#) . Graduated from [Moscow State University](#) in 1917. He attended the Institute of Psychology in Moscow (1924–34), where he worked extensively on ideas about cognitive development. HIS work is still being explored..

¹² Engen, professor at Hamar University College, Norway

parallels in the newcomer's earlier life. To develop understanding might sometimes depend on real life experiences in the new country more than explanations, even in their own language. Engen (ibid: 75) emphasises that the organising of the subject content and the vitalising of the pupil's spontaneous concepts is dependent on the collaboration between teacher and pupil. Another possibility is that students with different backgrounds and perhaps also different capacity for language learning might need varied methods for their learning. Øzerk (1996: 182) cites Cummins and McNeely (1987: 80), who say: "(---) there is an underlying cognitive proficiency that is common across languages."

Portes' and Rumbaut's work supports Cummins' views of the impact of respect for the immigrants' language and culture in the education. "Losing a language is also losing a part of one's self that is linked to one's own identity and cultural heritage" is their summing-up (2001: 144). This might be especially important in the starting period. Little by little new concepts relevant for the life in a new country also need real experiences to be meaningful to the pupils, I think. To what degree this is cared for in Norwegian education is a question to be looked into in another work.

2.3 Cultural differences, identity and equal possibilities

It is often emphasised that the immigrants in a European country have a different cultural background, especially when they come from the "third world" or sometimes even from the Eastern part of Europe. It is registered through their language; way of behaving, sometimes clothing and for some groups their skin colour.

To meet the migrants who are supposed to stay and become citizens in a country it is important to know what the cultural differences mean, what importance they have both for the migrant group and the host country.

2.3.1 What is culture?

In his book (2006) Bikhu Parekh claims that culture is a "historically created system", a way of both understanding and organising human life (ibid: 143). If you stereotype a culture you think of it as conserved, unchangeable. It has, however, "no coordinating authority", Parekh maintains, "(---) so, it remains a complex and unsystematic whole". In addition to the language, you find culture of a society in "proverbs, myths, rituals, symbols, collective memories, customs, traditions, institutions, manners of greeting" (ibid: 143-144).

Kevin Robins (in Hall and Gay ed., 2003: 52) expresses similar opinions in his article *Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe*, saying: “Europe must be open to cultural interruption. Without this there is only the past. Through it is the opportunity of redeeming the hopes of the past” (Culture encompasses the language, the social and religious values and their impact for life. Being historically developed it has the consequence that the future culture of a nation and its immigrants is open for different impressions and possible changes, what supports constructive ideas. This describes a policy for the national level, but must have implications also for the education of the youngest generation.

2.3.2 Cultural processes in school

. On the more personal level the cultural identity encompasses the whole way of living. Every child develops its cultural identity through the family life, the surroundings and education at school. Starting life in a new country means new surroundings and a school life based on another country’s culture, and the family is affected as well. As part of this process Cummins wants to open for “a process of negotiating identities” inside school. Behind this “negotiation” is the idea that identities and cultures are not static, like Parekh (2006) maintains, but develops over time through mutual communication. Cummins says: “Curriculum and instruction focused on empowerment, understood as the collaborative creation of power, start by acknowledging the cultural, linguistic, imaginative and intellectual resources that children bring to school” (1986/2001: 653). The aim is equal future opportunities for students with different backgrounds. So, you have to start where the students are with their abilities. The mutuality is important to him.

Parekh maintains (2006: 240) that equality can be expressed at four different, but interrelated levels, 1) equality of “respect and rights”, 2) “opportunity to self-esteem, self worth”, 3) “equality of power, well-being” and 4) “the basic capacities required for human flourishing”. He means that one has to show sensitivity to differences at every level. Parekh goes further than Cummins in discussing general implications. As the backgrounds of migrants are different, the consequence might be to give migrants different treatment for equal future opportunities in the new country. To enforce this unequal treatment for later equal possibilities needs special evaluations in the various situations. Examples where it is relevant to give special treatment might easily be found in the group of migrants with a traumatic background who need social security or in the case of illiteracy when language support is necessary. “While some additional rights of minorities are meant to equalise them to the rest,” Parekh says, “others are designed to promote (---) collective goals as social harmony, cultural

diversity and a common sense of belonging” (2006: 263), which also implies a kind of mutuality between the students. Therefore the acculturation process is relevant for both the majority and minority groups, like the idea in Child Convention.

2.3.3 Limits of equal opportunities

Brian Barry¹³ points at the socioeconomic, literacy and enlightenment status of the family (2006: 46 ff). It gives a child a decisive background for the later course, even in the mother’s pregnancy for example important to the later development and health situation, so he or she tends to fall behind at every level. This does not free the society from responsibility, as far as possible, to give the child better possibilities in education to turn the course of late development, he maintains (ibid: 69). There is an economic limit, however, for what kind of support a society might provide. One might say that there are deprived children not only in the minority group, but probably more if it consists of refugees and asylum seekers. Parekh points at another limit for a society (2006: 263). A society cannot lose its coherence. If one passes a point of accommodation to different minorities it might cause disorientation, anxiety and resistance in society. To what degree the different students’ or pupils’ cultural baggage might be brought into the context of the school, is left as an open question. In the negotiation between students and teachers that Cummins advice, the responsibility for a teacher will be to find in a point of accommodation, Parekh underlines. With differential treatment of students with different culture there is the question how to balance between discrimination and privilege (Parekh, 2006: 242).

These are the dilemmas a teacher has to face in his everyday life when evaluating how to meet the students, to build the education on their personal and cultural resources, to “negotiate” with them to give them equal future opportunities. For a teacher and the school, with for example children from 8 nationalities in the class, it is evidently a challenge to find the balance in the degree of individualisation inside the group, to incorporate the cultural differences to support the cultural identity of all children and also to see the cultural differences as a common resource that influences the school content. On the other hand there is the obligation to see the limit for changes or adaptations the host country represented by the school might put up, when equalising the future opportunities for the pupils.. As long as the family’s culture is decisive for the children, the parents’ participation has to be taken into account. This I will return to.

¹³ Brian Barry, Professor Emeritus of Political Philosophy and Science at Columbia University and the London School of Economics. The book *Culture Equality* 2001, reprinted 2006.

2.4 Religion and values, an aspect of cultural identity

2.4.1 General reflections

National values are often tied to religious values and therefore decisive for the group one belongs to or the family life and also on the individual basis. Adaptation disputes are well known in questions of religion or values. How such questions are met in different countries varies. In some countries religion is not part of school education; nevertheless it will influence the school situation as religion is part of the pupils' or students' cultural identity. A well-known example from France is classic. It is the fervent discussions about Muslim students' right to wear a hijab compared with Christians wearing a small cross. A similar discussion in Norway these days has been if the use of the hijab veil might be combined with a uniform for Muslim women in the police. Brian Barry (2001: 33) refers to Peter Jones who suggests that "if we leave aside the religious component of culture, there should be few, if any problems of mutual accommodation arising from cultural diversity". Barry admits that many examples could support this view, and says that religious values might be experienced more imperative than norms supported only by custom. One question would then be how religion and culture possibly might be separated. One might also wonder if not a secular value like the Western "democracy" might just as well cause hard conflicts at least on the national level, or the consequences of "family pride" in other cultures on a more private level, but this is another discussion.

2.4.2 The importance of religion

Nevertheless, religion is important today, also for children. The Child Convention article 30 (similar to the Human Convention) emphasises the children's right to "enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language. This is not directly mentioned in connection with the education. Neither does Cummins discuss the connection between respect for culture and religion in school, most likely because religion is not a school subject in Canada. In an article about immigrant religion in the US and Western Europe (Foner and Alba, 2008) it is maintained that religion is a problematic area in Western Europe in contrast to the United States, where it is seen as facilitating adaptation. Europe is more secular than USA, they argue. Europe has received proportionally more Muslims than USA, while immigrants in USA represent to a greater degree Christianity, even if this picture is a bit changing in USA. The historic relations between the state and religious groups in Europe lead to great difficulties in accepting new religions; while religious groups in USA are

regarded to fill an important, social doorway to the greater society. An example of this is presented in an article by R. Stephen Warners (2007: 110) where a study by Mary Waters of Afro-Caribbean families in New York is referred. She says about the ethnical rooted church: “Many of the churches also ran peer discussion and recreation groups, which reinforced parental values---. “ These churches gave social support to parents and a sense of identity and belonging to the adolescents; many had very active teen and adult programs to ease the transition into life in the United States.”

2.4.3 Religion in school

From the emigration history to America we know that the Norwegians had to accept the public school without religion for the children because of economic reasons. Consequently the Norwegian Church took the responsibility for the religious education. The Catholic Church developed and could pay for their own school on American premises and could then include the religious education. In Norway the state religion has been the fundament in the education until recently. Because of more immigrants there is a change in the situation. We return to the change.

The role of the church in the acculturation process is one thing. Quite another is how religion should be presented in school today. This has the late years been an issue of debate in the perhaps more secularised Norway, so it is of interest to have a look at theoretical discussions with different perspectives. Parekh (2006) points at the importance religion had in the political life, for example in India’s struggle for independence, in anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa, anti-racist movements in France, in Britain, Germany and the Netherlands. He maintains that shared religious knowledge is as important for citizenship as history or geography or the constitution of a society. Therefore he is quite clear that religion ought to be part of the school teaching. If not, he says, “- children will have to depend on their families and religious organisations, which would only expose them to their own religion and that too from a narrow sectarian standpoint” (Parekh, 2006: 331 ff.). This means religious education, not religious training or indoctrination. It is important to know, he maintains, something about the origin and development of the great religions, how they shape or are formed by the cultures or societies.

In his book *Immigrant Integration*, Frank van Tubergen¹⁴ (2006: 167) has made some research work about the sociology of religion among immigrants. Parents’ religion is

¹⁴ Professor of Sociology at Utrecht University. Research: Migration and Social Stratification.

important for the children. Later they are influenced by other values in school through ideas of the teachers. Others that might influence are friends, later partners and social or religious groups. This might support Parekh's view that school ought to give general, objective information about the importance of religion and its connection with the cultural values of a society. This seems to be essential to give a basis for the young students evaluating one's own conviction or the values of one's society when meeting different influences from various groups.

It points at both the importance of own culture included the religion, but also to the future situation for the pupils or students as citizens of a society where they have to become competent to find their own way. The question of great importance also for migrant parents is how their children are met in school and how they are prepared for the future. It includes accept of cultural and religious values as a foundation for the whole way of life, but also the school's preparation to a life in a new and partly understood society. Therefore the collaboration with parents is an important part of the school's obligation.

2.5 Parents, a resource in school education

2.5.1 The immigrant parents' situation

Jim Cummins is rather clear about the importance of dialogue between immigrant parents and school. Both women and men have to accept that their roles will become affected settling in another country. This is relevant for all generations. Examples of needed reorganisation for families are referred in a book about how to meet immigrant children and families. One story is about a Lao family in USA (Bednorz and Caldwell, 2004: 100 ff.). Respected elders in a Lao family feel degraded as they have to get language assistance by the young ones; they are not the wisest any more. Children acquire knowledge that the adults in the family never have heard about. The Lao women will little by little enter in jobs, getting their own money. Men lose prestige either with accepting manual jobs or by needing re-education to be accepted in similar jobs they are used to. The Lao people lived in a culture where they didn't have to climb the prestigious scale, now they have to learn to compete. Then each of the family members has challenges, separately and in their relation. This is not a single example. Portes and Rimbaut (2001: 51-52) point at the dangers when children become "their parents' parents" and have to define their own situation before they are mature to evaluate the

consequences. The parents are powerless without knowledge of language and culture in the new country, an important nuance for the school to realise.

A Swede research work presented by Annick Sjögren (KRUT nr. 97-98: 11 ff.) analyses systematically the problems immigrant parents experience in a new country. They meet a school with educational principles that they are not acquainted with, get the information in a foreign language. They often emigrate to give their children the best future possibilities and are prepared to accept a foreign school system. Nevertheless some become sceptical, having a different understanding of discipline and respect, of knowledge and also the more open hierarchical system. At the same time they want their children to be devoted to the culture of the country they left. This might lead to ambivalence from the parents. Portes and Rumbaut are presenting the children's experience being conscious that their parents have made sacrifices on their behalf. They might get a sense of obligation to do well which they find difficult to handle (2001: 192).

One moment to be aware of is the different impact one might see between mothers' and fathers' influence on children's school success. In an international research work ALL¹⁵ (Gabrielsen et al, 2007: 40) the researchers found characteristics for not-western immigrant children in mastering of reading- and mathematic assignments in Norwegian language, related to father's and mother's education level. The mother's education on secondary or university level gave eight times greater possibility for the child to become successful on the highest level in the test. The father's education did not have this impact. A result like this is of interest for schools in their contact with the families.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child presents the obligation in education to develop respect for the child's parents, like Cummins (2001/1986) prescribes the teachers' respect towards and collaboration with the children's parents. For Cummins it seems as this communication has at least four important aspects, a) for the child's identity development, b) for their school results, c) for the parents' understanding of the school society and d) for the school's "picture" of the pupils' background. In the children's development of identity in a foreign country they go through this process in the interaction with their teachers, parents, and peers. He says: "Within these interpersonal spaces where identities are negotiated, students and educators together can generate power that challenges structures of inequities (---)" (2001/1986: 653).

¹⁵ ALL, Adult Literacy and life skills, is an international mapping of competence in reading- and mastering . The referred result is the sum of results from 6 countries bu Egil Gabrielsen and Bengt Oscar Lagerström.

2.5.2 Collaboration, a win-situation for all

OECD (June 2009: 38) refers to an evaluation of the work of an organisation for Parents (Mir) to improve cooperation between minority parents and schools in Norway. It shows that parents gained self-confidence and greater understanding of themselves as a resource for their child's learning.

One might say that mutual respect and coherence in psychological surroundings of the child supports the child, and enhances their personal development. This openness is also important for the discourse between the teacher and the child and also the parents to process the worries about cultural differences. Not least is it important for parents to understand the school society. As psychological stress between teachers, students and their parents in and about the school situation, is replaced with understanding and accept, energy is released to the learning situation. A better understanding among parents for the school society and the cultural aspects might also be a precaution against intergenerational conflicts later on. I have not found any voice protesting against the importance of open communication and collaboration, but some descriptions of cultural and linguistic challenges. A dynamic situation in the relation between different parts can not be described in a simple way like "if you do this, the result is that". Most likely, the openness, respect and discourse in the school setting contribute to mutual understanding and respect of cultural characteristics, parents included, like the Child Convention prescribes. Teaching is a dynamic situation where knowledge, skills and attitudes have to function as a totality. The question for a young teacher is to get the competence needed in multicultural groups, which means a good start.

2.6 Possible consequences for Teacher Education

2.6.1 The teachers' influence

Either we listen to Cummins' ideas for education of migrant pupils or have a look at the Child Convention we see concurrent factors teachers have to take into account for all children. These are the importance of mutual respect for the pupils' language; respect for cultural identity including values, and for their parents. The mutuality underlined in the Child Convention implies the intended equal rights between minority and majority groups. Cummins ascribe important responsibility and power to teachers and schools, to secure equal education to minorities and majorities because of their power opportunities. This aspect is also relevant in the Teacher Education.

A research from Portugal gives an example of teaching without care for minority pupils by putting a light on reasons for Cape Verdean immigrant pupils from a slum area dropping out of school (Ferreira, M. M. and Cardoso, A. J. 2004: 79ff). Summing up the reasons the pupils gave, one found language difficulties and failure, no interest in school activities. They could not see that the school prepared for future life, they had difficulties in relation with teachers or colleagues, or they needed to work at home. The last reason points at the socioeconomic status, an important aspect, but not included in this work. Apart from that, it points at language problems, communication and social problems and a school that did not feel relevant for them, or one could say culture. The researchers' conclusion is that the students' Creole language is not included in the education, even if the Portuguese law opens for support. The majority of teachers did neither know nor respect the importance of the language for the pupils' learning. In addition Ferreira et al. mention misunderstanding of cultural differences. The students behaved differently. The families were considered dysfunctional and teachers met the students with low expectations. In short, the Cape Verdean students have problems with language, they are not regarded as a resource, their culture included their family life in slum areas, is not accepted. The teachers did not expect any effort from them, and the content of the education was not relevant for a future the students could imagine. The teachers and the school did not meet their needs, and they quitted.

There seems to be more literature about what teachers in schools ought to do than how teacher education might prepare student teachers to their work. Sonia Nieto¹⁶ has a speciality in multicultural education. In an article (2000) and a book (2002) she presents perspectives on teacher education for a multicultural school in a "new" century. In the article (2000: 187ff.) about the language question, she is concerned about bilingual teachers.

2.6.2 The language question

Nieto's advice is directed to American teachers who are not bilingual. The importance for them, she says, is to become familiar with first- and second language learning, to be conscious of how it is to learn a new language, perhaps also do it themselves. The practice in school is often to separate minority pupils in some of the education from the majority group. This means that the bilingual teachers in school are separated from colleagues, and feel "estranged, dismissed or ignored by their peers and supervisors" (ibid: 189). This hinders collaboration and both lingual and cultural information. This is an organisational question at school which

¹⁶ Sonia Nieto, Professor of Language, Literacy and Culture at the University of Massachusetts

one could say is important for student teachers to be aware of. Understanding the importance and process of learning a second language opens for collaboration with bilingual teachers, and might open for cultural knowledge near to hand.

2.6.3 *Cultural competence*

As to knowledge about culture she emphasises awareness of their socio-cultural and socio-political context of education. She describes American teachers to be “White, middle-class, English-speaking women with little experience with people different from themselves, teaching in white middle-class societies” (2000: 196). It is important to make student teachers conscious of personal and institutional discrimination, personal biases, to be both self-critical and critically analytic of the education system (2001: 188). This is underlined by a Spanish professor Xavier Besalú Costa¹⁷ who says that the training of “critical” teachers consists of 3 elements” (1997: 187) :

- A cultural portfolio with clear political direction to analyse the context and the world critically (---).
- Development of critical reflection in daily educational practice, curriculum and school organisation.
- Development of attitudes that define the intellectual analyst with a political and ethical commitment to school and society.

This means that included in teacher education a critical light has to be put on the teacher, the teaching and expressions of culture of the society to get aware of possible discrimination inside or outside the school. Both Nieto (2002) from USA and Costa (1997) from Spain emphasise how necessary it is for future teachers to have a critical perspective to teaching, because it is complex and laden with values. “Teachers need to confront racism and other biases at school” ((Nieto, 2000: 202).

Furthermore Nieto (2000) underlines knowledge of the history and the experiences that different groups in the country and in the relevant district have. Included is also the country’s language policy and practice throughout the history. This might be called background knowledge. It is somehow nuanced by Costa (1997) who says: “Intercultural education does not consist in having teachers with an exhaustive knowledge of every existing culture in their school” (Costa, 1997: 191) His advice is therefore to start with the cultural context of each person and emphasise similar features and relativise differences. In this way it opens for communication between pupils and teachers or pupils from different cultures, and the static power between minority and majority groups is broken. This is parallel to Cummins’

¹⁷ Costa, professor at a university in Girona, Spain. His article is in Woodrow, D : Intercultural education (---), 1997. Regrettable enough, the rest of the literature from Costa is in Spanish or Catalan language, he confirms.

“disempowerment through classroom interaction” (2001/1986: 652). Behind this, one also finds the opinion that culture is not static (Parekh, 2006, Robins, 2003), but open for influence and reflection. The competence of the teacher lies in close contact with foreign cultural traditions and “make a deep study of cultural, political and social sociology”. The ideal for the teacher is to become “a mediator between the pupil’s own real culture and the external public of scientific culture” (Costa, 1997: 191).

This implies that it should not be centred in cultures of origin, nor in the relationship between cultures, because it would imply too great a danger of working with stereotypes and forgetting individual reality” (ibid: 191).

We remember that also Cummins (2001/1986) and Simon (2004) warned against stereotyping cultural differences. Costa’s aim is to enhance communication between people from different cultures. “Intercultural education”, he says, “is a new name for an education of equality for all” (1997: 199). This is in accordance with Nieto (2000) as she stresses the ability to adapt the curriculum and to choose suitable pedagogical approaches for multicultural student groups. It puts a great responsibility to teachers’ openness, their critical, communicative and evaluating abilities.

2.6.4 Practice experience

Costa (1997: 197) is quite clear that teaching “can not be derived from the assimilation of academic knowledge”. He calls it an “(---) acquisition process through a permanent dialogue with the real situation”. He even calls it a process of action research where the teacher is participating and questioning his/her own beliefs, and at the same time reconstruct reality (ibid: 198).

Howard and Aleman (2008: 168) present the important of good practice like this:

The documentation of best practices will continue to be instrumental in teacher capacity for diverse learners. While (---) teacher capacity is centred on what teachers need to know, more attention should be placed on what they do in classrooms (---). While many novice teachers are equipped with sound theoretical knowledge of subject matter, pedagogy, and critical consciousness, the transfer of that meaningful teaching practice is frequently an surmountable obstacle. Further examination and documentation of best practices can serve as useful models (----).

There is full agreement that to see good practice and to experience own practice for student teachers is naturally a part of an intercultural Teacher Education (Cochran-Smith¹⁸ et al. 2004, Costa (1997), Nieto(2000)). The same reflections around the language and culture aspect

¹⁸ Dr. Marilyn Cochran-Smith , Director of doctoral program in curriculum and instruction st Boston College, Lynch School of Education.

are relevant. Therefore, the possibility for teacher students through practice, both as observers and own experience, is essential.

2.6.5 *Collaboration with parents*

For Nieto it is necessary to be able to communicate effectively with parents coming from different cultures with different languages and social-class backgrounds. She says that teacher education programs do not develop students to leadership or the important skills they need in the later work with parents (2002: 197). Marilyn Cochran-Smith et al, (2004: 951) emphasises this aspect from a different angle. She says: “(---) prospective teachers need to develop cultural competence to work effectively with parents and families, draw on community and family resources, and know how to learn about cultures of their students”. The dialogue seems to be quite important like in Costa’s advice to make a portfolio (1997). You meet the migrants where they are. No doubt that they regard parents’ involvement in school important. A more open question is how they mean the competence to lead the collaboration work with parents is developed in teacher education.

2.6.6 *Main points*

The necessity of language competence for teachers in the teaching situation is evident. The teachers’ knowledge of how it is to learn a second language is underlined, because it gives understanding of the migrant pupils’ extra task. It would possibly be an adequate summary of the views on cultural importance to cite Howard and Aleman (2008: 162):

Socio-cultural theorists have posited that a nuanced and complex notion of culture is necessary to understand the culture-pedagogy-cognition connection.” They suggest “examining culture as a construct that influences cognition, motivation, modes and means of interaction, and ways of viewing the world.

The cultural background is so important for the pupils’ ideas and values, their way of looking at the world around, and for their whole identity that the differences has to be taken into account in the teaching situation. Teachers have to understand how the teaching is apprehended. It is even stronger emphasised by Cochran-Smith saying that multicultural issues must be central to the rest of the curriculum of the Teacher Education, not as an option or a single course. It could be a major part of the Teacher Education, and secure coherence in the cultural competence; she maintains¹⁹ (2004: 953). It is also underlined the necessity of developing a critical and self-critical attitudes to teaching, to meeting migrants with stereotypes or hidden values.

¹⁹ Cochran-Smith refers to a book by Villegas and Lucas: *Educating Culturally Responsive Teachers: A Coherent Approach*.

A crucial point in the teacher education is to give teacher students the possibility to observation of good practice and experience from the real teaching situation and not least, with communication with the pupils' parents. With this teaching competence for teachers of the Cape Verde pupils, the pupils' future possibilities would most probably be improved. Hopefully, to analyse the Norwegian curriculum plans gives a picture of an including school.

3 Migrant children in the Norwegian primary school

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Assimilation, acculturation, integration or inclusion

Norway is a multicultural society. It is said in official documents, for example in the Strategic Plan from the Ministry of Education and Research: *Early Education in Practice* (2008) where the theme is: “Education in a multicultural society”. What implications this has on a general level is not obvious. Luksič Hacin²⁰ says in an article *Multiculturalism* (1999 ?): “(---) multiculturalism can today mean everything and therefore declares almost nothing”. To see what it means in a country one has to go to descriptions of the relation between the migrants from different cultures and the host society. Different concepts are used to describe the aims of a society for immigrants’ relation to the receiving society, the migrants’ position, their societal rights and obligations etc. In literature the same concept might cover different aspects dependent on the writer, if he/she for example, is a sociologist, anthropologist or a pedagogue. The question of degree of assimilation in a culture is raised for immigrants whose culture is rather different from the culture in the host country. Generally one might say it often follows the lines of non-white people moving to a “white” country based on a Western culture or European norms. With total assimilation is often understood that the immigrants have to give up own culture and be “naturalised” like any other inhabitant in the country. Milton Gordon has described different variables and degree of assimilation if it for example means a change of cultural behaviour (acculturation), a possibility to be included in institutions of the host society (structural level), being married across cultures or meeting no prejudice or discrimination (1964: 71). He summarises the general integration development like this: “Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow” (ibid: 81).

The policy for Norway is described in different White papers and reports. A SOPEMI-report²¹ presented the Norwegian Policy like this (2006, section10.1):

Government’s clearly articulated goal is that Norway should be an inclusive society in the sense that everyone living in Norway, regardless of their background, should have equal opportunities to contribute to and participate actively in society. Immigrants and their descendants should be able to achieve equal living conditions compared to the rest of the population.

²⁰ Professor at Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies/University of Nova Gorica, Ljubljana

²¹ Sopemi-report 2005-2006 for OECD’s reporting system from the Ministry of Labour and Social Inclusion.

Brochmann (in Brochmann, Borchgrevink Rogstad (2002: 52) maintains that there is a change in the Norwegian policy for immigrants the late 30 – 40 years. In the 1970's ethnic minorities should be protected against the majority. The immigrant was in focus. Now it is important to integrate migrants as citizens in the society rapidly (ibid: 37).

In the *Action Plan for Integration and Social Inclusion of the Immigrant Population and Goals for Social Inclusion* (later: Acton Plan) from the same Ministry, 2006, the Minister enhances the “inclusive society” from the SOPEMI report and introduces the Action plan like this: ”Norway intends to be the most inclusive society in the world.” Introduction courses and education rights have to secure immigrants to become able to contribute to the society “according to abilities and aptitudes”. “Several places in the Action plan the “rapidity” that Brochmann mentions, one finds, for example in the statement p. 9: “The government wants to see refugees and families settled as quick as possible, so they can contribute their resources to working life and social life as quickly as possible.” (my underlining). The same year the Antidiscrimination Act passed which means a step in the direction of including. We see that concepts of integration and inclusion are used pell-mell in official documents. One could, however, discuss in another context, what seems to be most important, “to contribute and participate in society” or “achieve equal living conditions”. The premises for inclusion are interesting. The concept is discussed in connection with special education (including children with a minority language). One wants to move from accentuating “learning difficulties to “rights” to look at opportunities rather than supporting self-fulfilling negative prophecies (Thomas and Loxley 2007: 125). It might be relevant also in Norway. So far, the use of the two concepts of integration and inclusion are alike in different curriculum plans, and so also in this research, but there is a tendency to underline the obligation to contribution quickly.

3.1.2 The situation in primary education

Norway is divided into 19 administrative regions, called counties, and 430 municipalities. Municipalities are the smallest unit of local government in Norway and the municipalities are responsible for elementary education (1st through 10th grade). The counties are responsible for upper secondary education. At the upper level The Ministry of Education and Research has the responsibility for the total education system. In the year 2007/2008 there were 616 391 pupils in the Norwegian primary and lower elementary school. In this group (6-15 years) 9% are immigrant children or children where both parents are immigrants (Statistics Norway). There are great differences in the percentages of immigrant pupils between the single counties

and also the municipalities or the schools throughout the country. Every municipality has immigrants.

The main question is how the teacher education qualifies to teaching in a multicultural school, therefore the Framework Plan for Teacher Education is important to analyse. Before analysing how the aims and content of the Norwegian teacher education qualifies for this teaching, it is of interest to clarify how the primary school is supposed to care for minority children, expressed in the curriculum plan (later Knowledge Promotion) and relevant documents.

3.2 Knowledge Promotion and political aspects

There could be many aspects to choose in analysing how official documents present the school's obligation for minority children. I want to see how intentions in the Education Act (amended 2005) and in general parts of Knowledge Promotion are implemented in the separate plans for the subject, relevant to migrant children. To systematise the elements I mainly use aspects already theoretically discussed. Who decides what to do in education, where lies the power? Do the immigrant's language and culture have a place in the classroom? What are the goals and the intentions of values connected to equality and identity development, cultural and social values, included religion? Are social and societal goals implemented? How are the possibilities for parents' participation? These elements are somehow intertwined, but relevant to an aim of "empowering the students" according to Cummins. All this is dependent on policy, plans, regulations, economic resources and the teacher's competence and evaluations, or one might say power, when implementing the plan. The integration policy is primarily expressed in The Education Act and different documents from the Ministry of Education. In the Education Act (2005, Section 1-2) the object of education is presented like this:

The object of primary and lower secondary education shall be, in agreement and collaboration with the home, to help to give pupils a Christian and moral upbringing, to develop their mental and physical abilities, and to give them good general knowledge so that they may become useful and independent human beings at home and in society.

Further on equal status and equal rights are emphasised, intellectual freedom, tolerance and international responsibility together with a foundation of knowledge, culture and basic values. The teaching has to be adapted to the abilities and aptitudes of individual pupils, like Parekh (2006) finds relevant for equality reasons.

The latest curriculum plan, Knowledge Promotion, was presented in a preliminary edition 2006 and came in a final edition 2008. This plan included a general introduction from 1997, named “Core Curriculum” with some new comments added (English edition 1999, referred to in this document). It was a comprehensive presentation of principal aims for the education. This Core Curriculum has survived several governments with shifting political colours. The previous government presented a Strategic plan for better teaching and greater participation of linguistic minorities 2004-2009: *Equal Education in Practice* (later Strategic Plan). This document was adopted by the new Ministry (2006) with slight differences for the period 2007-2009. This is another kind of evidence that the Norwegian goals for the school have been relatively stable in varied plans. One may say that the 2006 election declaration (Strategic Plan: 7) from the new government seems to be characteristic for general Norwegian intentions:

The Government intends to work against racism and for a tolerant, multicultural society. Everyone should have the same rights, responsibilities and opportunities, regardless of ethnic background, gender religion, sexual orientation or functional ability. Diversity makes Norway a richer society (pp. 72-73).²²

Other questions are, however, how to reach these aims, how the teaching is best organised, priorities of content and subjects etc. This has caused a constant political and general discussion and varied plans. In the last edition of Knowledge Promotion each subject plan is presented with the aim of the plan, the main areas of the subject without defining the content, the teaching time available, the main skills in the subject and the aims of the subject for different levels. This gives teachers great responsibility to fulfil general intentions.

3.3 *Equality, a main value*

According to The Education Act (section 1-2), the whole school system has an obligation to further the equal status and equal rights. Equality is described to the main value behind the multicultural education. This is underlined in the Core Curriculum (1998) of the Knowledge Promotion (2006/2008). The Christian and humanistic values are described as demanding, fostering tolerance and providing room for other cultures and customs. It places equality, human rights and rationality at the top. The equality aspect is strongly emphasised in phrases like “Society is responsible for ensuring that equality of educational opportunity is a reality (...)” or “all persons are created equal” (ibid: 23). It also implies respect for and knowledge about other cultures. The equality aspect leads to a responsibility to oppose prejudice and

²² From the Soria Moria Declaration (election declaration) presented Des. 2005

discrimination. It also deals with possible conflicts and the right to stand up against being violated. Intellectual freedom means a room for different views and possibilities to stand for one's own conviction. In the equality aspect is included "those whose skills differ from those of the majority" (ibid 26). As equality is an important value this is relevant for the education of all pupils and students. This indicates both a respect for the national identity and the personal identity. That this equality aspect might lead to differences in the adaptation of the education to the individual person is also clarified in a pamphlet from the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, saying: "To ensure Equality in education for all, positive discrimination is required, not equal treatment". The history of the Kvens (Pia Lane) shows how the Norwegian policy has changed. Now it is in accordance with Parekh's views that equality might need unequal conditions. To which degree unequal cultural premises are included in the education or how "diversity makes Norway a richer society" like the government declared, is not clarified. The answer seems to be adapted teaching, which I return to.

3.4 *The language question*

3.4.1 A short historic perspective

Kamil Øzerk (2006: 59 ff) describes Norway's changing language policy for minorities. In the 1980s a great part of migrant pupils has received education both in their mother tongue and Norwegian in the whole period of elementary school. The official goal was bilingualism for linguistic minorities until 2000. During the period 1993 until 2000 the aim of bilingual education became more unclear and also the reality. In connection with the new curriculum plan 1997 for elementary education the Government decided that the official plan about bilingualism had to be followed until the question about linguistic support was further clarified. This report came in 2000. From that time it was no longer an aim of bilingualism for linguistic minorities. Øzerk's (2006) conclusion is that there is a systematic resistance to give bilingual education to linguistic minorities. Now he says that the intention is only to give a "therapeutic measure" for children who do not master Norwegian good enough to understand the education in ordinary classes. This development in the language policy does not lead to the bilingual education advised by Portes and Rumbaut (2001), Parekh (2006) and Cummins (2001/1986). In my opinion this supports Brochmann's view that the migration policy has changed in spite of the same phrases of what the goal is (2002).

3.4.2 *Language supporting plans*

Incorporated in Knowledge Promotion (2006/08) were some extra plans, a plan for linguistic minorities in basic Norwegian language and a plan for the mother tongue education for linguistic minorities. The pupils of the Sami people, acknowledged as being an indigenous group, have also a separate plan in their own language. The first two extra plans are the result of the Education Act (2005, Section 2-8):

Pupils attending the primary and lower secondary school who have a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami shall be entitled to special Norwegian instruction until they have sufficient proficiency in Norwegian to follow the normal instruction of the school. If necessary, such pupils shall also be entitled to mother tongue instruction, subject teaching in both the mother tongue and Norwegian, or both.

It is the responsibility of the municipality to care for this education, “as far as possible”, which means if there are teachers with adequate qualifications available. In this connection it is important to notify the formulations “if necessary” and “until they have sufficient proficiency in Norwegian (---)” which raises the question about who evaluates “sufficient proficiency” and after what criteria. The other formulation is the definition of the municipality’s responsibility to this education “as far as possible”. So, one see that questions of definition and power of assessment were given to the municipality, if there could be found teachers with adequate qualifications, or if necessary economy was available. The school or some teachers have to define what “sufficient proficiency” is, and how the possible special education might be organised. It is the school or the owner of the school that decides if the supportive language education should be given separately or included in the ordinary class room education. The three levels, the municipality, the school and the teacher have had a great power to define different sides of the special language support given to migrant children.

The two language plans, the one in “fundamental Norwegian” for immigrant children, the other in their mother tongue, both express that the aim is to enhance the pupil’s competence to master the Norwegian language and to contribute to intercultural understanding. But as these plans are for the migrant children, this part of the education does not aim at greater mutual understanding. Both plans present three different levels that might be relevant as starting point, dependent of the competence of the pupil. In 2005 the Ministry of Education presented a White Paper “Language build bridges” (White Paper no. 23 (2007-2008), revised in 2007 to be effectuated out 2009. According to this White Paper the policy is that after a child has been evaluated competent to follow the ordinary Norwegian education it is the parents’

responsibility if a further education in the mother tongue is wanted, (ibid: 53). Multilingual competence is regarded valuable for the single person and for the society (ibid: 55). But it is apparently not, like in the 1980s, the nation's responsibility to support immigrant children's language to a real bilingual level where their own language is included. The support of today is defined to be of another kind. In the White Paper (no.23: 2007-2008) the openness for evaluating the language situation for the pupils is presented as insufficient. There is material to assess the migrant pupils' language capacity. There will be developed material and in-service courses to enhance the competence of bilingual teachers for educating migrant children in both the mother tongue and Norwegian language. There are now schools with a special competence being multicultural (Focus schools) that get extra support for sharing their competence with other schools. In addition (ibid: 45) the obligation for school-owners to assess the migrant children's lingual capacity is proposed to be integrated in the Education Act (2005). The implication of this proposal shows a recognition of an insufficient situation, where the open obligations have to be more explicitly defined through the Act.

3.4.3 The curriculum plan for Norwegian language

In addition to the two special language plans for minorities there is also the main subject plan for all in the Norwegian Language. In this ordinary subject plan the special language situation for minorities is scarcely mentioned. Generally it is an aim to develop linguistic self-security and respect for other cultures. One of the main areas "Language and Culture" is presented like this: "Language and culture is about Norwegian and Nordic language- and text-culture, but with international perspectives" (ibid: 33). There is naturally openness in poetry and fiction where the pupils are expected to talk about texts from different cultures, but the plan refers primarily to the Norwegian and Nordic perspective.

It is rather difficult to see how languages and cultures in the group of migrant children are concretely thought incorporated as a resource in the classroom, like it is expressed in general intentions. Then it is quite dependent on the teacher's responsibility to see if and how intentions might be implemented. Language is part of the culture, but as culture encompass both habits, way of living, values and artistic expressions it is also relevant to discuss the culture aspect separately. Then it is totally in the teachers' "power", to use Cummins' expression, to use the possibility to include more that Norwegian and Nordic perspectives in the teaching.

3.5 Culture and identity

3.5.1 The Core Curriculum (1999) describes a Norwegian school

The culture aspect is given a broad presentation in the Core Curriculum. It points at the double or treble goal of promoting “democracy, national identity and international awareness” (Core Curriculum 1999: 21). The “international awareness” seems to be described as solidarity with other peoples “so that our country can remain a creative member of the global community”. The national and also the international aspect one finds throughout the whole Core Curriculum refers to the wanted relation between the nation of Norway and other nations, presumably those with a Western culture, though that is not expressed directly.. It is emphasised that “the international culture of learning links humanity together through the development and use of new knowledge” (ibid: 45). Further on it is maintained that the globalisation process require deeper consciousness of own culture and values. The school is a national school in a national society built on Christian and humanistic values. “The Christian faith and tradition constitute a (----) heritage that unites us as a people across religious persuasions” (ibid: 22). This “heritage” and more general knowledge of the society are important for understanding, and a condition to participate in societal decisions that possibly affect one’s own life (ibid: 42).

Therefore it is pointed at a necessity to give newcomers, it could be said immigrant pupils, extra explanations. They are not acquainted with the “Norwegian “heritage”. The duality: to know and build on the Norwegian cultural heritage at school, but also to respect minority groups with another cultural heritage even regard them as enrichment, is presented, but not discussed further. The diversity is expressed to be positive for the school, but it seems, however, to be far more important for the nation to be competent in the relation to other nations than a development to a multicultural society. At the same time it is said in a paragraph about the creative human being (ibid: 28): “Our cultural heritage is not synonymous with the past; it is rather a creative process in which schooling is not the least contributor.” This does not seem to be a prevailing view. So far the picture of a static culture and national school has the overweight in the Core Curriculum. It is maintained in an article in *Pedagogisk Tidsskrift* (no 2, 2006) by Tolo and Lillejord that formulations in the Core Curriculum show tendencies to “elitism” and “ethnocentrism”, and are clearly distinguishing between “we” Norwegians with Norwegian history and Norwegian ancestors and “the

others”. As late as May 15th 2009 Tom Arne Trippestad²³ doctorate on formulations in for example the Core Curriculum and other political documents of the same period. He maintains that the result was “a school policy deaf against teachers and parents and blind for the multicultural society around”.

3.5.2 Teaching for minorities according to Knowledge Promotion

Even if the Core Curriculum still is included in the last Knowledge Promotion there are some nuances in the added introductory comments to the edition that point at the development of the society in the time span from 1997 to 2008. While there were 5 % immigrant children between 6 and 15 in 1997, the same percentage was 9 in 2008 (Statistics Norway). It is emphasised in the added comments (Knowledge Promotion, 2008: 3) that it is necessary to develop a cultural competence “for participation in a multicultural society” (my underlining). This is an open formulation. An added paragraph in the 2008 edition is called Social and cultural competence. In this it is more explicitly, but still in general formulations, expressed that the education shall give the pupils knowledge about different cultures, “promote cultural understanding and contribute to develop self-insight and identity, respect and tolerance” (Knowledge Promotion, 2008: 5). For teachers it is said (ibid: 7): “Also teachers and instructors have to have multicultural competence and knowledge about different starting points and strategies for learning among the pupils.” We wonder how it is implemented in plans.

3.5.3 Subjects in Knowledge Promotion

The plans in physical education, music, food and health all have examples that show consciousness about the situation with migrant children in classes, and possibilities to use activities, creative and cultural expressions from their field. In physical education one may use activities and dances from different cultures. It is also emphasised that the social aspects with physical activities is important to enhance the self-concept, identity and multicultural understanding, like one of the later interviewed students, Nils, has experienced. The Plan for music accentuates, with practical examples that music in a multicultural society can contribute to positive identity development. Local, national or international music, tied to the culture and the values in the different areas, contribute to tolerance and respect.

²³ Trippestad’s views are presented by Maria Reinertsen in the newspaper Worgenbladet 15-21.May 2009.

It is necessary to add that there are subject plans without a word of possibilities to include different cultural aspects in the teaching. The Plan for art and handicraft is more concentrated to present the opportunities in national, Sami and Nordic culture. Mathematics and science are two subjects where neither a situation with multicultural classes or possible cultural baggage from pupils' different countries is mentioned as a resource, without further explanations. Under the heading of culture in mathematics it is said that the main area shows the history and the cultural part of the subject. In the curriculum plan for English (ibid: 63) it is mentioned that in addition of the language, the education in English has to contribute to understanding of our own and others' way of living, outlook of life, value and culture. The reference is, however, exclusively English and English-speaking countries. It is naturally possible immigrant pupils' language or culture do get attention by teachers in the classroom in these subject, but cultural themes from migrants seem almost absent in the plans. Social science and religion, philosophy on life and ethics (later RLE) are more explicit in incorporating the situation with multicultural schools.

3.5.4 RLE and social science

It is mentioned that different aspects are intertwined. Language is part of the culture. Rights and obligations developed in a society tell about important values for living in a society, and give knowledge about how to understand the new country. This has to pervade the whole education. Nevertheless it seems relevant to point at two relevant subjects in connection with both cultural and social aspects.

The plans for the two subjects, social science and RLE, clarify that the aim of the education is to prepare the pupils to a multicultural society and have partly a cultural and a societal aspect. Different challenges in the situation in a multicultural society are to be discussed and illustrated in the light of areas in knowledge and facts. The intention is to contribute to understanding of and support to fundamental Human Rights, democratic and religious values. Both the plan in social science and the plan in RLE are more explicit as to the content of knowledge than other plans, especially the last one.

In RLE it is emphasised to give objective, pluralistic and critical education without religious preaching and with consideration to different views of life. The plan for RLE gives quite specific instruction of defined knowledge to be taught about different main denominations or life philosophies. In many societies it is impossible to discern between religious values and

national values, like it is emphasised in the Core Curriculum. The intention of RLE is to contribute to understanding of different creeds, different practises and the cultural significance for the society. The aim of the education is also to create a forum for pupils where all of them meet respect and understanding. Both individual and local considerations have to be evaluated. It is possible to be released from parts of the education in RLE and get an alternative plan. It has to be mentioned that there has been a considerable discussion around this subject as Christianity is State religion in Norway. Editions of the RLE plan has been evaluated by the European Human Rights Court and the plan has been revised according to the court's comments to be more open to the variety of different religions and life philosophies. The plan seems to be in accordance with aims of neutrality in religious education like Parekh (2006) and van Tubergen (2006) advice.

Social science is aimed at competence to citizenship, the relation between the life in society and the personal life, included knowledge of varieties in multiple societies and ways of living and international outcomes with collaboration or the opposite, terrorism or conflicts. The aim is competence in historical experiences with cultural encountering or refugees' situation, reasons for fleeing a country, and differences between a democratic or non-democratic society. The plan points at possibility to let pupils present their countries, families and way of living in a historic or present time perspective. The intention in the presentation is that the school is a society in miniature where it is relevant to teach the pupils both social and societal skills. This means to combine individual and social aspects and give experience to settle conflicts, a competence to avoid bullying. One's activities have consequences for others and encompass duties and responsibilities.

One might say that the social and cultural aspects of these two plans is to develop knowledge about, understanding of and respect for societal and cultural varieties for all pupils and in the society. What "cultural competence" means for teachers is not defined, but they have to adapt their teaching to the children's background, their abilities and aptitudes. This I will return to. At the same time the future societal responsibility for all pupils is to take on the tasks of working and social life (Core Curriculum, 1999: 33) which is described like this (ibid: 25):

Our welfare society is built upon a moral contract on the one hand by everyone contributing to a system that supports and serves oneself when in need; and on the other by empowering others to develop their skills and strengthen them when they are in need.

This obligation points at the phrase in the Education Act (2005) that the goal for the education of children is to become “useful and independent human beings at home and in society”, an obligation one finds shared with parents.

3.6 Teachers and parents, partners in children’s education

The Education Act (§ 1-2, 2005) and the Regulations (§ 3-2) to this law, present school’s obligation to create good kinds of collaboration between teachers and all the children’s homes. In the Regulations it is precisely said that twice a year there has to be a planned and structured meeting with the parents about the status of the pupil. In addition there is the possibility to written messages it is said. The obligation to and profit by cooperating with parents is well described at all levels from the Education Act (2005), through all political documents and to the general introduction in Knowledge Promotion. Supporting material is also available for example from The Directorate for Education: *Children in multi-linguistic families* (2007), or from The Parents’ Committee: *Bridges between home and school – handbook about cooperation between minority-lingual parents and school*” (2005).

It is also an obligation to contact and communicate with other relevant professionals and authorities in the school’s broad environment. This places the school as a sort of coordinator of the pupils’ learning and living environment. In the White paper no. 31 Quality in School (2007-08: 78) the parents’ responsibilities and the school’s obligations are summed. This includes a mutual duty to give and seek information relevant to the pupils’ education. It is especially important for minorities where the parents do not know the Norwegian school or society. The Ministry will therefore try out different ways of collaboration between parents for minority pupils and the school with the intention to clarify mutual expectations, to enhance the parents support and make the parents understand what it means for their children to have a future in a Norwegian society.

3.7 Adapted teaching

One of the intentions of adapted education is to give equal opportunities, as mentioned. It is expressed like this (Knowledge Promotion 2008: 7):

Regardless of gender, age, social, geographical, cultural or language background, all pupils shall have equally good opportunities to develop through working with their subject in an inclusive learning environment (---). Pupils have different points of departure, use different learning strategies and differ in their progress in relation to the nationally stipulated competence aims.

The principle of adapted teaching gives a possibility to adapt the teaching to the background of the single child. This might support the personal identity of the child, but not necessarily the mutuality of respect for culture etc. in the classroom. Opportunities and challenges in the principle are discussed in a report with articles from The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training: *Kompetanse for tilpasset opplæring*, (2007), (Competence for adapted teaching). The complexity of this principle is expressed in one of the articles by Peder Haug et al. (p. 33):

The teacher has to choose between different values and alternatives, between community and individuals, between defined norms and values in society and education ideas and the pupil's need to develop individual gifts and talents, and between common teachings ruled by the teacher and pupils' individual activities. --- Most of all adapted education is dependent of professional and didactic competent teachers.

In another article in the same report Thor Ola Engen (2007: 69ff) points more specified on what the teacher has to overcome. To present the subject content and build on the pupils' concepts it is necessary to know both, including the cultural background of the pupil like Costa (1997) advises. The teacher's communication ability is important to involve the pupils to open for similar concepts and associations. In addition the cultural knowledge is important in the cooperation with migrant parents. Furthermore also the support between pupils inside the class counts. This lies near to Cummins' dialogue between teachers and students and between students. Cummins accentuates the respect of the "baggage" of the pupil. The teacher's socio-cultural competence is essential. The critique to adapted teaching as the only method lies primarily in the possibility to extreme individualised teaching, forgetting the socialisation which has to be implemented in the education as well.

3.8 Summary

One might see that official documents for the primary education in Norway have relatively consistent goals and intentions the last decade. One can also see that the country gets more immigrants which affects the whole society. It could be discussed what "equal opportunities" means. Does it mean "equal opportunities" to learn what is presented as important in a Norwegian school, or does it mean to learn and also contribute in the school society on equal basis? If the last one is intended, their cultural background ought to be more visible a resource to make the school for both the minority and majority group "a richer society", to use the Government's expression in Strategic Plan.

The aspect of equality is partially, but far from consequently taken into account in the different plans, regarding the background of immigrant pupils. Considering the intentions of the curriculum for primary school in Knowledge Promotion one might say that the teachers have a great responsibility and consequently possibility or “power” to find the balance between manifold intentions to give migrant children equal possibilities with Norwegian pupils and the situation of mutual, cultural respect. Most of the subject’ plans leave it open to the teacher how general intentions might be implemented. The subject curricula open for different content, different teaching methods and different teacher priorities relying on the professional and updated competence of the teacher, which gives power possibilities according to Adizes (1991). The intentions of development might be the same, to give the pupils equal possibilities through unequal or adapted teaching like Parekh (2006) prescribes. The content has a more specified description for the multicultural situation in religious themes and also social science. It is, however, difficult to know how the teaching possibilities in different subjects are utilised. The education might be rather varied in different schools. According to the general comments in the Knowledge Promotion (p. 5) it is clear that teachers need multicultural competence. The Strategic Plan (2007-9: 24) includes an aim to increase competence among employees to improve the school performance of linguistic minority pupils. Some supportive material is developed. The openness for municipalities and schools in defining the obligation to care for the special language support for migrant children will most likely be reconsidered in a law declaration. This signifies that practice has to be improved.

The ideal is often to find some balance point between good intentions, for example between individualising the education and give pupils experience of collaboration, between respects for migrants’ language and culture and prepare to a living in a Norwegian society, or also to find the limits where the coherence in the nation is not threatened according to Parekh (2006), compared with respect of different cultures. It is difficult to spur when earlier experiences for migrants mean limitations of their possibilities like Barry (2006) maintains. What consequences does it have for both the majority and minority group to live in a country which is defined to be multicultural if the teachers do not have necessary linguistic and cultural competence?

Which guarantee the Framework plan for Teacher Education gives for the cultural competence of future teachers is a question in the next chapter.

4 The Framework Plan for Norwegian Teacher Education

4.1 Introduction

The model for the Norwegian teacher education is like this:

Teacher Education	
Compulsory Subject	Credits
Pedagogy	30
RLE	20
Norw. Language	30
Mathematics	30
Basic Literacy and Numeric training	10
Elective subject	
Subjects for Primary and Lower secondary School	60 or 2x30
Subjects for Primary and lower secondary school Or relevant for school teaching	60/ modules of varying size.

The teacher education is a 4 years' study.

The first 2 years (120 credits (Ects) have compulsory subjects.

For the last 2 years the students can choose subjects for school teaching at different level like the model shows.

The Framework Plan (later FP) was issued 2003 by the Ministry for Education and Research.

Later there have been some corrections for the RLE subject plan.

4.1.1 Goals for the qualifications of student teachers

The Framework Plan defines the competence of a teacher in 5 points:

1. *Subject Competence* which includes knowledge about the content and ways of teaching, about children, childhood and child education, theories about working methods in and across subjects.
2. *Didactic Competence* which means ability to analyse curricula and transfer the content in a reflected way through teaching methods relevant for the education situation with in learning and development processes for the specific group of children.
3. *Social Competence*: the ability to see, listen and respect others, to cooperate and communicate and cooperate with pupils, parents, colleagues and the competence to be a leader.
4. *Adaptive and developmental competence* means to be able to contribute to develop the school and the teaching profession in relation to the changing society, and safeguard what is of value. This requires creativity and learning strategies that promote entrepreneurship that is to take initiatives to start new activities and strengthening one's own competence.
5. *Professional ethics competence* comprises the ability to see one's own attitudes in situations of ethical challenges and to handle learning situations according to basic educational values (Fp: 5-6).

In addition the Ministry for Education and Research (FOR-2006-30-859) has given regulations for a special, summarised evaluation of the teacher students during the study for being qualified to function as a teacher. It includes both the procedure and seven criteria which consider the students' will and capability to social care, communication and cooperation, to alter unacceptable behaviour and have self-awareness, to lead and have overview in the teaching situation and to be a role model, in short social competences and

leadership. The plan emphasises the intention to develop reflected teachers with a comprehensive and professional competence.

One might presume that if a student teacher masters these competences at the end of the study, all children would be taken care of in a satisfactory way, but the special care for migrant children is not mentioned in this description of the competences. However several of the single subject plans mention the necessity to learn the students adapt their teaching to the pupils' different background like the plan for pedagogy. Nevertheless it is worth to remember that Knowledge Promotion included multicultural competence as important for future teachers. In the later referred interviews I let professors, directors and teacher students define what they understand are important competences meeting migrant children. In connection with the Framework plan it is relevant to see if the migrant children's special situation is well clarified so the coming teachers have a fundament to give the children equal possibilities in school. In the general part of FP it is accentuated that Norway is increasingly become part of a global society. "The teachers must have knowledge of the situation for bilingual and multilingual pupils, (---) of the meeting between cultures, and he or she must be capable of cooperating with parents and guardians from different cultures" (FP: 8). The plan for the subject pedagogy contains among others some general goals for the teacher students (FP: 20). They shall be able to

- create an including setting for the education.
- discuss and analyse fundamental didactic questions relevant for linguistic, social and cultural multitude.
- develop good interpersonal relations
- cooperate with colleagues, parents and others with responsibility for the pupils' environment.
- analyse and evaluate the school from different perspectives and be able to include in cooperation about the school's activities and developmental projects

These are general goals and are expected to be concretised in the subjects of the teacher education. Above we see the description of social competence, the ability to cooperation and communication underlined. The aspects have relevance to Cummins' (2001/1987) theories of how to meet immigrant students in a dialogue and with respect. The importance of practice is included in the general part of the plan. It is quantified to be 20-22 weeks. The education of practice has to be organised for the students (FP: 15) so they can

- be acquainted with the manifold of the teaching.
- work in a multicultural teaching situation with adapted learning.
- experience collaboration with parents

Further on it is of importance to see if the Framework plan for Teacher Education and Knowledge Promotion for the elementary school might have concurrent aspects about

equality and different values, language questions, culture and identity etc. Because the aspects describe a dynamic education situation, they partly overlap.

4.2 Equality and values

It is underlined that in Norway the principle of equivalent education is “deeply rooted” and particularly relevant for migrant children (FP 6, 9, 37, 43 etc.). Then it is reasonable to start with this principle. It is particularly expressed in Teacher Education by placing an emphasis on “equity, equality and adapted teaching” (ibid: 9). Practical training for teacher students has to be organised so to give the students experience from work in a multicultural environment and teach them “make provisions for adapted education for all children” (ibid: 15). The intention of the adaptation principle is a didactic way of organising individual teaching. Consequently it opens for unequal responses in order to give each one equal opportunities. Equality might also be regarded as part of democratic values, the Human Rights and Children’s Rights that student teachers have to be acquainted with (ibid: 8, 43 etc.). It is easy to see that the expressions for values in the teacher education plan, Knowledge Promotion and theories, are quite similar. No wonder, the Education Act (2005: section 1-2) prescribes a “Christian and moral upbringing” in education, (----) fundamental Christian and humanistic values (----) equal status and equal rights of all human beings---“. There is, however, neither in the Act nor the plans a coherent definition of the values, but you find words like charity, tolerance, respect for other cultures etc. One knows from practice that there are situations of conflicts that might arise between values. The equality aspect for example, also includes equality in gender questions which is conflicting with some immigrant cultures or in questions of religious practice.

4.3 What about language?

As the model shows, the Norwegian language is a theme in two subjects the first two years, in a minor course (10 ects) in basic literacy and numeric training = “GLSM“, (FP: 21 -22), and Norwegian, 30 Ects, (FP: 27-29). In the basic literacy part student teachers have to be acquainted with the special linguistic challenges in the development of concepts and vocabulary, when pupils have to acquire a second language. One realises how introductory the teaching has to be in a 10 Ects course with different elements from both language and mathematics. In the Norwegian language course the multicultural aspect of teaching of Norwegian is well taken care of. Students have to reflect around the multicultural perspective in literacy texts, be able to evaluate goals, content and diverse methods relevant for pupils

with Norwegian as a second language. This is necessary to be able to adapt the education to pupils' need, either they are becoming bilingual or not, or with Norwegian as their second language when being accepted competent in their mother tongue. The connection between language, identity and culture is also a theme for reflection. It is emphasised that the student teachers have to qualify for teaching in multicultural groups.

Regarding the wide goal for teacher competence in Norwegian language in the teacher education, there is evidently great discrepancy between this plan and the plan for Norwegian language in elementary school. The Knowledge Promotion plan in Norwegian scarcely mentions the multicultural challenge, neither the multicultural aspect as a resource. It is mentioned that reading is dependent on cultural background and necessary for developing cultural understanding, but as earlier discussed, in the recommended text about Norwegian and Nordic language and text-culture, there seems to be little space to other cultures. If the migrant children need support, the responsibility is perhaps to be given to a bilingual teacher. The broad teacher linguistic competence the Framework plan describes could be a resource for both minority and majority pupils, to develop mutual understanding when meeting language problems in the classroom or linguistic reflections.

4.4 Culture in different plans.

4.4.1 A varied content of culture

Every plan in the creative subject have a formulation which says with some nuances, that teacher education shall qualify the student teachers to prepare the development of concepts in the subject for pupils of both gender and with different social and cultural background. This is essential to be able to give adapted teaching for pupils from different cultures. In the plan for music it is prescribed that the student teachers shall have knowledge about music from different times and different cultures, or play and dance from own and other cultures. Science has a similar phrasing. A didactic consequence for pupils with another social and cultural background is mentioned in the science plan. In mathematics the aim for the students is to have knowledge about what consequences the pupils' linguistic and cultural background might have for the teaching in the subject (FP: 25). Knowledge Promotion did not mention migrant questions in these two plans at all. According to the plan in home economics (later changed to "food and health") the students have to be informed about healthy diets and get experience of food which might signalise different cultures in the society. In addition they

have to cook dishes from different cultures. The care for migrant pupils' understanding is evident.

Generally it is, however, difficult to see that multiculturalism as a cultural resource is directly emphasised in the separate plans, or that the necessity of competence to support all the pupils' cultural identity, self-insight, respect and tolerance is mentioned, which is found in, for example, physical education plan for primary school. The aim is more to present aspects of cultural expressions.

4.4.2 Aspects in social science and RLE

There are some common aspects of values and ethics, related to the culture in the subjects social science and RLE (religion, ethics etc).

The immigrant situation in the country has caused some changes in society, and the school has to prepare both migrant and majority pupils to these changes; as the goal according to Education Act (2005) is to prepare them to become useful in an equalitarian society. The balance between knowledge about the Christian state religion and other religions, religious traditions, ethics and secular philosophies is precisely described in Knowledge Promotion (2006/8) as already discussed. Perhaps because of consequences of expected fervent discussions in the time span between the Knowledge Promotion (2006/2008) and the Framework plan (2003) the last one (RLE) refers to the curriculum for the elementary school in questions of weight between the different items. A new edition of the teacher plan is expected. The main aim in the 2003 plan is clear: "The student teachers have to develop competence in understanding both Norwegian culture and traditions and the multicultural reality" (FP: 23). This includes understanding of the great importance ethics and values have for the identity and accordingly for the whole upbringing which the school somehow shares with the parents. The consequence of the situation is to qualify the teacher students to this understanding, to be able to give the pupils adequate teaching, respecting the variety in the group, and also to be able to cooperate with parents. The earlier mentioned hijab debate, rather relevant in Norway as well, shows how touchy these questions are both in minority and majority societies.

The ethical aspect is also emphasised in the subject plan for social science. The intention is to promote commitment to democracy, Human Rights, equality, tolerance and respect for different cultures (FP: 43). The aim of knowledge is to develop understanding of the dynamics in a society. The future teachers have in the next run to be able to organise their

teaching about societal conditions in a multicultural and democratic society, taking into account Human Rights. On another level the teacher has to clarify the pupils' rights and obligations and to develop a social, including setting where solving conflicts have to be learnt. These plans express the same values and intentions as the parallel plans in Knowledge Promotion. The social science is not an obligatory subject in the Teacher Education, but possible to choose.

The Framework plan as a whole document seems to be more consistent than Knowledge Promotion, even if FP came 5 years earlier. The general principles are presented coherently and even enhanced in the plan for pedagogy. To get experiences in multicultural classes, including collaboration with parents like Costa (1997) and Nieto (2000) emphasise has to be included in the education. There are similar values expressed in the plans, but if you compare the subject plans, there are important differences where the multicultural aspect is more present in the Framework plan, than in Knowledge Promotion, though in general terms.

4.5 New tunes in Teacher Education

The Ministry of Education and Research has presented a brand new White Paper: *The Teacher, the Role and Education* (no.11, 2008–2009).²⁴ I include some comments to this since it brings new impulses for the teacher education. One of the intentions is to make both the RLE and social science subjects voluntary for students. Even more astonishing is that the content of the points.2.2.7: *An enhanced international and multicultural orientation*, and 6.6: *An international and multicultural oriented teacher training* relate only to developing the institutions with teacher education more attractive and similar to studies abroad and in student exchange programs. This resembles the use of “international” in the earlier Core Curriculum, criticised for Nationalistic tendencies.. The knowledge about a multicultural and multi-linguistic school is defined as part of “competence in methods and in social relation” included in the subject pedagogy. Pedagogy has to contribute to understanding of the manifold in the group of pupils through adapted teaching, varied use of for example ICT and cultural expressions. Art and culture will be used as a teaching method (p: 20-21). The subject pedagogy has also to give knowledge about the multicultural and multi-linguistic school and consequently the learning challenges for minority pupils. The signals about a new teacher education from the recent White Paper 11 (2008-2009) are relevant. One might say there are stronger signals of internationalisation for cooperation, student exchange in most likely

²⁴ The white Paper no. 11 2008-2009 was acknowledged in Parliament April, 2009,.A committee is already assigned to develop a new Framework Plan for Teacher Education.

Western education than for the education of migrant pupils; and strong signals of making migrant pupils an aim of development, not mutual and equal partners of a group.

The OECD report (June, 2009: 41) says:

The government should review existing policies on teacher education, (----) to ensure that they consistently and explicitly address the needs of immigrant students. (-----).

In particular, the government could demonstrate its commitment by adding explicit emphasis on immigrant issues to the current goal in the White Paper on Education to enhance teacher's competence and skills in guiding learning processes when teaching a diverse and complex student body.

A small-scale education for bilingual teachers is thought continued which I return to in the final chapter about teacher competences. So far this is about the Framework plan, signals in the new White Paper 11 and with some reflections about how it is related to Knowledge Promotion. The next step for institutions with teacher education was to develop local curriculum plans.

4.6 *The local curricula for teacher education*

Every University or University College has to develop a local curriculum based on the Framework plan. The Framework plans' instructions for the local curricula are for example to include "a practical training plan, individual syllabuses (for both compulsory and elective course modules) and interdisciplinary course modules" (FP: 16). Among others have following subject areas to be covered in the institutions' curriculum plans (FP: 16):

- A practical training plan
- The multicultural and international perspective
- Collaboration with parents and guardians and persons who share responsibility for the environment in which the children and adolescents are growing up.
- Collaboration between theory and practice and between subjects

I interviewed students and teachers in three institutions with teacher education. I also got the curriculum plans for the institutions. These institutions I have called Fjordglimt University, Skoglund University and Lynghei University.

Before analysing the interviews it is relevant to see how the institutions I visited have taken care of these aspects in their curriculum plans. As the model of teacher education shows, the two first years have obligatory subjects, pedagogy, the basic literacy and numeric training (GLSM), Norwegian, mathematics and RLE. The subjects the last two years also have to be relevant for teaching, but left to voluntary choice for the students. The three institutions have a separate curriculum plan for the first two years including general introduction about the study, syllables for the obligatory subject where the obligation of cooperating with parents is

mentioned in some of them and a plan for practice, but without promising practice in multicultural classes.

The Fjordglimt University wants to have a profile in enhancing the multicultural and international aspect in curricula and study material. In the county, year 2008, there were 30.2% immigrant children (1. and 2. generation, 0-17 years of age) (Norway Statistics). So it is decided to have an interdisciplinary project the second year with the topic: “Multicultural challenges and possibilities”. This will characterise the plan for the study in four weeks, one introductory week with multiculturalism illustrated in the obligatory subjects, two weeks of different practice in schools with observations, interviews etc. and one summary week with lectures, discussions in different groups and plenum. Every subject has in addition described relevant themes in the syllabuses, but if all themes are included in the project period or might be additional, is not quite clear.

The counties for Lynghei and Skoglund universities had correspondingly 7,93% immigrant children in 2008 (the same age group (0-17 years)). In the curriculum plan for Lynghei University the migrant aspect is almost absent. In the subject pedagogy it is said that the students have to be able to discuss and analyse fundamental didactic questions regarding linguistic, social and cultural multitude. One sentence in Norwegian mentions the factors of Norwegian as a second language theory, texts and reader from other cultures. There is nothing about migrant pupils in maths or GLSM. One theme in GLSM is “work with concepts and vocabulary”. RLE mentions adequacy to the pupils’ creed and life philosophy, and the same in collaboration with parents.

One wonders why the curriculum plans for institution Lynghei do neither follow the given framework regulations including the multicultural perspective nor Knowledge Promotion’s introductory comments about the need for multicultural competent teachers. It might be a slip in the instructions in advance, even if the front of the plan document tells that it is built on the Framework Plan from 2003. The curriculum is relevant for the year 2008-2009. The teaching in the themes might include the aspect, as answers from two professors suggest, but in this connection not in the plans.

Skoglund University has the profile “Knowledge, Value, Vitality. The value aspect is described like this: “The students have to enhance their knowledge about own cultural heritage, and the ability to meet and interpret others’ values in a pluralistic society.” Every subject has included the multicultural aspect from different angles. In the RLE syllabus the

obligation for students is accentuated. They have to be able to develop confident relationship to parents with different cultural and religious background. In GLSM the linguistic challenges about development of concepts and vocabulary for second language pupils is underlined. Skoglund University concretise the competence criteria (FP) in a way relevant both for practise and subject evaluation. The “Competence to change and development” is for example described to imply that the students are open for changes and new ways of regarding pedagogical ideas about teaching, the content of knowledge and ways of learning, and that the students are able to take different perspectives. This means to implement prescribed changes.

There is in addition, a rather decisive difference between Fjordglimt University and the next two in the syllabuses for the eligible subjects study year 3 and 4, relevant for teaching. Institution Fjordglimt has a compact printed plan for all subjects and with an introduction presenting the general themes which has to be included in all the courses like the multicultural perspective, adapted education and collaboration with parents, guardians and relevant instances, like prescribed. This institution has also added a competence called “cultural and aesthetic competence” to the listed competences in the Framework plan. The two other institutions present separate plans for students on the web. The multicultural aspect might be found like in the plan for food and health or social science, but to demonstrate an example of difference I want to refer the plan in science. In the edition from institution Fjordglimt, one of the main points is presented like this: “Science in an including multicultural school adapting the teaching in the subject for both girls and boys, pupils with different background or qualifications” (p.129-30). The special multicultural perspective is furthermore presented:

Science prepares students to work in the multicultural school. Through work with unlike conditions as to resources and environment in different societies, in present and past time, we will develop insight in and respect for different ways of living. By experiences with methods for teaching in the nature, we aim at giving the students competence to give pupils with different cultural background a feeling of Norwegian nature. One condition for an all-round lingual development for pupils with other mother tongues, is that they get as broad contact with divers sides of the society as possible. (---).

The plans for science in the two other institutions include the didactic aspect for the future teachers, but do not go in details. It seems to be a tendency that the plans from Fjordglimt are somewhat more concrete as to the multicultural aspect, not astonishing according to the chosen profile, Not all subject plans for year 3 and 4 in institution Fjordglimt is that detailed, but the multicultural aspect is mentioned in all of them. Not all subject plans from Universities Lynghei and Skoglund are without the aspect, but quite a lot. However, the Skoglund university has a special offer, a course in “Norwegian as a second language and

cultural knowledge” for students to choose. Lynghei university has a theme about migration in social science, and the cultural aspect included in “food and health”. Nevertheless the plans from these two institutions Skoglund and Lynghei seem to be more adapted to a university system without consideration to the Framework plan. If that is the case, some of the students might choose subjects the last two years where the migrant aspect is not included. Because of the model of the teacher education, social science might not be chosen as part of the education. The security for the multicultural aspect lies consequently in the model for the first two years. This might be a situation of importance for municipalities when compositing a teacher-team with necessary competence. This discussion has to be taken in another context.

It has to be mentioned that the responsibility for student teacher’s competence in cooperation with parents and guardians is placed in pedagogy and is only described in general terms.

4.7 *The institutions’ power*

The multicultural aspect is part of the government’s policy, part of the school policy and also important in the Teacher Education. In analyses of plans we mostly see it seems to be handled as a sort of appendix, both in subject and practice plans. This is most astonishing. When it is included, it is primarily presented in general phrases, sometimes it is totally omitted at all, often presented so scarcely nuanced that one imagine how it is thought implemented. This is evident in Knowledge Promotion, but also in local Curriculum plans for teacher education.

There is a positive possibility for the teacher education institutions to choose their own profile for the institution. Nevertheless, the Framework Plan for teacher education is explicitly saying that the local Curriculum plans have to clarify the study’s competence for measures for students with a minority language, which might mean teacher students. The multicultural and international perspective in the subjects have to be clarified, and the consideration to children with a need of special support. For the teacher education apparently varies between the institutions, as we have seen how the local curricula fulfil the intentions of the Framework plan. Lynghei University almost excludes the multicultural question in the local plans. Either it is the intention or not, it shows great power taken by the institutions. We would also expect more coordination between the Framework Plan (2003) and Knowledge Promotion (2006) in all subjects as the one qualifies to the other, not least the plan for Norwegian language in school. The interviews with some teachers and students in the teacher education and directors in schools might put a light on how student teachers competences are cared for from another angle.

5 What teacher competences are expected?

5.1 Interviews with professors, directors for schools and students

5.1.1 Who are interviewed?

The sample was 8 professors in the subjects the first two years of study that were obligatory for all students, 3 directors of multicultural schools, and 4 students just finished their last year. The selection was this:

University	Pedagogy	GLSM	Mathemat.	RLE	Norwegian	Directors multicultural schools	Students
Fjordglimt	1				2	1	1
Skoglund	1			1		1	1
Lyghei	1	1	1			1	2
Summed	3	1	1	1	2	3	4
Fictiv names	Gabriel Hans Ragnar	Anne	Bente	Daniel	Eva Frida	Jorunn Line Knut	Mikal Olga Pia, Nils

The multicultural schools I interviewed had respectively 48%, 30 % and 60% immigrant pupils. The two last of these from Lyghei and Skoglund surroundings were combined reception schools. That is schools where part of the pupils have just arrived and need some preparation before being included in ordinary classes. As cited earlier, the Framework Plan for Teacher Education defines the expected teacher competencies in 5 aspects (2003: 12). These aspects I used as a frame for interviews with one exception: The “Social competence” I defined as “Social and cultural competence”. The cultural competence aspect was, as said, not included in the list in the Framework Plan, only presented in the introduction of the Knowledge Promotion.

In the analysis of the interviews I try to find information about what might the informants think ought to characterise the competence of the teachers according to intentions. I use the same group of concepts as earlier, the different aspects of language competence like the second language learning the identity and cultural aspect. The next is the cultural competence with nuances like to develop understanding of and accepting cultural differences included cultural values. Essential aspects where cultural competence has to be discussed are also the advised adapted teaching method, the collaboration with parents and practice for students.

5.2 Expected language competence

5.2.1 Language and cultural identity

From general knowledge about Norway and other countries we know how near identity, culture and language is tied together. It tells about social status and the associated culture behind, it tells about the country you come from or even geographical area inside the country. Somebody strictly stick to a rural language “because it is me”, others change their spoken language and might be suspected to want to “move” in the social class system. We remember the stories from Skutnabb-Kangas (1997), Pia Lane (2006) or Portes and Rumbaut (2001) about bitter feelings of belittlement.

Besides language being a tool for communication and understanding, the culture and identity associated to the language, seem to be essential, making student teachers aware of opportunities to support the children’s cultural identity through literary texts. We saw that Knowledge Promotion emphasised the Nordic languages and culture in the education of Norwegian in primary school, not the multicultural aspect. I followed a lesson by Professor Eva. She discussed and dramatised the Norwegian Ibsen play, *The wild Duck*, with the teacher students. She used “teacher in role” practice, and also demonstrated with the students how different questions in the play could be raised and discussed from the aspect of other cultural values. A parallel method could be used with some literature in a multicultural group. At least this student group was made aware of combined possibilities even when using Nordic literature. One RLE professor (Daniel), interested in cultural understanding, made all his students aware of inclusive and exclusive use of language, the ”we” and “they” perspective, that is to be aware of the difference between an inclusive instead of an excluding way of thinking and speaking.

Nevertheless I do not find many signs that the migrant pupils’ language as representative of another culture is interesting in the teaching of the multicultural classes, and consequently teacher education. We remember that the preparatory language plans for migrant pupils have the aspect of giving them understanding of the Norwegian culture. The equality aspect of mutual respect and understanding of language and culture like Child Convention prescribes may drown in many good intentions.

5.2.2 Language learning for teacher students

It is naturally that professors in Norwegian are most concentrated about the linguistic part of the language competence for teachers in multicultural schools. It is important to know

bilingual theories, they say. This is in accordance with Nieto (2000) who, of the same reason, underlines own experience to learn a second language for monolingual American teachers. How is the process in the acquisition of a new language, and the interference with own language? What didactics to use? This is supported by Knut, director in a school. He is more concrete from his experience in the real situation and wants teachers to know something about the construction in some main languages, and which faults it is usual to commit, if for example one has Vietnamese background. Sides of linguistic awareness are essential whatever subject one teaches. This is part of the general obligation, he means.

It is difficult to say to which degree teacher education prepares the teacher students to, in the next run, enhance the pupils' development of relevant concepts, or how far the teacher education enforces the awareness of how to utilise the education to mutual linguistic understanding for both minority and majority groups.

My conclusion is that there is awareness of the importance of knowledge of bilingualism in the teacher education, but still on a general level. Then the result might be that the knowledge and consciousness about bilingualism and the learning of another language among teacher students are on a shallow level. Perhaps this is because the support in the mother tongue or in Norwegian is thought to be taken care of by specialists, so the ordinary education has to be the Norwegian one. Then it is important that the teachers are well acquainted with the migrant pupil's right to this support. The students had, however, vague comprehension about the pupils' rights, this possibility to preparatory or supportive language education.

5.2.3 The importance of concept content

One has also to be aware of how understandable concepts and examples used in textbooks are for pupils. The books most likely, mirror a Western society, so the teacher has to be critical to see that examples are adequate to understand for migrant pupils. This is specially mentioned by a professor (Anne) in mathematics. She said: "Even if they have the expression for the concept, they must also have a concept-content." If the children have corresponding experiences from their cultural background and perhaps parallel words, so an explanation makes sense, if not, it might hinder understanding. This is a concretisation of what Øzerk (1996) and Engen (2007) point at, with reference to Vygotsky, the importance of experiences and insight for understanding a concept. A linguist professor (Frida) talks about teachers having to be aware of that migrant children has "age-adequate" concepts. I wonder if not the

criteria, this “age-adequateness”, are created in a Norwegian group, and if so, when is it expected that migrant children might have reached this level, and how?

Knowing that immigrant children often have a shallow understanding of the Norwegian language, even if they are evaluated competent to follow Norwegian education, I especially asked how student teachers became prepared to develop the concepts of migrant children.

Then I got general answers that this was important, but Frida continued: “(---) how we shall do it, I don’t think we have a special focus on that.” A professor in pedagogy from another university (Hans) said about concept development: “We had this theme earlier, but not now. “ His explanation was too many themes in too little time. He had not discussed this with the language professors. A third pedagogue (Gabriel) said it was a theme and he mentioned Vygotsky, but as an example he underlined the importance of using the concepts correctly.

Asking the students about what they would do to be secure if migrant pupils’ understanding, student Olga would simply ask them if they understood, and the pupils would answer “yes” or “no”. With some experience with timid migrants, perhaps wanting to please the teacher, this seems to be an unreliable interpretation of their understanding. One student, Pia, with extra education in religion and cultural studies talked about using concretes longer. The other who mentions concretisation is the student Nils, with a Bosnian background until he was 6/7 years. Listening to him, there might be different ways for different children. He was rather satisfied with the separate teaching of Norwegian grammar, the formal side of the language and vocabulary, following the class in the rest of the education the first 6 years of schooling. Then he felt quite competent in the lower secondary education and later on. He said he was soon socialised, and his “key” to socialisation was sport activities.

No one talked about the necessity to give direct, real-life experiences, but instead underlined verbal explanations when pupils did not understand. The important concept theory from Vygotsky is clarified in the article by Øzerk (1996). He says (p.185):

In both written and oral communication it is ideas, thinking, opinions, evaluations and emotions we pass on. This means that (----) we must have background-knowledge coded in concepts. We have to master the content (---) in concepts to put it into words.

The development of concepts as a theme in teacher education seems for me, according to the interviews, to lie somewhere in between the subject Norwegian, pedagogy and all the rest in the teacher education in Norway. To understand how to develop adequate concepts is relevant for all teachers, like Cochran-Smith (2004) said about the multicultural issue all together. The

Framework Plan wanted cooperation between subjects (p: 16) in the local plans. Neither the local curricula nor the interviews show that this is on the agenda.

So, it seems to be obvious that language education in teacher training has to be enhanced.

One perspective for teacher students is to see and take consequence of the perspective of and respect for language as part of the culture and identity consolidation. If migrant pupils' language becomes "invisible" in the classroom, this part of their identity and culture is not supported or made to a resource for the majority group. Another one is to understand what it means to be partly bilingual and have to learn and understand the teaching in another language. This means not only the linguistic part of it, but also to grasp the meaning of concepts referring to a partly new and unknown world.

5.3 Cultural competence, easy to explain?

In addition to language, culture include, as earlier said, the whole way of living, food, rituals, way of behaving. It encompasses their view on life, values, religion and expressions of this through art, music, dance etc.

5.3.1 Cultural understanding

The interviews were started with some general questions: "What do you think are important qualifications for teachers in today's multicultural school? How can these qualifications be developed in your subject?" The spontaneous associations differed. Two female professors with different subjects from two universities gave rather similar answers. The first competence was to have knowledge about the background of the pupils or "become acquainted with them". This supports what Costa (1997) advised, to build up an arsenal of cultural knowledge, earlier presented. Teachers could not be able to know every culture in the beginning.

The answers I got in the professor group seem to represent different levels of what they associated to cultural understanding and competence. One might say that first it is important to know something about the background of the individual child, next to have a general cognition of today's multicultural situation and so to understand the societal situation. One professor in pedagogy, Ragnar, wishes the teachers to be generally oriented about one's present time socially and culturally, to have an ear for the cultural and social multiplicity, to have "sense for the challenges in the present time". How to share the cultural knowledge in the whole group is more generally expressed by the professors. Then it might have been

relevant to analyse if more general descriptions of different cultures might lead to stereotypic concepts like Costa (1997) warns against, but so far we do not go in this connection.

The student Nils knows that his experiences from his first years in Bosnia could give the pupils a picture of how it is to live in a situation of war. He thinks pupils' stories easily could be shared. The aspects the directors mention are approximately the same: To see the pupils and their cultural background, to have some knowledge about other cultures. They were warning about making the cultural differences to something exotic, that pupils from other countries are presented as "strange birds". This might easier lead to entertaining than mutual understanding.

So, like the blurred picture of the place of migrant pupil's culture in school, it seems to me that there are varied opinions of which aspects are necessary to underline for teacher students.

5.3.2 Religious and cultural values

Different aspects of religion and ethics are sometimes met with strong feelings, myths and an attitude of segregation. This might create problems for teachers, for pupils or their parents. Just these days the question is raised in the political debate – why include a subject with so many possibilities of conflicts into school? The school is, however, expected to give an unbiased presentation that might develop mutual understanding. I want to refer to what Daniel, the professor in RLE, included in his program. Daniel introduces a project for the students. They have to choose a faith or philosophy of life and care for getting some deeper information. They have to visit the relevant kind of sermon in this religion or view. In addition they have to visit a family who lives in this tradition. Afterwards they choose a problem for discussion. Daniel's conclusion was that meeting a committed involvement in the belief, it often did something positive with the students understanding, and they told "the real life experience" changed their opinion. Apparently this example might support Parekh's (2006) and Tubergen's (2006) theories of widening the general information of different religions in school.

Values like acceptance, respect for differences, tolerance, equality for both migrant and majority pupils is a fundament in cultural knowledge, expressed by all the respondents. There are nuances in the answers that might tell about different views about what is important to stress. No one except student Pia, defines the nuance between respect and tolerance. "With "respect" one estimates others more, with "tolerance" one does it in a way of good will," she says. This discrimination is not used in plan documents. Hans, professor in pedagogy, wants

to clarify the difference between include and integrate. He says the migrant children are included with their individual values and we have to integrate them. Ragnar (ped.) maintains that important for both groups are the values of democracy, humanity and a combination of hope and realism for the future. He presumes that coming to Norway displays a positive interest in the country's traditions and cultural fundament. Apparently he thinks about the situation for the parents while the children are probably less conscious. Surely there might be other reasons to move for example for refugees,.

5.3.3 Values as a guide for the everyday life

Somehow the directors' answers show an open attitude like respect or tolerance for differences, but with borderlines for accepted behaviour because they have to "live" and "effectuate" the values in practice. Line says she is "colour-blind", "we don't search for a cultural explanation if someone hits or curses. It might be linguistic incompetence." Clearly she did not discern between behaviour that could be interpreted as behaviour from another culture and what is expected to be Norwegian behaviour. She regarded the school as a society of its own, the rules and the values were for all. Knut is more open to differences in social behaviour that are rooted in the families' culture, the persons' culture or education. The practice in his school is to evaluate the expected parental reaction before telling parents about unaccepted behaviour. "If we know that father hits, we don't call if the son chucks a chewing gum," he says. Jorunn's school is proud of getting a price for inclusiveness and equality. They have just five, but clear rules for behaviour which they present for all parents as well. Her experience is that few, clear and consequent rules are understood and respected. She had found that the Norwegian culture of negotiation creates more insecurity. We see that the values might be fairly equivalent between the three schools, but lead to different answers of how to develop respect or tolerance in the school. The openness as to challenges in practising is different.

A new doctorate thesis has made a comparison about reasons of bullying among native Norwegian and immigrant boys. The main motive in native Norwegian boys is power, and the main motive in immigrant boys is affiliation, wanting to get friends. The researchers did not find differences in the level of aggressiveness between the two groups, which were unexpected. (Fandrem, Strohmeier, Roland, 2009, part II: 19). This is important background knowledge for directors and teachers in multicultural education. Behaviour and non-verbal communication is also a sort of language, telling about cultural background and way of living, but open for interpretation or misinterpretations and social evaluation.. The last result shows

that stereotypic interpretations of bullying behaviour might lead to stereotypic measures like warned against earlier (Cummins (2001/1986) and Costa (1997). How to develop understanding of other cultures, one of the professors in the subject pedagogy (Gabriel) answered like this:

Cultural understanding I consider to be important. To understand that a lot of the pupils have another background ---). Additionally the student teachers have to understand that the migrant pupils have another identity, identity-building, identity-development. They might have “hyphen-identity”, minority-problems.

How these competences might be developed seems to be a bit more difficult as he said:

(---) one thing is theory, something else is practice. It is not easy to influence attitudes via lectures. We have lectures around this. We talk about it. We have theories. We have syllabus tied to identity. We have specified themes around the multicultural problems. (----) I might say: Yes, We present it to them. If it gets a part of them, I don't dare to say anything about.

Here one sees the dilemma between to “preach” the right values for teacher students and to find a way trying to develop cultural understanding. Perhaps this is a question of importance for all professors. One example of the difficulty between the general accept of other cultures and awareness of the influence of own culture I met in an interview of a student in a Teacher tTraining College in Lisbon, using the same questions about values. She was interested in working with migrants, and it was her last year of the education. Her message was “peace and love” between pupils or youngsters. This was easy. On a question about which values she wanted to pass on to immigrant pupils she answered:

I want them to grow with the same values that I grow up with that my parents, my grandparents and my teacher taught me. I want that because that was correct, I grew in a correct way and I want that correct values for my children and for the youngest group.

I asked what she would do if she and the parents did not agree. She would try to find a solution, but concluded: “And if the parents don't agree with me then I talk with the children and say I am right, you are wrong, and you have to choose what you want to do.” I think her answer shows dilemmas a newly educated teacher might meet both inside herself and in the real situation. She was rather positive to acceptance of migrants, but did not show understanding of their values, or how to work with them because her values were “the correct”.

The Norwegian students were a bit vague in their answers to a question which subject had developed their understanding of other cultures. In their opinion the two subjects, pedagogy and RLE, have passed on most relevant knowledge about the situation they meet. Two of them specially underline social science to be important “to learn to understand each other.” Both students chose this subject in their education. The school has to teach the pupils which rights and duties are expected from them as future citizens in a new culture. We have already

seen that the content of the plans is relevant. The problem for the education is, as mentioned, that social science with the knowledge about societal questions is not an obligatory subject for all students, and Norway is so long and split up by fiords and mountains that the different municipalities and schools are still dependent on teachers with general competence.

Jorunn, one of the directors, gives an example for how it takes time to work with attitudes in school. She refers to teachers at the school who say that the pupils are very motivated. Nevertheless they say they need a year to work with the pupils' attitudes because of intern racism, hierarchical opinions, accept of bullying etc. Next after language learning comes social learning according to a leader in another reception school. Behaviour is both a result of a cultural way of living and communicating and a personal language. The body language, as mentioned, can easily be misunderstood both ways. Even being rather dedicated to the pupils and parents, director Knut warned against romanticise the work with migrants. It is challenging and really serious to both the group itself and to the society, he said. Director Line is rather conscious that the school has to be a mini-society as to behaviour.

The classical description of competence to consist of knowledge, attitude and skills might be adequate to give a short version of the cultural competence. The cultural knowledge is one side, which culture the pupils and their families come from, what it means to them. The other is to have good knowledge of the subject and perhaps how it is rooted in different cultures, which also leads to the question of adaptation. One has to be so competent that one may find the way of including the migrant children. Values one may regard as the attitude side of the teachers competence, and at the same time a goal for the education situation with social consequences. For example is the will to include, the will to understand important and at the same time easy to disclose. The skills one mainly define to be the didactic competence when knowledge and attitudes are implemented in the teaching situation, adapted to the pupils' standing point.

5.4 Practice in multicultural classes?

The three schools I visited were all multicultural. They have had students in practice, but can only receive quite few. The University of Fjordglimt has the ambition to care for the possibility of 2 weeks' practice in multicultural schools through the special project. Then the observation tasks or exercises asked for, are centred on the situation and are included in the project. As there are migrant children in many schools in this county, some of the students get the possibility also later, but not all. At the other two universities the practice situation is not

centred on the situation of multicultural classes. Because of an earlier contract system with practice schools, the number of multicultural classes is far from sufficient. The situation then is that the professors do not secure beforehand to know if the students they are responsible for, are in multicultural classes. They do not give special observation or practice tasks with this perspective and some does never ask if there are migrant pupils in the class. Eva says she tries to secure the multicultural practice. Professor Daniel in RLE answered that they have a special focus on the multicultural aspect, in cooperation with the practice teachers when the students are in classes where the RLE subject has the interest. He has, as mentioned, supplied the teaching with the project of visiting families. Anne, professor in GLSM, care for the same, but it is incidentally that she knows if it is possible. It is not secured by a system that the students get in multicultural classes. As all interviews are centred on the migrant pupils' education, the conclusion by the professors is evident; all students ought to have had part of the practice in multicultural classes. By now it seems as the multicultural aspect of the practice part of the teacher education has to be secured at the administration level, finding relevant schools. Practice in multicultural classes is not in accordance with intentions in the Framework Plan.

5.5 *Parents have also a story*

It is already documented that the Norwegian policy for collaboration with parents is legally established and supporting material is available. The obligation of regular cooperation with parents, and the parents' co-responsibility for the education of their children has been clearly emphasised the last 6-7 years. All informants agree in the importance of possibilities and challenges in this collaboration. The same we find in most theories either it comes from Cummins (2001/1986), Cochran-Smith (2004) or results documented by Sjögren (1997-98). The professors in pedagogy call attention to how to meet parents with another culture. First, it is a question of communicating in a clear, open and understandable way which might be a challenge in itself if lacking a common language. Some schools have a support in translating the communication. This is also one of the possibilities that vary between municipalities and schools. So, it is the balance between accepting the parents as a resource, respecting the varied backgrounds and to clarify what is expected from them in a Norwegian school and be open for their anticipations. There are stories about men who do not want to take any messages from a female teacher. One of the directors gave an example of how challenging this might be. At her school teachers met a couple who really was rude to them, again and again. They did not find out why, until it was clarified that this family had lived with servants

and a private driver in their homeland. The living in a rather primitive refugee reception centre in Norway was far from their expectation.

One of the directors (Knut) makes clear that teachers have to learn modesty, to listen, and say:

They (the parents) sit in their history and culture which is not only the country's culture, the family's culture, these persons' culture, education; it is something you have to bring with you. We have to use our eyes as to keeping the rules, we have to think which world the children live in. (---). What is needed for many teachers is to be silent. (---) Let the parents discuss.

As a comment to some more beautiful phrases of migrants as a cultural resource, Knut is warning that this ought to have a deeper meaning than presenting some exotic examples of differences the one way. The Norwegian political aim seems, however, to give parents information of the children's standing point, so to perhaps support them. Cultural questions are not exemplified. My question to professors was: "Are there themes in your subject you think relevant for future teachers to discuss with parents of migrant children?" Every one had many proposals from telling parents that their mother tongue was valuable (Eva) to use in the family, to give them some (Anne) fine mathematical plays to learn concepts used, that could amuse the whole family. One of the schools (Knut's) has groups of mothers where for example health or language is discussed. There seems to be great willingness and consciousness to share knowledge about school and society life. In an earlier interview with some teachers in schools about interaction between immigrant parents and teachers, one of the teachers points at the importance for the children with more coherence in the pupils' situation. It gives security when parents are acquainted with the school. And to turn it the other way round it has importance for the future of the child that parents feel secure in the school and know more about the child's world, and the society the child has to face alone in the next run.

One may say the communication with parents is regarded as positive at all instances. There might be weaknesses if the possibility to needed translation varies from school to school. This is part of the possible local decision. It may also become a one-sided communication to tell the parents what to do, not listening to their views or questions. There might also be some difficulties in integrating minority and majority parents in open meetings. To experience cooperation with migrant parents during the study seems to be far fetched as long as practice possibilities for teacher students are just accidental.

5.6 Adapted teaching

Another aspect for the didactic competence in the subject taught is emphasised both of professors and director of schools. A teacher has to be so competent in the subject that she/he

can leave the textbook, be able to organise their teaching in an independent way. This is also emphasised by Engen (2007: 75) saying that the teacher is dependent on mastering the subject to handle it adequately according to its characteristics.

Engen (2007: 71) says that adapted teaching has to “create the most possible continuity between the subject content and the working plan pupils get and their cultural and linguistic conditions from their home. “ This means to find the balance between individualisation and socialisation, between education in groups to special education for later equal possibilities, which might mean a considerable degree of language differentiation for some time, for example to be able to a common evaluation of age-adequate concepts related to a Norwegian norm. If including also the open dialogue between the teacher and the migrant pupils like Cummins (1986/2002) does and also Engen (2007), it is no wonder that the answers about adapted teaching somehow mirrors the complicated dynamism in the prescribed education model like Haug (2007:33), earlier cited, also described.

Gabriel (professor in pedagogy) says:

I toil with adapted education. For me it is woollen. (---) I have an inner understanding of what I think it takes in, and how I would have realised it myself if I had been in school today. At the same time I am a bit frightened by all the concepts used under the umbrella ”adapted education”. I am afraid we create a too individual school (---) where the pupils are sitting with own working plans and mark them yellow when being finished . Then we replace the concept wonder with duty.

The more pragmatic director Knut says that adapted teaching is something about being conscious of what you are doing. It is not to sit with one book and forget the class. He emphasises that adapted education might cause fear of failure for teachers if it is too much stressed. It is important to take care of the class as a group. He refers to a school known for good results in Pisa tests where they care for the groups. This school with 22% immigrant pupils informs on their web pages. (<http://www.linksidene.no/Minskole/nylund/pilot.nsf>) about their work. The school has adapted an Australian model “Early Years Literacy Program” for own use. The pupils are divided in small groups according to level, around 4-5 stations, one with electronic equipment. The situation is well planned and prepared by the teacher. First they get new information from the teacher and then exercises to manage with or without support from the group. The teacher goes to every group. They change stations every 15 minutes approximately, and change tasks, like reading one place, writing another, working together at one station. This is to support pupils’ different ways of learning. The group element is rather important. In the time span between 2001 and 2007 the percentage on the highest level performance in this school, has augmented from 2% to 50%.

Then one might say that adapted teaching has the idea to meet the pupils where they are. Perhaps this can be developed both individually and in groups. This seems to be concurrent with the wish to create a connection between the migrant children's background and their new situation to support their identity and need for coherence in the understanding of their new world. It seems, however, that the goals for teaching situation are so many-faceted that no single method might attend to all aspects, the dynamism in the class and between the teacher and the class included. It seems as the integration and group aspect would be meagre in a school where individualisation is the only part of the challenges to care for.

The directors of the schools have to face the schools' total obligations for all groups of children. Their relevant advice is to let the student teachers have some practice in multicultural schools confronted with the real situation a teacher has to evaluate. As practice is also an obligatory part of the study, practice experience in multicultural classes seems to be important.

5.7 Competence for power and development

One of the five competences described in the Framework Plan is called "Adaptation and developmental competence" (FP: 5). It refers to an anticipated qualification for teachers, relevant to the power possibility we found described in the three of Adizes' four elements to influence in a situation. How this possibility or competence was comprehended by professors, directors and students, was rather varied, answers were more like questions. To see this as a competence the professors were obliged to develop, seemed to be unexpected. One side was the teacher's obligation to change or adapt the teaching according to different groups; another was to adapt the school's program to changing plans, but a third was to develop new future impulses in the education and the school, which is described both in the Framework Plan and the local plan from Skoglund. Frida points at an attitude of flexibility and openness to the cultural manifold one will meet today and in the future. Two discusses with themselves if the school has to be a counterculture, the directors (Knut) says: "I think school has to have one's own strength, not necessarily mirror society in everything, not being in opposition to society, but a counterculture.". Eva refers to use of professional competence: "Competence to change has not first and foremost to do with adaptation to new plans, like there has been the last 20 years, but think from themselves, what they believe in and represent in a pedagogical and didactic connection" Jorunn maintains that it is the directors responsibility to care for development of the school . The students' answers vary from (Mikal): "being prepared,

knowing that unexpected changes to come” to Pia who wants to contribute with the humane perspective, represent the subjects that can not be measured, subjects with values. Olga, student, said “This is difficult”, and could not say more. Perhaps one of the reasons of the insecurity I met might be, like Eva suggests, that there have been many changes of plans, and political reforms, the last twenty years. This might have lead to consciousness of adaptation to outer changes rather than confidence in teacher’s developmental competence also for the students

It is not difficult to see that the apprehension of how to prepare students to use their possibility to care for change and development of school varies, and also which development is wanted, Perhaps the answers had been different if I had asked if the schools had to be “a counterculture” like Knut expressed. This means that teacher students do not get prepared to use the “power” Cummins advices, not even professors are quite ready to define the opportunities of empowering migrant pupils.

5.8 Common perspectives

It is not difficult to see that there are both tensions and elements of consensus between theoretical perspectives of necessary education for minority pupils, official Norwegian policy and plan documents and the local level of the Teacher Education, represented by curriculum plans and interviews. Naturally this is expected. The theoretical perspectives represented here, sometimes represent different ideologies or different levels of generalisation and the references or documentation underpinning the theories not always comparable. The official Norwegian ideology behind education of the generation of migrant pupils seems to be in some tension with the plans for elementary school or teacher training. The interviews with the practicing professors in teacher education, directors of multicultural schools and newly educated teacher students show both different degrees of concretisation and different degrees of consciousness in their answers. One factor evades, however, in this analysis and also largely in the theoretical discussions, and that is the dynamic between different factors in the classroom situation.

In spite of these tensions, the total picture shows a situation where one both finds common views and important nuances that could inform the future organisation of a multicultural school, both in Norway and in other countries. The OECD report (2009: 41) says:

There is evidence of improved achievement in schools with diverse populations where teachers have more pre-service or in-service professional training in cultural diversity, teaching second language learners and teaching with special needs (Weglinsky 2002, White et. al, 2006)

The analyse so far together with the discussion in the next chapter aims at bringing forth the most essential factors for securing a Norwegian teacher education that is able to support the development of a school where equal possibilities for all children becomes a reality.

6 Competences for Norwegian teachers in the multicultural school of tomorrow

6.1 Introduction

On the background of the theories already referred to and based my analyses of the Norwegian situation of today I will discuss and sum up challenges the Teacher education has to face in order to give an adequate education for the future's teachers in the multicultural situation. It will not be able to give a complete picture as there are so many factors to consider, and not least the dynamics between them, which is difficult to foresee.

Firstly, there are some objective realities to take into account like the earlier referred statistics from 2008 showing that there are 9% immigrant children in the pupil group between 6 and 15 years of age (Statistics Norway, 2008: 55), and that this is increasing. By now, this percentage varies from school to school, municipality to municipality. This year Oslo had 32% migrant pupils, and some schools even around 90%. Nevertheless, all municipalities have migrants. The Statistics Norway has extrapolated the development of migrant population to become between 21% and 31% of the total in 2060. Information from a small Norwegian town tells that this year there are 20% immigrant children in the group of 4 years old. "They are our children", the town's administrative school director said. Irrespective of the insecurity of an estimate, the immigration in the last two years has increased more than the years before and this will have consequences for the school situation.

Secondly, the lesser performance by migrant than majority pupils as groups is a reason for concern. At the same time there are schools showing that this underachievement is perhaps not a necessary result. One of them is mentioned earlier. If one wants to follow what is to be the country's proclaimed ideal, to give all pupils equal opportunities, one has to evaluate both the content and pedagogy of education in schools, the schools' total situation in terms of resources, the plans and practice of teacher education, the daily work of practicing teachers, and finally how all these factors "play" together. To do this would be a huge research work, but there is also a lot to do in applying the research already done. Having said this, the "underachievement" concept should be reconsidered, as the expected "achievement" level is defined for majority children with another background. The migrant children are neither met, nor evaluated according to their backgrounds achievements level. One of the many dilemmas is that one says that their cultural background is a resource, but it is difficult to see how it counts in plans and in society. Another moment to have in mind is what Barry (2001)

maintains, namely that the socioeconomic, literacy, enlightenment and health background of the child is decisive for later falling behind. This needs further research. Therefore, since the migrant pupils are “our” pupils at school, and their development for a future in Norway is partly dependent on school achievement, it is important to give them equal opportunities.

Thirdly, The Child Convention emphasise the obligation in education to develop the pupil’s abilities “to the fullest potential”; and develop mutual respect of the pupils’ parents, their language, cultural identity and values and their country (§ 29). These are ambitious goals that, nevertheless, have to be “leading stars” on all levels in the education system. If this was the case, and one managed to give migrant children equal opportunities, they would not be a group characterised by underachievement.

6.2 *Teachers’ obligations for minority pupils*

We find the obligations in main aims presented in policy documents and framework plans, specified regulations and prescriptions relevant for migrant children. Already in 1986 Jim Cummins said: “(---) individual educators are not powerless” (1986/2001: 653) indicating that teachers have both possibilities and obligations exceeding regulations. This one might say is confirmed in Adizes’ theories (1991). He shows the opportunities available to define how to choose actions also in education, ways of rewarding wanted behaviour or the opposite, and also to influence more indirectly. The aim of the whole teacher qualification is to enable the teacher students to organise, carry out and also develop their teaching relevant to the main goals of the education in order to secure the pupils’ equal opportunities for their future. Since migrant pupils are a minority group, and lacking power compared with the majority, they need special attentions. Minorities are, like Simon (2004) says, in a challenge for their wellbeing, especially because they are in a power disadvantaged situation. Then it is of importance that the teacher students are made aware of relevant measures that can be applied to give these group equal possibilities compared with the majority. This is underlined both by Parekh (2006) and in the Norwegian Strategic Plan (2007).

As we have seen, however, the policy and different regulations might change over time. The different parts of framework plans both for the elementary school (Knowledge Promotion) and Teacher education are not consistent, and even more so, since local curriculum plans for teacher institutions vary so much. As we have seen, the migrant perspective is more or less omitted at one of the three universities I visited. There are in total 21 institutions for teacher education, and most probably we would find large variations in their plans. The omission of

the minority perspective is most probably the result of a majority perspective dominating the outlook. For example, the cultural competence mentioned in Knowledge Promotion (2006/08) is not included in the presentation of necessary competences in the Framework Plan (FP, 2003). FP is, nevertheless, more consequent in terms of including the minority aspect in the separate subject plans. Such large inconsequence opens for different interpretations and insecurity. Even professors in the teacher education became somehow confused and rather general in their answers about their obligation to qualify the students to develop the school in the migrant pupils' perspective ("the competence to adaptation and development"), which in my view means that they do not use the power opportunities that Cummins advises. This is especially important as the frame documents are not consistent, leaving a great openness regarding the main goals.

One of the seven professors (Eva) was clear about the importance of developmental competence, what the interviewed directors, and much earlier Cummins, also asked for. The four interviewed teacher students did not give clear evidence that showed understanding of their power opportunities. In this they might be typical examples of the current situation, from student Pia who was ready to take the responsibility and had ideas she wanted to realise, to student Olga, who found the question about developmental competence just "difficult".

Together with the openness and inconsequence in political regulations, frame documents and education, this leaves a great responsibility to the teachers to define how to implement their responsibility to create equal opportunities to all pupils or to effectuate the obligations expressed in Child Convention.

The new White Paper (no. 11, 2008-2009: 20) says that the subject area of pedagogy has to be developed in order to be a tool for developing critical reflections among future teachers. OECD (2009: 43) characterises schools with a culture for critical reflection to have a "good practice". Perhaps it should be said that the whole teacher education had the responsibility to develop critical reflection in future teachers, like Nieto (2000) and Costa (1997) maintained. It is necessary for future teachers to have a critical perspective to teaching across subjects because it is complex and "laden with social values (Costa, 1997: 187). Evaluations of this kind might open the students' eyes to opportunities of developmental power. However, there are responsibilities related to all levels of education, to show the consequence of idealistic intentions, from the governmental policy and regulations to the effectuation in documents from the Ministry of Education and Research and in teacher education Institutions.

According to this study, the Norwegian teacher education does not seem to be right there by now.

I will continue by using the language policy for migrant children as an example in a discussion about the relationship between research-based knowledge and development of teaching.

Language competence for future teachers

It seems almost unnecessary to repeat the importance of language support and language development for migrant pupils. Mønnesland (1999) describes how language competence preserves a whole nation's identity through hundreds of years. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) emphasise the significance for self-development, the psychological side. Together with Cummins they show the necessity of language understanding in the teaching, the effect on the cognitive development. Parekh (2006) points at how language is part of the culture and at the same time pass on the culture. It gives the possibility to be mutual acquainted with each other's culture. This is what Cummins (2001/1986) emphasises in the dialogue style between students and teachers and inside the student group, which also includes respect for each other. So, put shortly, language is inestimable in its importance for the identity development, the education understanding, the cultural expression possibility and in mutual communication and development of respect for differences. Also the OECD (2009) report referred as mentioned, to positive effects of mother tongue teaching both for motivation, self-security and for the contact with parents.

6.2.1 Bilingual education

There are different views about the importance of giving primarily bilingual education for migrant children, that means to parallelise the mother tongue and majority language education in different ways. Cummins (2001/1986) gives strong evidence for parallel language education through different reported projects, and argues against what he calls deficient interpretations of good results of primarily majority language education (2000). The Canadian policy, as represented by Kymlicka, instructs immigrants themselves to care for the maintenance of their first language, while school gives the education of the new country's language. Compared with Pia Lein's satisfaction with this policy rewarding Finnish Kvens in Canada, one could easily think that this was the ideal. It is, however, the language acceptance she appreciates,

compared with the former prohibition of Kven language in Norway. Similar to the testimony of her own experience from Norway there are also many other voices that tell about having been denied their own language, feeling ashamed, worthless, not understanding (Skutnabb-Kangas (1997), Portes and Rumbaut (2001), Ferreira et Cardoso (2004)).

Another aspect of the Canadian situation might be more debatable. The migrant applicants get points according to education, work experience, skills in French or English etc. One might ask if Canada does receive mainly skilled immigrants, who have a notion of the receiving country's language beforehand. It seems as the country according to its history recognises that it need immigrants, and perhaps therefore accepts migrants more than the Finns were appreciated in Sweden. At least, the first language denials for Finns in Sweden lasted until the mid.1970s (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997: 219).

Teachers ought to know how it is to learn a second language (Nieto, 2000), or, like Knut (the interviewed director) maintains, to know characteristics for main languages and also have background knowledge for development of concepts (Øzerk/Vygotsky: 1996). Bilingual teachers would be the very best. In a conference *Teacher diversity in a diverse school* in Hamar, Norway, Nov. 2008, many of the lecturers referred to bilingual teachers as solving both the cultural and the linguistic challenge. The conference also confirmed Nieto (2000) who says that bilingual teachers often become isolated in the group of teachers. If that is so, there might be unforeseen obstacles to integration, and the tendency to grouping hinders responsibility to linguistic and cultural development of the majority teachers' competence. The plan for supporting more bilingual teachers is also commented in the OECD report (June 2009: 38) : "(...) such teachers should not become a substitute for goal that all teachers should be able to adapt their teaching to immigrant students."

There does not seem to be disagreement about the importance of being bilingual or triple-lingual today. The question is more which languages are seen to be relevant for such competence. In receiving countries like Norway and Canada, immigrants naturally have to learn the language of the receiving country, but which second language they have to choose between is decided by the same country. Norwegian might be chosen as second language, but then the migrant pupils should already be fluent in their own, first language. Consequently this is not relevant for the youngest pupils with an oral language only. Generally it is said that knowing more languages is a resource, but the globalisation has not reached so far that every language is regarded to be a resource in school, even if general political statements say so.

One may wonder how the respect for the migrants' mother tongue then might be appreciated by teachers as well as by the pupils.

6.2.2 Norwegian language policy for migrant children

Migrants from a certain language group, or perhaps coming alone from a country, have been given support in the mother tongue during the starting process of their stay. The degree of a parallel support in the mother tongue during the process of learning a new language varies. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001) the degree of support might result in different bilingual competence from becoming fluent to limited bilinguals. Earlier, i.e. in the 1980s, Norway gave possibility of what Portes and Rimbaut (2001: 131) called "fluent bilingualism", by offering mother tongue education over a long time period. Without discussions, the language policy and the "equality" aspect has changed in later years. Now the support in a mother tongue is given until the child has "sufficient" competence in Norwegian to follow the Norwegian teaching. The estimation of "sufficient competence" in Norwegian is usually left for the school to decide. This could be sufficient for the learning of Norwegian if the estimate was reliable, but it would not be sufficient not for "fluent bilingualism" as we know how many years it takes to learn a new language (Høigård, 2006). Adding the necessity for migrants to understand not only the words, but also the content of concepts we see that teachers in multicultural classes need competence in the processes of learning a new language. To see which concepts are understandable according to the pupils' earlier experience, used in books or in the teaching, teachers also need to know the pupils' cultural background. Contrary to minority pupils, pupils in a majority group who learn a second, usually Western language in the education, have the continuous access to explanations in their mother tongue.

Both from the interviews, the plans and the policy we see that teacher competence is lacking in this matter, even if all agree that it is important. In the last White Paper (no.11, 2008-2009) the aim for migrant children is to learn Norwegian sufficient to follow the ordinary Norwegian education, while internationalism and multicultural orientation including better language competences, means to internationalise the education, apparently to a more Western culture than multicultural, and make the institutions more attractive partners abroad (ibid: 26) or to make student exchange easier.

So far, research shows that the best education for migrant children is to be given the possibility to fluent bilingualism. Then the fundament of the mother tongue has to be taken

into account. In addition the evaluation of “sufficient” knowledge in Norwegian has to be more precisely prescribed, and the teacher education be revised. This means that future teachers ought to be acquainted with second language learning processes, the fundament of relevant knowledge about difficult language constructions in different cultures, and how to concretise essential concepts in every subject. They need competence to cooperate with bilingual teachers and parents who also share the responsibility of migrant children’s education. In this connection it is important for student teachers’ to be acquainted with migrant children’s rights for support.

6.3 What cultural competence does the future teacher need?

Knowledge Promotion (2006/08: 7) says that teachers must have multicultural competence and “knowledge about different starting points and teaching strategies between the pupils”. To develop the pupils’ cultural competence to participate in a multicultural society the teaching has to give knowledge about different cultures and cultural expressions. The cultural competence is also necessary in the communication with parents and families (Cochran-Smith, 2002). The goal is to promote cultural understanding and develop self-insight, identity, respect and tolerance (ibid: 3) in accordance with the Child Convention, Robins’ (2003), Cummins’ (2001/1987) and Parekh’s (2006) theories. We see they all emphasise the importance of respect for different cultures and openness to give the possibility to “negotiate identities” like Cummins expresses, which means mutual influence and understanding. In Parekh’s words this is based on the realisation that culture and identity is not static. I understand Costa to maintain that the importance of intercultural education is to keep the dialogue between cultures open (1997: 191). He is more interested in the culture every person presents than what he calls “stereotypes” of culture. Open dialogues around each person’s cultural identity will develop equality. This is in line with Parekh’s ideas (2006).

The consequence for teachers to have “multicultural competence” and to develop all pupils’ cultural competence for “a multicultural society”, which Norwegian authorities call the country, will be that the teachers ought to have the “knowledge about different cultures and cultural expressions”. This is what Nieto (2000) underlines. Costa (1997) seems to be practical. He advises the teachers to start with the cultural context of each person (1997: 191), and develop a portfolio of different cultures as his own background knowledge (ibid: 187).

One might say that this represent different levels of developing multicultural understanding. The personal level of understanding is to meet the single migrant child with their culture to be

able to discuss similarities between all children's cultural background in the class. One needs communication and social competence and understanding of what is important for the children. The pitfall might be what the directors at schools in this material warn against, that is to present cultural differences as entertainment of exotic happenings. We see how seriously cultural differences ought to be treated in the example from the school in Portugal with pupils from the slum area who quitted from school (Ferreira et Cardoso, 2004).

The next level for social cognition is when the teacher draw the lines to how cultures develop because of historical events, policy etc. At this level teachers need knowledge about history and trends in different cultures and societies. The danger on this level is perhaps connected to what Costa (1997) calls developing stereotypes. Regarding the many inconsistencies in the curricula for Norwegian elementary education and teacher education, the cultural knowledge among student teachers is not secured enough to avoid this so far. It will then depend of the planning of a new Framework plan for teacher education. The two subjects that teacher students in this study emphasised as being important for understanding other cultures, were social science and RLE. Social science is not obligatory in the present Teacher Education. According to the new White Paper 11, 2008-2009, neither RLE seems to be obligatory in the future Teacher Education. The idea is that teachers in schools should only teach the subjects they are specialised in. This is not a realistic option in a geographically long Norway with sparse and scattered population by now. Then one wonders if Cochran-Smith's view could be taken into account that multicultural issues ought to be found in the whole curriculum in the teacher education, "not as an option or a single course" (2002: 951). The multicultural aspect for teacher students should be a necessary part in all subjects of the Framework Plan and in every local subject plan. In addition a discussion in these issues in the whole group of professors, not only the ones in the first two years of study, would most likely lead to a more coherent comprehension of how to share the responsibility for teacher students' cultural competence. By now, however, RLE is the main subject for discussing cultural and religious values and ethics, and these issues are seriously treated according to the plan.

6.4 Religion and values, part of the cultural identity

In countries like Norway where religious education is part of the elementary school, how to meet families with another religious background or with a special philosophy of life, becomes a theme of discussion. Again according to the Child Convention, the child's right is not only to enjoy own culture, but also own religion. In the secularised Norway as in other European

countries views on the importance of religion are mingled with some animosity (Foner and Alba, 2008) against other religions and sometimes religion at all. The perspective is often quite narrow. and the attention in school may be centred around ways of clothing, participating in physical education like girls' swimming and shower routines, with perhaps values behind which show to be more part of the culture than religion. As questions of this kind are handled practically, one hears that nothing is more integrating for migrant pupils than sport activities.

Another side of the education in this subject is to enable students to get a more nuanced view on the relationship between cultural and religious values. This is particularly important when migrant values are seen as controversial by a majority society. The discrimination between cultural and religious values is necessary because like Barry points at (2006), religious values are often regarded to be more imperative. Also this is related to the issue that acceptance in a society has limits, like Parekh maintains (2006), if it threatens the coherence of the society.

All mentioned are questions that teacher students will meet on the practical level and have to be prepared for. Professor Daniel prepared the students for this; both through the teaching and in the special project for students visiting families and congregations. Parekh (2006) describes the importance religions have had in history and political life for many societies. Therefore he parallelises religious knowledge with historic and cultural knowledge, like van Tubergen (2006). According to them it is essential to give religious education, meaning neutral knowledge about different religions, not indoctrination. The idea is that it is important to give the pupils a fundament to choose their own view of life later, and to understand and respect pupils from another religious culture.

So far, the importance of diverse religious knowledge has been acknowledged to the degree that RLE have been obligatory for all teacher students in Norway, but this seems to be changed, Listening to fervent media debates one wonders if the need for this knowledge will be less in a future with more migrants.

6.5 *The importance of practice*

In his article Costa (1997: 197 ff) describes the difference between academic knowledge and the practice situation which he defines as an “action research process” where the teacher is constantly participating, evaluating and reconstructing the real situation. It is far more than practice of academic knowledge. To express the difference between theories and practice in another way, one might say that through the practice situation the student teachers start to

widen their concept about teaching processes. They realise what it is like to be actor and participant in a situation where they use piecemeal of knowledge, reorganised. Theoretically they know something about the importance of language for migrant pupils, of cultural and religious differences, of how to effectuate teaching obligations ideologically. In the classroom they might meet multiple challenges simultaneously, and have the obligation to handle in a way that develops both migrant and majority pupils. Therefore practice is regarded as important in teacher education. In Norway periods of pre-service training are quantified in weeks and expected to be described in the local curriculum plans for teacher education. But, as my research work shows, even if practice has its rightful and legitimate place in the Teacher Education, and has to be described in local plans, practice in multicultural classes is not cared for, except in Fjordglimt University which includes class observations 2 weeks in their migrant project second study year. One may ask if that is enough. Most professors do not know if there are migrant pupils in the classes they have to follow, and if they do it is accidentally.

The conclusion is that neither professors nor students in the other two universities I visited, develop the understanding of how it is to teach in multicultural classes, even if practise periods as such, are regarded to be important, and even if their ideas about schools' obligation to minority groups is well funded in theories. In Norway, the system of practice is well cared for, but this part of the qualification for multicultural teaching needs to be enhanced.

6.6 *Communication with parents*

Teaching practice in migrant classes would give teacher students an admission ticket to possibly meet migrant parents in conferences, meetings or perhaps also together with their children. The opportunity of some experience to cooperate with this group for teacher students during the teacher education, seems to be almost absent as regular practice in classes with migrant children is not secured. Professors who visit students in their practice do not know if classes include migrant pupils or not. Schools' collaboration with parents is however regulated by law (Education Act, 2005). It is well established in the school system. We have already seen how important it is for migrant pupils and their parents and for school to succeed in this. It is included in official documents like Knowledge Promotion or Strategic Plan (2007-2009:16), in theories (Cummins, 2001/1987, Nieto, 2000, 2001, Costa, 1997, Cochran-Smith et al, 2002), in research work (Sjögren, 1997-98, Gabrielsen, 2007) and in my interviews with directors of schools. The Lao family description (Bednorz and Caldwell,

2004) exemplifies one cultural difficulty for these parents in a migration situation as children sometimes become the parents' teachers. Each family meets the school situation with the eyes of their own story and their own culture. The cooperation is a mutual obligation and includes information, communication and will to clarification and participation. Students ought to meet this special group as part of their education in order to be able to deal with these challenges in a realistic way.

There are some small opportunities to be used. The University of Fjordglimt's project shows a possibility to define the theme of some sort of practice in migrant classes. It might include observations of conferences with parents or interviews with them. This could be a starting point. Daniel's project for students to visit migration families had life philosophy or religion as theme, and could just as well have another perspective. As collaboration between school and parents is rooted in legislation, one has to find opportunities for teacher education to develop some experience for teacher students to at least observe migrant parent's conferences or open meetings. To give teacher students concrete experiences of the communication with migrant parents is just as important for their understanding of future work, as life experiences are to give pupils relevant content in concepts. It is essential both for parents, children and for teachers to secure this competence to develop coherence in children's and parents' life situation.

6.7 Adapted teaching

Adapted teaching is being presented as the most relevant didactic approach in the education of migrant children. Politically it seems to be used as a universal tool for dealing with all kinds of difficulties in education. We already know that Engen (2007) says that the pupils' working plan should show coherence between the subject content and the pupils' cultural and linguistic conditions they bring from their home. If this is the practice, adapted teaching could be regarded to be tailored for immigrant pupils as well as for others. There are however some doubts to adapted teaching as the single model for teaching organisation. Haug (2007) describes the complexity of alternatives a teacher has to evaluate for each child in a class. He says that adapted education is dependent of professional and didactic competent teachers. Professor Gabriel in the Teacher Education says adapted teaching is "woollen" for him, and perhaps too individualistic. In his reflections there is a wondering if it becomes a too mechanic way of distributing working sheets for the single pupils. He asks for the incitement of curiosity. Director Knut says the class is not to be forgotten, you have to be conscious of

what you are doing. He refers to the grouping system used in the school that has adapted an Australian model, which can show to better results for all groups.

Behind the adapted teaching model there are important ideas to take into account. Until there is trustworthy research work for evaluating different methods of teaching, and according to the insecurity documented in this study, I think, the best baggage the teacher education could give the students is a capacity to evaluate which elements one finds in good education, to evaluate how different topics might be presented in different ways, combined with the opportunity to observe how each single teachers uses these elements in their teaching. This might develop competence to critically evaluate the complex teaching situation.

There is also the important personal element in the teaching situation like Cummins describes, in the communication of respect and support, teaching is never totally a technique. It is a question of attitude, understanding and personal style. No wonder that social and leading competences are main criteria in the final, total evaluation of teacher students' qualification for becoming a teacher. The cultural and multicultural respect like for example the Child Convention emphasises can not be developed without sharing mutual concrete ideas and information in the group.

6.8 Concluding Remarks

Not only teaching is a dynamic situation. Power gives positive possibilities and pitfalls. One sees there is a necessity to coordinate the prescriptions from administration levels with decision power, so they harmonise with intentions. With the responsibility and power possibilities given to teachers, teacher students need an arsenal of subject knowledge, didactics possibilities, reflected attitudes and self-insight so to be able to meet new challenges, and in addition develop own teacher identity parallel with teaching quality every day. The development of equal opportunities for the future of migrant children in Norway or other countries, need special knowledge and consciousness about conditions of language learning and importance of cultural identity. This is not essential for the migrant pupil only, but for the whole family and for the majority group as well. Fundamental mutual understanding and relevant support in the school society prepare both minority and majority pupils for future multicultural respect, understanding and support. The next arena for research I think is the classroom being the "heart" of the education. Hopefully it is like Ali from Somalia tells (Kidane, 2001): "Some teachers are nice and kind and ask you about your life. It is good when they come and ask like that."

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Appendix I

Guide to interview with professors in different subjects in the teacher education.

Guide to interview with directors in elementary school

Guide to interviews with teacher students in the teacher education

Guide to interview with professors in different subjects in the teacher education.

- 1) **GENERALLY**
 - a. What do you mean are important qualifications for teachers in the multicultural school of today?
 - b. How can these qualifications be developed in your subject?

- 2) **KNOWLEDGE – PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE**
 - a. Are there topics in your subject which give future teachers a fundament to meet children from different cultures? Concretise.
 - b. Are there topics that might become difficult to discuss in a multicultural group?
 - c. Are there topics you see are important or might be relevant for future teachers to discuss with the parents of migrant children?
 - d. Do you see new topics that ought to be included in your subject, relevant for the school of today? In that case, which?

- 3) **DIDACTIC COMPETENCE**
 - a. Are there special linguistic challenges you can prepare students for in your subject?
 - b. How do you prepare the students to be qualified to develop professional concepts for the pupils with different social and cultural background?

- 4) **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMPETENCE**
 - a. Which values do you mean it is important to emphasise for teacher students in today's teacher education?
 - b. Which values do you mean the students ought to pass on in school for Norwegian and migrant pupils?
 - c. Are there topics that can develop mutual respect for cultural identity? Concretise

- 5)
 - b) Is it relevant in the teaching in your subject to deal with questions like cooperation between pupils with different cultural background? In that case, how? If not why?

- 6) **COMPETENCE IN DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE**
 - a. Which changes in today's society and school do you prepare your students for?
 - b. Are there challenges you see the students have to be prepared to handle in a future perspective in relation to your subject in a multicultural school?

- 7) **PROFESSIONALISM**
 - a. Which values do you wish to pass on to the students for the education in your subject, in the perspective of an increasing part of migrant children
 - b. What do you look for in your practice visits and evaluation?
 - c. Do you know how many children with migrant background in the classes where your students practice?
 - d. Is the aspect of multiculturalism included in the tasks or assignments the students have to perform or observe in their practice period? If the answer is "yes", How? If "no", why?

Guide to interview with directors in elementary school

Facts about the school:

- 1) **GENERALLY**
 - a. Which special teacher-qualifications do you think are important in today's multicultural school? Give reasons for that.
 - b. Do you have some opinion about how the teacher education care for this qualification? What is most important?
 - c. What competence do you think "old" teachers have to develop?
- 2) **KNOWLEDGE – PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE**
 - a. Are there topics and subjects you think are specially important for teachers in the school of today? If so, which? Give reasons.
 - b. Do you think migrant children bring knowledge which might be of importance to be acquainted with for Norwegian children? What kind? How?
 - c.
- 3) **DIDACTIC COMPETENCE**
 - a. What is important for teachers to manage when caring for equality in the education for migrant pupils and Norwegian pupils?
 - b. In which fields is it difficult to secure that migrant pupils understand what is expected of them or what is important in the education?
 - c. What is important for teachers to care for in relation to parents?
 - d. What is most challenging?
 - e.
- 4) **SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMPETENCE**
 - a. Which values do you think are important for a teacher to pass on to migrant pupils and Norwegian pupils?
 - b. Are there differences between the values these groups bring to the school?
 - c. What is necessary and demanding as the teacher has to develop mutual respect between different cultures?
 - d. What is demanded by the teacher in the cooperation with parents?
- 5) **COMPETENCE IN DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE**
 - a. Which changes in the multicultural school has the teacher of today to be prepared being confronted with?
 - b. Which challenges has the teacher to face to develop the school? How?
- 5) **PROFESSIONALISM**
 - a. Are there special professional ethical codes you think are important for teachers of today?
 - b. Which professional values do you think the teacher education has to emphasise related to a complex team and complex classes?
 - c. If your school has teacher students in practice periods, what do you want to be emphasised?

Guide to interviews with teacher students in the teacher education

1) GENERALLY

- a. Do you think a teacher in multicultural classes needs special qualifications? If so, which?
- b. How do you think the teacher education can develop these qualifications?

2) KNOWLEDGE. – PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE

- a. Which subjects in the teacher education do you mean are most important related to the teaching in multicultural classes? Why?
- b. Are there subjects (or topics) which ought to be included in the study in your opinion?
- c. Do you think the immigrant children have knowledge which might be relevant for Norwegian children? Give examples.
- d.

3) DIDACTIC COMPETENCE

- a. Do you have thoughts about how to secure migrant children's understanding of different concepts, as they have limited knowledge of the Norwegian way of living and the surrounding Norwegian society?
- b. What precautions might be taken if their language is deficient?
- c.

4) SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMPETENCE

- a. Which values do you mean are important to pass on to Norwegian Children?
- b. Do you think there are differences between these values and the values of the immigrants? In that case, which?
- c. Which values do you mean it is important to pass on to immigrant children? In that case, how?
- d. Is it possible to cooperate with the parents in that kind of questions?
- e. Do you think it is possible to develop mutual understanding and respect for cultural differences? How?
- f. What challenges do you see?
- g. Are some of these questions discussed in the teacher education? In that case, in which connection?

5) COMPETENCE IN DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE.

- a. Which future changes do you see for our society?
- b. How do you mean you as a future teacher ought to contribute to further development of the school related to a multicultural society?
- c.

6) PROFESSIONALISM

- a. What do you mean is of special importance in teachers' professional code of ethics?
- b. What have you learnt from the practice you have had, related to teaching in multicultural classes? - by observation, by own experience or by assignments or preparation?
- c. Do you miss something or ask for in the education you have got so far?

