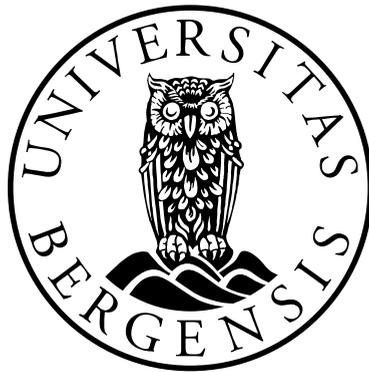


The Borderlands of Educational Inclusion

Analyses of inclusion and exclusion processes for minority language students

Line Torbjørnsen Hilt



Dissertation for the degree of philosophiae doctor (PhD)
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Abstract

This dissertation is based on three studies that provide qualitative analyses of systemic inclusion and exclusion processes for the group labelled *minority language students* in Norwegian educational policy. The theoretical framework is systems-theory, as understood by Niklas Luhmann. Overall, the dissertation focuses on the *systemic conditions* for inclusion, especially the excluding side effects of expectations, requirements and categorisations that at the outset are regarded as inclusive. The dissertation contributes to the research field of inclusive education both empirically, by providing knowledge about the multiple barriers minority language students encounter in the educational system, and theoretically, by showing how Luhmann's systems-theory can prove useful in studies of educational inclusion and exclusion.

The principles of *education for all* and *inclusive education* have since the nineties been pronounced global educational policy objectives. In Norway, these conceptions can be traced even further back in time, as a unitary and inclusive school system was closely related to the development of the welfare state during the twentieth century. An inclusive school has been considered essential for achieving national identity, social equality, solidarity and economic prosperity. Still, ever since the first era of public schooling, different groups have been excluded, despite notions of inclusion. While inclusion certainly has been achieved in terms of educational *access* for all, internal forms of exclusion may contribute to inequalities concerning educational opportunities *within* the educational system.

During the last decade, the Norwegian government has been increasingly concerned with the development of skills and competencies that are considered necessary to compete globally. There has been a shift in educational priorities from ensuring national identity to knowledge economic considerations. Simultaneously, there has been increased political concern for the educational participation and performance of minority language students. In particular, the group of newly arrived minority language students has been considered at risk for marginalisation, and are presently offered so-called introductory classes in order to compensate for their educational disadvantages. Although many statistical studies have shown systematic

differences between majority and minority language students, there have not been many qualitative studies on the *systemic* processes that entail inclusion and exclusion for minority language students, especially those who are newly arrived in Norway and attend introductory classes.

The first study in this dissertation is based on an analysis of four policy documents from the Norwegian government, while the second and third studies are based on analyses of fieldwork material from two upper secondary schools with introductory classes for newly arrived minority language students. The first study put the spotlight on how the phenomena of inclusion and exclusion are understood in political documents, as well as how minority language pupils are *addressed and categorised*. The second study focuses on the *requirements* for participation set by school organisations with introductory classes, and how these requirements lead to internal differentiation and thus “including exclusions” for newly arrived students. The third study illuminates how global educational *expectations* associated with teacher and student roles unfold in the context of school organisations and position newly arrived minority language students in the space of exclusion. Based on the findings in these studies, it can be argued that the Norwegian school system rests on requirements and expectations that constitute a risk for especially newly arrived students’ educational careers.

Although the project has been empirically driven, the contribution of the dissertation is also theoretical. The research field of inclusive education has been criticised for being under-theorised and characterised by difficulties of defining and operationalising the concepts of inclusion and exclusion. The three studies in this dissertation explore different procedures inspired by Luhmann’s systems-theory in order to analyse inclusions and exclusions from a multi-systemic perspective. Since Luhmann does not offer methodological advice, the analytical procedures should be regarded as a further development of systems-theory in order to make it suitable for analyses of inclusion and exclusion based on different kinds of empirical material. The thesis thus contributes to the field of inclusive education not only in terms of providing more information about the educational conditions of the group of minority language

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students, but also by showing how the research field can benefit from the concepts and systemic distinctions offered by systems-theory.

Given the perspective of systems-theory, the starting point of the dissertation is processes of inclusion and exclusion generated by educational priorities. The dissertation thus illuminates the exclusionary consequences of the present educational semantics of the knowledge economy with its emphasis on *skills policies*. Since the findings suggest that the categorisation of minority language students is based on deviance, it will be argued that this asymmetrical categorisation obstructs the complex empirical reality of the individuals at issue. It can be argued that homogenous educational structures lead to more educational exclusions in the encounter with a heterogeneous student population. The dissertation thus suggests that the educational system should increase its self-reflective ability and conceptual complexity concerning its “environment of individuals”. Moreover, it encourages a reflection on the systemic conditioning of inclusion and exclusion in the present educational horizon of the knowledge economy, instead of attributing educational failure to the characteristics of individual students.

List of publications

Article 1:

Hilt, L. T. (2015): “Included as excluded and excluded as included: minority language pupils in Norwegian inclusion policy”

International Journal of Inclusive Education, 19 (2), pp. 165–182

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2014.908966>

Article 2:

Hilt, L. T. (2016): “Education without a shared language: Dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in Norwegian introductory classes for newly arrived minority language students”

In review, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*

Article 3:

Hilt, L. T. (2016) ““They don’t know what it means to be a student’: inclusion and exclusion in the nexus between ‘global’ and ‘local’”

Accepted with major revisions (revisions incorporated in the enclosed paper), *Policy Futures in Education*

Foreword

My research interests in inclusive education for so-called minority language students, as well as my theoretical interest in the systems-theory of Niklas Luhmann, are inspired by different experiences in my professional career. After completing my teacher's degree from Bergen University College and University of Copenhagen in 2001, I started working as a teacher in elementary school while I continued studying comparative politics and philosophy at the University of Bergen. At this time, I was especially interested in sociological and political questions concerning the role of education in society.

After some additional years of study, I completed the degrees Bachelor of Culture and Social Science in 2006 and Master of Philosophy in 2007. Incorporated in these degrees were several subjects in philosophy of education from the Danish University of Education. Initially, I planned to write my Master's degree on the pedagogical ideal of Cosmopolitanism, inspired by all the interesting lectures by Professor Peter Kemp at the Danish University of Education. During these years of study, I was especially interested in philosophical questions concerning globalisation and world society. This interest was also affected my political engagement in the *Attac* movement, aiming to propose political changes that could remedy some of the unfortunate consequences of financial globalisation.

However, during my years in Copenhagen, I was introduced to systems-theory by Niklas Luhmann, and this theory had a great impact on my thinking. When I came back to Bergen to write my master's thesis in philosophy, I was mentored by Professor Knut Vennesslan, and our mutual interest in systems-theory became a great inspiration to me. Systems-theory had not been as influential in the Norwegian academic context as in Denmark, but it was our impression that this theory could offer innovative perspectives on social phenomena in the contemporary society. After having cracked the initial codes of this quite abstract theory, I wrote my master's thesis in philosophy about the concept of "world society" in Luhmann's writings (Hilt, 2007). The conclusion of this thesis was an urge to further develop the terminology of systems-

theory by explorative studies of communication. I have been motivated by this research interest ever since.

After finishing my Master's degree, I started working as a research assistant in two projects initiated by Professor Vennesslan: "The myth about the post-industrial society" as well as "Work environment at multicultural workplaces". In the latter project, I eventually got a position as a researcher, and in my research, I focused on communicative patterns at a hotel with a multicultural work force. In this project, Luhmann's systems-theory was used as an analytical tool to explore and conceptualise these communicative patterns (Hilt & Vennesslan, 2008; 2010).

During my fieldwork at the multicultural workplace, I met with and interviewed several hotel employees who had immigrated to Norway. Their educational backgrounds were quite diverse: some had very little, while others were highly educated, but lacked papers and approval of previous education, as well as language training in Norwegian. Most of them worked in low-paid occupations with substantial physical strain. Although many were satisfied, some of them also longed for a different life with jobs that required qualifications commensurate with their ambitions and previous work experience. We found that possibilities such as on-the-job language training and enhancement of competencies were crucial factors at a workplace that had a multicultural workforce.

When the project ended in 2009, I received a position as advisor in the Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi). In cooperation with municipalities in the western regions of Norway, my department was responsible for settlement of refugees from asylum centres, as well as those who came directly as quota refugees through the UNHCR system. Through this job, I became well acquainted with the Government's policy of integration and settlement, and through the municipalities and asylum centres, I met many people who had experienced immigration to Norway. Through these encounters, it became even more evident to me how crucial education was in the process of establishing a new and fulfilling life in the Norwegian society.

As a part of my experience as Advisor in IMDi, I travelled to Syria and Iran in cooperation with the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) and United Nations

Refugee Agency (UNHCR) in order to interview and select quota-refugees for re-settlement in Norway. My encounters with Palestinian refugees in tent camps at the border between Syria and Iraq, as well as Afghan “women at risk”, who were without male companions, and accordingly marginalised in the Iranian society in which they had taken refuge, made a great impression. Many of the young refugees I interviewed spoke of high ambitions and hopes for the future with regards to education and work life. The older ones had especially high expectations on behalf of their children in terms of educational prospects and the establishment of a good life in Norway. This experience raised a simple but crucial question that became pivotal for the development of my PhD project: how can the Norwegian society welcome these immigrants in the best possible manner through the educational system?

In 2010, Professor Steinar Bøyum at the Department of Education in Bergen contacted me with a request to develop this PhD project under his supervision. The previously mentioned experiences and questions were a motivating force when I developed a PhD application, resulting in a scholarship in 2011. Although the project has been slightly revised throughout the research process, the initial interest in education for a multicultural student body remains. However, as will become clear throughout this dissertation, the focus of the project has for different reasons been directed especially towards education for those students who have *newly arrived* in Norway, with a focus on the social barriers they encounter in the Norwegian school system.

Although my research interest in inclusion and exclusion for minority language students has been motivated by these previous experiences, I have aimed at analysing inclusion and exclusion processes in a nuanced and analytical way throughout the research process. For this purpose, systems-theory has been a supporting companion, offering clear-cut concepts and analytical procedures. However, although the project has been driven analytically and empirically, I will revisit some of these normative questions and implications of the study in the final discussion of this extended abstract.

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1. Introduction

From 2006 and onwards *minority language students*, especially the newly arrived ones, have become a frequent target group for educational policy measures aiming at inclusion (Hilt, 2015). In addition, more or less segregated *introductory classes* have become the primary inclusive organisational measure for newly arrived students in Norway (Øzerk, 2007). This dissertation offers analyses of these policies and organisational measures, and aims to illuminate the *exclusionary* consequences that are embedded in these (at the outset) inclusive measures. The dissertation consists of a synopsis (extended summary) and three research articles that explore the limits and barriers that minority language students encounter in the Norwegian school system. The overall research problem for the dissertation is thus: *What characterises systemic inclusion and exclusion processes for minority language students?* While one of the articles focuses on minority language students in general, two of the articles focus specifically on minority language students who are newly arrived in Norway.

There have been several studies showing that minority language students deviate on important educational measures. A common feature of many studies is that they offer group explanations of school failure, for instance language difficulties and/or insufficient social background. This dissertation offers a different perspective: Instead of focusing primarily on the deviant characteristics of the group of minority language students, the focus will be on the *systemic processes* that these students encounter when attending school in Norway, and the inclusions and exclusions that result from these processes.

Given a systemic perspective, it can be argued that different educational priorities provide different conditions for educational inclusion and exclusion. In recent decades, there has been a transition from considering comprehensive education as an important means for creating a common national identity, towards increased emphasis on the skill and competencies of the population as competitive factors in a global knowledge economy (Telhaug et al., 2006). Against this background, we are in need of research on inclusion and exclusion that is not confined to national context, but is able to grasp the multi-systemic and complex modes of these processes, also

within a global context. To comply with these changes, this dissertation has been framed within a systems-theory perspective, as understood by Niklas Luhmann.

Luhmann (2002a) suggests that exclusions can be understood as systemic and communicative processes. As inclusion always rests on certain conditions, and not everyone is able to fulfil these conditions, exclusion is a paradoxical side effect of inclusion. While a lot of research on inclusion focuses on what kind of governance strategies and organisational measures can provide best conditions for “full” inclusion in society (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000; Dobusch, 2014), this thesis takes an analytical stance and focuses on how the *distinctions* between inclusion and exclusion are set in different systemic contexts.

1.1 Research questions and aims in the three studies

The dissertation offers three qualitative studies presented in three articles that all explore inclusion and exclusion processes from a systems-theoretical analytical perspective and for the group of minority language students. I will now go through the main research problems and aims for the three studies.

The first article, *Included as excluded and excluded as included*, is based on an analysis of four Norwegian policy documents that thematise inclusion of minority language pupils. The article approaches the main research problem for the PhD thesis in the context of educational-political semantics of inclusion of minority language students. For this purpose, the article explores the following research question: *How is the inclusion policy concerning minority language students conceptualised in the policy literature 2004–2012, and on which logical premises does this description rest?* In order to answer this research question, the article aims to: (1) reconstruct how inclusion and exclusion of minority language students are conceptualised in the political semantic, but also to (2) re-describe these reconstructed semantics by applying a systems-theoretical conceptualisation of inclusion, and finally, (3) to compare these to see if the political semantics are including or excluding given a systems-theoretical re-description. By doing this, the article raises some critical questions concerning the inherent logic of the semantic descriptions of inclusion.

While the first study is confined to the semantic level of political descriptions, the second and third studies explore inclusions and exclusions through fieldwork inspired by ethnography in two upper secondary schools with introductory classes. The second article, *Education without a shared language*, approaches the main research problem for the thesis by focusing on the question: *What characterises the processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students?* The article aims at (1) uncovering those requirements for participation that entail justifications of internal systemic differentiation, and thus the creation of sub-systems with their own conditions for inclusion and exclusion *within* the school organisations. The article also aims at (2) illuminating the use of communication media and the relations between the different systemic levels. By doing this, the article puts the spotlight on the *multiple* boundaries to inclusion that newly arrived students encounter in the context of the school organisations.

The third article “*They don’t know what it means to be a student*” is also based on the fieldwork material, but focuses on inclusion as fulfilling *expectations* associated with teacher and student roles. The research question for the third article is thus: *What characterises inclusion and exclusion processes for newly arrived students that are generated by educational expectations?* In order to approach this question, this article aims at (1) reconstructing the teacher’s semantics of educational expectations and how they position newly arrived students with regard to these expectations, and (2) reconstructing the student’s semantic descriptions of their encounter with educational expectations in Norwegian schools, and their comparisons with previous school experiences. After this reconstruction, the article puts these expectations more explicitly into a global context, and shows similarities between expectations in the schools and the ones expressed in the twenty-first century skills as understood by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The third article further provides a systems-theoretical re-description of the semantic descriptions.

1.2 Research design

Table 1 provides an overview of the research design: the core material, main research questions, theory and analytical procedures in the three studies.

Table 1: Overview of research design

Article, title	Core Material [Supplemental material]	Main research-question	Main Theory [Supplemental concepts]	Analytical procedure
“Included as excluded and included as excluded”: Minority language pupils in Norwegian education policy	Four Norwegian Policy documents 2003 – 2012	<i>How is the inclusion policy concerning minority language pupils conceptualised in the policy literature from 2004–2012, and on which logical premises does this description rest upon?</i> <i>(focus on “addressees and categorisation”)</i>	Luhmann’s systems-theory	Qualitative document analysis, semantic analysis, form analysis
“Education without a shared language”: Dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in Norwegian introductory classes for newly arrived minority students	Field/ observation-notes. [Interviews]	<i>What characterises the processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students?</i> <i>(focus on “requirements”)</i>	Luhmann’s systems-theory [Agamben’s concept of “state of exception”, Foucault’s concept of power]	Qualitative analysis, semantic analysis, analysis of forms and communication-media
““They don’t know what it means to be a student’: Inclusion and exclusion in the nexus between ‘global’ and ‘local’	Interviews with teachers and pupils. [OECD (2012) and field/observation notes]	<i>What characterises inclusion and exclusion processes for newly arrived students that are generated by educational expectations?</i> <i>(focus on “expectations”)</i>	Luhmann’s systems-theory [Foucault’s concept of power]	Qualitative analysis, semantic analysis, form analysis

This dissertation contributes a qualitative study of inclusion and exclusion processes for minority language students. The systems-theoretical concepts of inclusion and exclusion have been further developed and operationalised according to the specific context in which the three studies are embedded. As the table indicates, the first study offers an analysis of four policy documents from the Norwegian government, while the second and third study are based on analyses of material generated by ethnographic fieldwork in two schools with introductory classes, although with different emphases. The third article additionally provides a global context for interpretation, by supplementing the analysis with a recent policy document from the OECD (2012) called “Better skills, better jobs, better lives”.

1.3 The outline of the dissertation

This is an article-based dissertation, consisting of this synopsis and three articles enclosed in the appendix. The next chapter of this synopsis starts with an historical-political account of the Norwegian unitary system and its exceptions, and leads the readers into the contemporary context with current policies concerning minority language students. The third chapter gives an interpretive review of the research field of inclusive education. These two chapters provide the background for an argumentation in the fourth chapter of why systems-theory is especially suitable for analysing inclusion and exclusion processes. After presenting the relevant systems-theoretical concepts, as well as the concepts from the philosophers Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben, which have supplemented the analyses, I will describe the methodological considerations and scientific guidelines I have followed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 provides an interpretation of the main findings in the three articles, while Chapter 7 sums up and presents a broader discussion with concluding comments to the overall dissertation.

2. Historical-political background

The *unitary school system* in Norway today comprises primary, secondary as well as upper secondary school: in all, 13 years of right-based education for all children. A central value for this system is the inclusion of all pupils, regardless of abilities, religion, ethnicity, gender and social or geographic background. Preferably, all children and young people are to be taught in the same school in their local community. The idea is that a common school for all will mirror how citizens live and communicate together in society in general, and that the school will accordingly prepare pupils for democratic participation. Nevertheless, ever since the beginning of public schooling and up until the present, different groups have for different reasons been excluded *in* and *from* the Norwegian school system.

In this chapter, I will provide a historical-political background and context for this dissertation. I will start with the beginning of national schooling in the nineteenth century and finish with the contemporary context in which this PhD study is embedded. The chapter will focus on presenting a shift in educational policy from an emphasis on national identity to a stronger attention on knowledge economic considerations. The chapter thus shows how changes in society and different educational priorities provide different conditions for analysing inclusion and, consequently, exclusions.

2.1 The Norwegian unitary school system and its exceptions

In the following section, I will provide some historical outlines of how the Norwegian unitary school system dealt with its diversity in the first phases of comprehensive schooling.¹ In Norway, compulsory schooling for all dates back to 1889, but has been expanded subsequently in several stages of reform. Previously, the school system had been, in line with other European school systems, differentiated according to social strata in, respectively, the Latin school, citizen school and school for commoners (Nilsen, 2010). The political legislation of 1889 paved the way for a national school

system for *all children*, regardless of social background. The idea was mainly to democratise access to education in order to promote equal rights and opportunities for all, as well as to prepare a basis for the development of a *national identity* to ensure Norwegian national sovereignty (Engen, 2010; Slagstad, 2001).

Transition from a stratified school system with organisational differentiation to an expanding *national school for all* brought along new demands for pedagogical differentiation (Engen, 2014). Early discussions about the unitary school system in the beginning of the twentieth century exhibit a clear dilemma between unity and difference, which eventually was solved with the principle of strong internal differentiation within a common unitary national school (Dokka, 1988). In Norway, the principle of inclusive schooling has accordingly become almost equivalent to the principle of *adapted education* (Engen, 2014; Fasting, 2013).² The solution to the dilemma was thus adapted education *within* a culturally homogenising school that ensured national identity.

The national educational legislation of 1889 did also include *exceptions* to the right to education. Some children were deemed unfit to participate in the unitary system, a separation mechanism that presumably protected the school system from unwanted pupil diversity (Slagstad, 2001). Education for children with disabilities of different kinds, as well as neglected, infectious (morally and physically) and maladjusted children was facilitated by segregated systems (Nilsen, 2010). Hence, when efforts were made to reform the national school into a *school for all*, certain pupils were not admitted.

In this first phase of public schooling, education was considered a measure for national identity and the political strategy was to ensure unification by standardisation of language and culture. It was therefore a shared belief that indigenous people (Sami) and national minorities, such as Kvens and Romani people, were inferior linguistically and culturally, and that they had to be “Norwegianised” and thus assimilated (Engen, 2010; Niemi, 2003; Pihl, 2002).³ The Sami language was forbidden, even in monolingual Sami schools (Øzerk, 2013).

In the period after the Second World War, nationalism was condemned and complemented with supranational and universal values (Telhaug et al., 2004). A

second phase of comprehensive schooling emerged with a social democratic reform-technocratic agenda: to ensure social equalisation on a scientific basis. The new research field of educational psychology was particularly influential in this period (Slagstad, 2001; Engen, 2014). Inspired by educational psychology and the civil rights movement in the US, the idea of children having the right to education in their own mother tongue was introduced. After a period of internal and external political pressure, mother tongue instruction was made optional, and then a formal right, in the School Acts of 1959 and 1969 (Engen, 2010; 2014; Øzerk, 2013).⁴

The rationale of unified schooling was developed fully in this social democratic era. The pivotal focus was emphasis on citizenship and social integration, also called “the social motive” (Telhaug et al., 2004). Schools and classrooms were supposed to be social communities embracing pupils from different backgrounds. The aim was to create social responsibility, mutual understanding, belonging, solidarity and respect, values that eventually would prevent feelings of marginalisation. Thus, in this social democratic era, education was a tool for political aims and objectives and an important vehicle for social progress, justice and welfare (Telhaug et al., 2004; 2006; Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006).

Eventually, a third phase of comprehensive schooling emerged, emphasising individual empowerment and equity as an educational priority, inspired by “neo-radical” ideas and pedagogical developments (Telhaug et al., 2006). In this period, awareness and recognition of the history of segregation of pupils with special educational needs resulted in a policy shift where *integration* became the programmatic principle for institutional reforms (Vislie, 2003). The ordinary school should take responsibility and accommodate the need of *all pupils*, and this entailed the right to attend and belong to an ordinary class, which led to more diversity within the compulsory system. As a result, the principle of *adapted education* was now finally incorporated in the school law in 1975, and the responsibility for integration of all pupils was delegated to local authorities (Nilsen, 2010).

Alongside this, a growing number of migrant workers came to Norway in the late '60s and beginning of the '70s. During the '70s and onwards, many also came as refugees, family immigrants and asylum seekers (Brochmann, 2003). Thus, while the

school system earlier had to deal primarily with diversity in terms of special educational needs and cultural and linguistic diversity in terms of indigenous people and national minorities, the school now became increasingly multicultural in terms of an immigrant population. In accordance with the terminology of special needs education, the principle of *integration of immigrants* gained influence, in explicit contrast to both assimilation and segregation. An official state immigration policy with emphasis on mutual adjustments between immigrants and society, cultural plurality and respect for cultural expressions emerged (Brochmann, 2003)

According to Øzerk (2007), the national curriculum of 1987 (M87) can be considered the first inclusive curriculum in Norway when it comes to cultural and linguistic diversity. Identity, both in terms of cultural and linguistic (mother tongue) background, was recognised as an important basis for learning (Pihl, 2010; Seland, 2013). The idea of a shared national culture and a national literacy strategy in school had been challenged for a long time by international literature showing the advantages of different models of *bilingual education* for cognitive and linguistic development and identity formation (e.g. Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1981; Cummins, 1979). M87 thus recognised that minority students had *collective* educational needs, and *functional bilingualism*, the ability to communicate adequately in two languages (Seland, 2013), became a priority.

M87 suggested that minority pupils should be given mother-tongue education, bilingual instruction in subject areas, as well as Norwegian as a second language (Øzerk, 2007). M87 thus exhibited features that overlap with the governmental strategy of *multiculturalism*, such as recognition of collective needs and minority rights as well as emphasis on preservation of minority culture. Still, according to Engen (2014), there was an internal ambivalence in the curriculum: collective rights for minority students were recognised, which would entail qualitative and to some degree organisational differentiation, but on the other side, pedagogical differentiation and adjustments to the individual pupil within an unquestioned cultural frame were emphasised. In any case, the well-meant aims of functional bilingualism had limited effect. The strategy was not further actualised, either on the state or

municipal level, but remained chiefly symbolic and superficial. (Pihl, 2010; Engen, 2010)

2.2 An era of transitions: from national identity to global skills policies

Starting in the '80s, and accelerating in the first decade of the new millennium, a new era of comprehensive schooling has gradually emerged. Arnesen and Lundahl (2006) describe this era as a gradual shift in focus from collective values, solidarity and social community to individual rights, academic progress and choice. This section will focus on how the educational system has dealt with diversity in this era of transition, where the quest for national identity has been replaced by what we can call a fourth phase of comprehensive schooling, emphasising developments of skills and competencies in context of a global knowledge economy.

During the '90s, the paradigm of integration was replaced by the notion of inclusion (Vislie, 2003). The World Conference on Special Needs Education in Salamanca in 1994 was the starting shot of a global policy agenda of *inclusive education*. The conference resulted in the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education, accepted by 92 governments. It was emphasised that the strategy should apply to *all students*, but especially those who were at risk for marginalisation: not only students with special needs, but also, for example, immigrant students (UNESCO, 1994). The Salamanca framework became a global context for national governments' education and inclusion policy, and eventually inclusion has replaced integration as the "global descriptor" in the field (Vislie, 2003).

In Norway, the principle of *inclusive education* was explicitly formulated in the national curriculum of 1997 (L97). It was emphasised that inclusive education should apply to all pupils and that they should attend the local school and belong to a class and community of pupils (Nilsen, 2010; Fasting, 2013). However, unlike M87, recognition of minority pupils' collective needs was not emphasised, and L97 did in many respects revitalise the educational quest towards building a common national

identity.⁵ It was explicitly (again) formulated that linguistic minorities should be included through the unification and standardisation of language and culture. Thus, the goal of functional bilingualism for minority students was removed, and mainstreaming became the dominant policy model (Pihl, 2002).

The principle of inclusion was also incorporated in the Education Act of 1998. Still, bilingual education was now to be provided on the basis of *lack of language skills in the majority language*, not on the basis of cultural or linguistic preservation, and the lack of skills would have to be documented. Mother tongue instruction and bilingual education could only be realised on the basis of individual needs, not collective needs, and these measures were therefore reduced to tools in special education (Øzerk, 2007). According to Pihl (2002) this constitutes a “deficit paradigm”, as mother tongue instruction and bilingual education are now merely compensatory measures based on minority students’ linguistic deviances.

These developments can be seen in view of a shift in mentality from solidarity to individualism, where individualisation was considered prerequisite for educational needs in the modern society (Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006). Pursuant to this, the idea of pupils having responsibility for their own learning became influential in the reform of upper secondary school in 1994 (Meland, 2011). It was a pronounced understanding that the schools should facilitate *individual learning processes* through so-called self-technologies (Engen, 2014) to accommodate the new educational needs of the modern society.

Simultaneously, PISA test results have made globalisation of education more pronounced. Referred to as the PISA shock, Norwegian schools scored average or below the OECD mean in 2000 and 2003. The educational discourse has since emphasised academic learning, instrumental competencies, goal management and decentralised implementation. Policies are to be realised by *local initiatives* within the framework of the nation state, so-called management by objectives (Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006). Wiborg (2013) describes these developments as *a shift along neo-liberal lines* in the Scandinavian countries. International organisations that promote market-oriented policies have gained great influence, especially policies from OECD (Hovdenak & Stray, 2015).

National identity, solidarity and integration have lost ground as the main objectives for education. Different from the social democratic understanding of the school as an important vehicle for the welfare society, the school is now an investment serving the interests of increased prosperity. For this purpose, neo-liberalism, at least as it is expressed through global organisations such as the OECD, emphasises development of cognitive-instrumental competencies and thus the instrumental value of schooling in a global market place (Telhaug et al., 2006).

Globalisation and increased cultural and religious diversity of the population have made it increasingly difficult to reach consensus about the schools' cultural frame. This tendency is explicit in the latest Norwegian curriculum: the "Knowledge Promotion" reform (KL06) from 2006. This reform pays less attention to building a shared national identity, and decisions on academic content and teaching methods have been delegated to local authorities. The curriculum rather emphasises that the schools should teach the pupils *basic skills* and *competencies* (reading, writing, mathematics and ICT), also in order to improve the nations' test results on international rankings. Thus, national identity is no longer seen as one of the schools' main agendas. The priority is building national resources in the form of human capital in order to compete in the global knowledge economy (Telhaug et al., 2006).

The understanding of adapted education as adjustment to the individual pupil has been strengthened. However, individualisation should preferably take place within an *inclusive mainstreaming context* (Engen, 2014). In KL06 the dominance of mainstreaming of minority students thus continued, but the national cultural frame and literacy approach was replaced by a *skills approach* (Engen, 2010). Mother tongue instruction is still seen as an instrument for students who are too academically weak to profit from a mainstream program, but it is not a cultural or linguistic right. The principle of quantitative differentiation with compensatory justification has thus been strengthened at the expense of qualitative differentiation approaches that were at least symbolically promoted by the curriculum of 1987 (Pihl, 2009).⁶

2.3 Current policies and law – Minority language students

I will now introduce the current political and legal basis for education of minority language students, especially newly arrived ones. The principle of the unitary school is underlined in the Norwegian School Law of 1998: as a rule, all pupils are to be taught in and belong to an ordinary class. Schools are allowed to teach pupils in different groups if required, but in general, the organisation should not be in accordance with academic level, ethnic belonging, or gender (Lovdata, 1998). There are, however, two exceptions to this rule of structural differentiation: (1) individual decisions concerning pupils with special needs and (2) pupils who lack sufficient language skills in Norwegian. The latter group of students are often offered remedial education in introductory classes, and the law is formulated as follows:

Pupils [...] with a different mother tongue than Norwegian or Sami have a right to special training in Norwegian until they have sufficient skills in Norwegian to pursue ordinary education. If necessary, these pupils have the right to mother tongue instruction, bilingual education, or both. (Lovdata, 1998, § 2-8 & § 3-12)

The law does not admit rights to measures such as bilingual education or mother tongue instruction based on the student having a different mother tongue than the majority language *as such*, but only on the basis of *lack of language skills* in the majority language. Measures such as bilingual education and mother tongue instruction are thus only provided *if necessary*, although it is not explicit what “if necessary” entails. The regulations are practised differently in different regions of the country (Rambøll Management, 2009), and the OECD (2009) has therefore problematised the lack of national regulations on how to organise education, especially for the group of newly arrived students.

According to Øzerk (2007), however, introductory classes have been the solitary organisational measure with a clear structure for newly arrived students in the Norwegian school system, although there were several other options in previous decades. The prevalence of introductory classes is, according to Øzerk (2007), a result of the Norwegian government’s policy towards minority language students,

starting with the reform of 1997 (L97), where bilingual education, mother tongue instruction and Norwegian as a second language were introduced as compensatory measures. As introductory classes are offered to pupils on the basis of lack of sufficient language skills in Norwegian, the classes are of a remedial character. When the students' skills in Norwegian are sufficient to pursue ordinary education, they no longer have the right to these measures (Norwegian Directorate of Education, 2012). Functional bilingualism, the ability to communicate adequately in two languages, is accordingly a goal of the past. These classes are of a transitional character and last from six months to two years (Øzerk, 2007).

Introductory classes, also called reception classes or welcoming classes, are however not an entirely new phenomena, but date back to the first era of immigration in Norway in the seventies when these classes were the dominant model for newly arrived "immigrant children" in Oslo (Øzerk, 2007). These classes have been quite controversial, given the principle of inclusive and unitary schooling, which may be part of the reason why they were subsequently shut down and then re-introduced in the eighties (Øzerk, 2007). Since the nineties, however, the number of introductory classes has increased substantially, due to both a lack of alternative educational measures as well as an increased number of newly arrived pupils (Øzerk, 2007). After the expansion of the European Union in 2004, the number of classes has increased even further, due to the high number of children of work immigrants from EEC-countries (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2010). Introductory classes are now offered to children of work immigrants, children and young people who come as asylum-seekers, on family reunification or on humanitarian grounds.

Against this background, the Østberg committee (2010) was appointed by the Government to evaluate the general educational conditions for minority language pupils. In Chapter 10 of their report, they evaluate, compare and discuss four different introductory measures for newly arrived students: (1) incorporation in ordinary classes at local schools, (2) introductory classes at local schools, (3) introductory classes at selected schools, responsible for certain age levels, and (4) introductory schools. After an extended discussion of advantages and disadvantages of these different options, the committee recommends introductory classes at local schools as

the preferred national model for newly arrived students (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2010).

The committee (2010) bases their recommendations on the fact that introductory classes provide better opportunities for newly arrived pupils to catch up in terms of language skills and subject learning, and therefore enable better grounds for inclusion in the long run. At the same time, the localisation of these classes at ordinary schools will supposedly provide better opportunities for inclusion in the school community, compared to introductory schools (Hilt & Bøyum, 2015). As introductory classes were not in accordance with the school law at this time, however, the committee (2010) recommended changing the law in order to legitimise these educational measures.

Following this, school owners' possibilities of organising newly arrived students in special classes were made explicit in amendments to the School Law in 2012. It was added (§ 2-8 & 3-12) that school owners "may organise special educational measures for newly arrived pupils in individual groups, classes or schools".⁷ Parliament thus made both introductory groups, schools and classes legitimate and delegated responsibilities for decisions on appropriate measures to the local level. The Norwegian Directorate of Education published national guidelines for introductory classes the same year (Hilt & Bøyum, 2015; Norwegian Directorate of Education, 2012).

3. Review of the research field

This chapter will provide an *interpretive review* of research concerning minority language students and educational inclusion. In this kind of literature review, the researcher has an interpretive role in making sense and constructing a picture of the research field of interest (Eisenhart, 1998; Schwandt, 1998).

I will now address some unresolved conceptual dilemmas in the research field of inclusion and point to some areas that have not been illuminated. The chapter starts with the dilemma of systemic versus individual explanations of inclusion and exclusion, and provides arguments for why this dissertation is anchored in a systemic perspective. The chapter then gives a review of the research field of inclusive education, and illuminates some conceptual ambiguities in this field. The chapter further discusses different sociological alternatives to provide more conceptual clarity to the field. This prepares the ground for arguments in Chapter 4 for why systems-theory by Niklas Luhmann is suitable for analysing inclusion and exclusion processes.

3.1 Individual versus systemic approaches

In the research field of inclusion there is an inherent tension concerning *individual* versus *systemic* approaches. Individual approaches focus on why particular individuals or groups of individuals fail to succeed or be included in different societal areas. Examples are individual or group traits such as social background, deviations in terms of diagnoses, or lack of competencies and skills (Pihl, 2009). Many reports and articles show how minority language pupils deviate on a number of educational measures, based on statistical analyses. The PISA results showed that the variation between majority language students and minority language students in Norway was among the greatest in the OECD (Hvistendahl & Roe, 2004). Further, Bakken (2003) found that minority language pupils performed worse than other pupils in terms of reading skills and grades, and Pettersen and Østbye (2013) found that minority language students drop out from upper secondary school more frequently than other students do.

These statistical studies are important for identifying systematic differences between various groups in the population. However, such studies do not usually take into account the social context where marginalisation processes and exclusions happen. In addition, such approaches entail categorisations of pupils that may themselves lead to problems of stigmatisation and marginalisation (Pihl, 2009). As Pihl (2009) points out, the performance gap between minority and majority students may suggest that the school system systematically fails to enable participation for these students in work and civic life. Still, very few qualitative studies have been conducted that provide in-depth analysis of the social processes minority language students are involved in when attending school in Norway.

The alternative approach to individual explanations is to focus on the systems at issue, and analyse the *social processes* that lead to systematic exclusion and marginalisation (Pihl, 2009). This dissertation provides analyses from a systemic perspective. Accordingly, the dissertation contributes to the research field of inclusive education, as this field is characterised by a focus on inclusions and exclusions as systemic and social processes. Still, as will be argued in the next section, the research field of inclusive education has some inherent conceptual problems that need to be addressed and dealt with.

3.2 The research field of inclusive education

According to Graham and Jahnukainen (2011), systemic approaches are in agreement with the original intentions of the so-called inclusive education movement: to focus on the social processes rather than the special educational needs of individual students. However, it can be argued that the field of inclusive education is a heterogeneous, messy and ambiguous field. This section will focus on some of the inherent dilemmas and theoretical shortcomings in this research field.

As previously mentioned, there was a shift in political terminology in the beginning of the '90s, in which the concept of integration was replaced by the concept of inclusion (Vislie, 2003). These developments, starting with the Salamanca Declaration of 1994, are not only evident in global politics, but also in the

international research field of inclusive education (Topping & Maloney, 2005). There are in other words clear alignments between political communication concerning inclusion and exclusion, and the concepts that are used in research. Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000) therefore argue that educational policy research on inclusion often seems to take for granted the terminology embedded in the policy discourses. The tight couplings between political and scientific communication about inclusion and exclusion has several consequences for the theoretical consistency of the field.

Since Salamanca, inclusive education has come to have several different meanings across the world (Miles & Singal, 2010). Inclusion is now a concept that travels across different public, scientific and everyday discourses and is therefore far from unambiguous (Dobusch, 2014). According to Nind et al. (2004, p. 260), one can say that inclusive education is a “contested territory with competing definitions”. Obviously, this situation causes problems both for defining inclusion in research (Allan & Slee, 2008), and for operationalising inclusion in a way that makes it identifiable in educational contexts (Nind et al., 2004).

Although the concept of inclusion seems to have different meanings in different contexts, there are nevertheless certain identifiable patterns. At first, the concepts of inclusion and inclusive education were primarily related to students with “special educational needs”. Later, it has come to imply embracing *diversity* in general and thus the participation of *all pupils*, at least in one of its most prevalent definitions. While integration was associated with Durkheimian ideas of the whole and its parts, where those who are outside are supposed to be (re-)incorporated into the whole, inclusion has become equal to creating a community that embraces everyone, and where diversity is the normal condition (Morken, 2012). The concept of inclusion is thus related to the concept of *diversity*, and rests on the premise that diversity is a desirable and positive aspect of social life.

Given this, it can be argued that inclusion is often used as a normative concept in research, and that the research field follows the political rhetoric in terms of addressing inclusion as an aim and a strategy for society. The concept is supposed to account for everyone, not particular groups, and this entails a concern for systemic processes rather than focusing on the incorporation of (excluded) individuals. At the

same time, however, the strategy exhibits special concern for those who have challenges in school related to their socio-economic circumstances, ethnic origin, cultural heritage, gender, sexual preferences and so on (Topping & Maloney, 2005).

The expansion of addressees from those who for different reasons struggle in or outside the ordinary system to *all pupils* may entail justifications as well as greater demands for *internal* adjustments and differentiation. While some have understood inclusion as a vision where all students learn together in a community in ordinary classrooms at their local schools (Loreman, 2007), others have argued that one must look beyond such a physical definition (Erten & Savage, 2012) and approach inclusion as a more complex phenomenon. This is one of the paradoxes and inner tensions of the conception, as the embracement of everyone may lead to what for example Young (2000) has called *internal exclusions*: even though the formal rights to participation are the same, the system may rest on assumptions that privilege certain groups and individuals at the expense of others (Hilt & Bøyum, 2015).

The fact that inclusion, at least in its most prevalent definition, applies to *all pupils*, may further obscure the power relations between different groups (Venneslan, 2007). After all, power is not necessarily equally distributed, and it is for example relevant to assume that majority pupils in many respects are in a more fortunate and influential position than minorities. Students with immigrant backgrounds are for example usually the ones that are invited in, not the ones that invite (Venneslan, 2007). The strategy of inclusion as an all-embracing notion risks laying a smokescreen over the fact that inclusion always happens on certain conditions, which usually are decided on the basis of power.

The multiple meanings, ambivalence and obscurity of the concept inclusion have been pointed out by many researchers (Allan & Slee, 2008; Miles & Singal, 2010; Nind et al., 2004; Morken, 2012) According to Topping and Maloney (2005, p. 5), the research field is “chronically under-theorised” resulting in inconsistency and incohesiveness of the field. The most prevalent definition, where inclusion is equal to changing the system and learning environment in order to encompass all pupils, regardless of, for example, needs and abilities (Morken, 2012), is unclear as to

whether inclusion is the process towards an ideal situation of encompassing all pupils, or the final aim where this ideal is fully accomplished.

The clear alignments between the political discourses and educational research, as well as the under-theorised and unclear status of the concept, may result in inclusion being understood as merely a political buzzword and therefore easy to dismiss as an unrealistic, utopian vision. The concept thus loses its explanatory power, and its potential for educational research. This tendency is strengthened by the fact that a lot of research in the field entails a notion of inclusion as limitless (Hansen, 2011), and that some research rests on an oversimplified assumption of inclusion as “full inclusion” in society (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000).

These reflections do not necessarily entail entirely giving up on the concept of inclusion, but we are in need of theory development and more analytical concepts in order to explore inclusions and exclusions on contemporary premises. Horst and Pihl (2010) argue for the necessity of addressing especially the linguistic, cultural and religious situation in schools with new theoretical concepts. They claim that new concepts can provide important vehicles for development of theory in the field of education for these students, as the concepts can transgress the boundaries set by the political discourses.

3.3 Some central sociological “problematics” in research on inclusion

In a review article of social inclusion and governance, Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000) support some of the features that were presented in the previous sections, and claim that the field is in need of research produced through critical analysis and intellectual inquiry, rather than mere rephrasing of the political terminology. The field of inclusive education has been strongly affected by political rhetoric and the global inclusive education movement, and is therefore primarily a normative conception. However, social inclusion has also been a fundamental theoretical issue in sociology with substantial theoretical discussion the last three or four decades (Stichweh, 2009a). Against this background, it is plausible to assume that the field of

inclusive education could benefit from sociological insights regarding the phenomena of inclusion and exclusion.

The concepts of inclusion and exclusion have been understood and defined differently by different paradigmatic positions in sociology. I will therefore take three review articles as a point of departure to shed light on these positions and some of their inherent dilemmas. In the first review article, Stichweh (2009a), who focuses primarily on the sociological discussions regarding inclusion and exclusion, identifies the following four positions:

1. The paradigm of *membership* in terms of citizenship and organisational belonging. This perspective dates back to theories of the welfare state by T.H. Marshall, identifying plural forms of societal institutionalisation and modes of participation.
2. The paradigm of *solidarity* in the tradition from Durkheim, where inclusion is understood in relation to the concept of integration, and exclusion as breaches of solidarity.
3. The paradigm of *differentiation* as discipline and power, with Foucault and Goffman as main contributors. Inclusion and exclusion were understood as differentiation processes in heterogeneous social systems. This paradigm made it clear that it was possible to be included and excluded in society at the same time, for example through “total” institutions such as prisons and psychiatric institutions.
4. The paradigm of *society and social systems as communication*. Inclusion is conceptualised as a difference that entails addressing a person by the means of communication. This paradigm is represented by systems-theory as understood by Niklas Luhmann. (Stichweh, 2009a)

In the second review article, Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000), who primarily focus on research concerning social inclusion and educational governance, identify two diverging “problematics” and categorise them as “the equity problematic” and “the problematic of knowledge”. In a third review article, Dobusch (2014), who focuses

on research on inclusion and organisations, identifies two areas and patterns that are quite similar to the ones Popkewitz and Lindblad identify, but Dobusch merely provides a description of the two fields without naming them.

As will be shown in this section, “the equity problematic” overlaps with the membership paradigm (1) and the “problematic of knowledge” shares similarities with the differentiation paradigm (3) in Stichweh’s matrix. These positions are also similar to Dobusch’s descriptions. In the following, the focus will be on these positions. Stichweh’s solidarity paradigm (2), with its assumptions of integration inspired by Durkheim, was influential up until the previously mentioned shift to the inclusion paradigm in the ’90s, and will not be discussed further.⁸

I will now selectively go through the argumentation in these review articles, and show some inherent dilemmas concerning the membership paradigm/“the equity problematic” and the differentiation paradigm/“the problematic of knowledge”. This section will pave the way for an argumentation in Chapter 4 about the necessity of supplementing the field with position (4) in Stichweh’s overview – systems-theory. Although there is always the danger of oversimplifying research by categorisation, an ordering of these positions may prove useful for rethinking the conceptualisation of inclusion and exclusion.

The perspective categorised as the “the equity problematic” is, equal to the membership paradigm, concerned with the possibility of participation for different groups of individuals in society (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000; Stichweh, 2009a). Educational governance is understood to enhance inclusion by removing obstacles for participation. Attention has been directed towards structural categories, such as class, disability, ethnicity, race and gender, and the problematic has served usefully by identifying categories with restricted access and opportunities for participation (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000). In organisational research, a similar approach is concerned with participation in organisations. This perspective argues for the necessity of developing measurement criteria for the status of inclusion and exclusion for individuals and groups (Dobusch, 2014).

From this perspective, inclusion is considered a desirable goal, while exclusions need to be eradicated. The approach is therefore primarily normative

(Dobusch, 2014) where inclusion and exclusion are seen as distinct categories. The aim seems to be a situation of “full inclusion” without the existence of exclusions. Exclusions are something that can be eliminated through policies and measures that aim at inclusion. Research from this perspective is thus concerned with the possibility of individuals and groups of eventually participating *fully* in different areas of society; a notion that has been criticised for operating with a limitless conception of inclusion (Hansen, 2011; Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000).

“The problematic of knowledge”, however, focuses on the systems of reasons that are embodied in educational policy, reforms and curricula, where inclusion and exclusion are seen as interwoven (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000). This position resembles the paradigm of differentiation in Stichweh’s overview. Systems of reason produce subjectivities by normalising and recognising certain dispositions, capabilities and characteristics, while rendering others deviant or unwanted (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000). The approach is analytical in the sense that it illuminates how structural categories, groups and individuals that are targeted by governance, are socially and historically produced. Inclusion and exclusion processes are thus embedded in the very process of targeting these groups. In organisational research, a similar approach is sensitive to the power relations embedded in historical inequalities that can be traced in organisations. The procedure illuminates the excluding side effects of organisational measures that paradoxically aim for inclusion (Dobusch, 2014). Such perspectives show how inclusion and exclusion are constitutive, meaning every inclusion entails exclusion and *vice versa* (Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2000; Dobusch, 2014).

The membership paradigm/“the equity problematic” and the differentiation paradigm/“the problematics of knowledge” constitute two different conceptions of inclusion and exclusion. Obviously, the conception of inclusion entailed in the former appears more frequently in political communication as well as in research that affects legal and administrative practices. The differentiation paradigm/“the problematics of knowledge” however, has a more analytical approach to inclusion and exclusion, and cannot necessarily provide political advice. After all, new inclusive measures can always be criticised for the inevitable exclusionary consequences they bring along

with them. While the equity problematic can be criticised for being unaware of the excluding consequences of inclusive measures, the problematic of knowledge can, although perhaps not intentionally, lead to resignation and poor societal impact of its findings. These, perhaps in some respects caricatured, representations of two conceptions of inclusion, show that there are internal ambivalences in the field.

Given the political-historical background (Chapter 2), it can be argued, in line with “the problematic of knowledge”, that inclusion and exclusion processes are socially and historically contingent, and not natural or essential processes. However, from the perspective of this dissertation, the assumption that inclusion and exclusion are interrelated does not entail that inclusion is a negative or even unnecessary societal phenomenon (as it will lead to exclusion anyhow). Rather, the ambiguity of the concept of inclusion, both in global and national politics, as well as in educational research, makes it pertinent to study inclusion *within* a given context in order to give meaning to the concept (Jønhill, 2012; Singal, 2007).

Rather than assuming that inclusion is an unlimited and positive concept, or for that matter unnecessary and with inevitable negative consequences, we have to analyse these phenomena in given situations and explore the social consequences of inclusions and exclusions. We are thus in need of analytical concepts that can grasp the contingency of inclusions and exclusions, but at the same time give fruitful and nuanced accounts of the processes minority pupils meet in the educational system *at the present*. On the background of these reflections, the next chapter will argue that systems-theory is suitable for analysing inclusion and exclusion processes in education.

4. Analytical framework

In this chapter, I will argue why systems-theory is suitable for analysing inclusions and exclusions in the context of education, and present the analytical framework. As the project takes a pragmatic methodological stance, and the use of theory primarily follows an abductive procedure (Peirce, 1955), concepts from the theories of Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben are drawn into the project when they provide conceptualisations that are more fruitful. The chapter will first introduce relevant aspects of systems-theory, and in the end, the supplemental concepts.

Against the background of the political shift from the national identity strategy to the global skills approach, analyses of inclusion and exclusion processes must consider the contemporary context. Although important research has been done showing how the national identity project in education excludes cultural minorities (e.g. Seeberg, 2006; Engen, 2010; Niemi, 2003), there has not been much research on inclusion and exclusion in education within a contemporary global and multi-systemic context. Systems-theory allows a conceptualisation of the present *global* educational context, and provides systemic distinctions that enable multi-systemic descriptions of inclusions and exclusions.

The use of systems-theory as an analytical framework in this dissertation is thus primarily justified *heuristically*. In addition to making it possible to identify inclusions and exclusions, systems-theory can provide a nuanced account of when and why exclusions are problematic, and when they are not (Jønhill, 2012; Hilt, 2015). Events and patterns in the research field have strengthened the need for this kind of conceptualisation, as it has become evident that minority language students were included and excluded at several systemic levels at the same time, and that these processes are independent, yet related (see Article 2).

Systems-theory is well known for its strengths pertaining to well-defined and delimited concepts, analytical consistency and level of abstraction. Based on the reflections in the previous chapter, I will argue that the research field of inclusive education is especially in need of this kind of theory development. Overall, there have been conducted very few, if any, empirical studies on inclusion and exclusion

processes in the context of education that use systems-theory as an analytical framework. As it can be argued that different theoretical perspectives provide different observations, and therefore different accounts of inclusions and exclusions, a systems-theoretical contribution may generate new descriptions.

Systems-theoretical concepts of inclusion and exclusion are, however, not only well defined and analytically consistent. They are also sensitive to different systemic contexts (Jønhill, 2012), and may therefore prove suitable for ethnographic research (Lee, 2007). This project combines systems-theory with research methods inspired by ethnography, and the theoretical conceptualisation can be characterised as a movement back and forth between analytical framework and research material. In agreement with Albert (2004), the engagement with Luhmann's systems-theory is thus characterised by selective usage, rather than wholesale adoption. In all three studies in this dissertation, systems-theory is used as a toolbox: a reservoir of concepts, ideas and analytical procedures.

4.1 Systems-theory – autopoiesis

Systems-theory by Niklas Luhmann is a theory of *autopoietic* (self-producing) systems of communication. However, it should be emphasised that systems are not ontological entities *in the world*, just waiting to be discovered by the researcher. Rather, systems in Luhmann's conception are scientific and heuristic instruments, enabling us to observe the world in certain ways.⁹ As explained by Luhmann (1995, p. 2): "Thus the statement 'there are systems' says only that there are objects of research that exhibit features justifying the use of the concept of system."

As Jønhill (2012, p. 11) points out, systems can simply be described as contexts, where the context displays certain characteristics. The concept is selected as the primary basis for systems-theory due to its scientific benefits. However, Luhmann (1995, p. 2) emphasises that one must carefully distinguish between theoretical concepts and the phenomena in itself: conceptual abstractions (theory) are not equal to the self-abstractions of phenomena (structures). A relevant example may be this: when studying communicative patterns at a particular school, one must distinguish

between the way the school observes and describes itself, and the theoretically directed observations of the school as an organisational system.

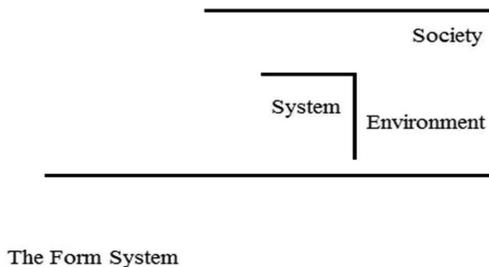
Luhmann's aim in developing a systems-theory is to eventually create a system of concepts that condition and limit further observations and concept formation (Qvortrup, 2006; Venneslan, 2013, p. 44–50). Systems-theory is thus an analytical apparatus through which social life can be observed by delimiting the options for observation, and *as such* not a description of the world as it is. As Luhmann (1995, preface) himself explains it in a painterly way:

This theory pushes the presentation to unusually high levels of abstraction. Our flight must take place above the clouds, and we must reckon with a rather thick cloud cover. We must rely on our instruments. Occasionally, we may catch glimpses below of a land with roads, towns, rivers and coastlines that remind us of something familiar, or glimpses of a larger stretch of landscape with the extinct volcanoes of Marxism. But no one should fall victim to the illusion that these few points of reference are sufficient to guide the flight.

The allegory of systems-theoretical observations as a flight above the thick cloud cover calls attention to the theory's unusually high level of abstraction and the strict distinction between the conceptual apparatus and the phenomena in itself. However, this makes it pertinent to ask: What benefits can such an abstract theory have for an empirical study? After all, there is always the danger that the engagement with abstract theories becomes self-sufficient and exclusionary for readers. Moreover, the process of applying and operationalising such a theory takes a lot of analytical and interpretive effort. Why not choose a more established theory?

Many researchers have become aware of the advantages of applying systems-theory in empirically oriented research (to mention a few: Harste & Knudsen, 2014b; Jønhill, 2012; Tække & Paulsen, 2010; Åkerstrøm Andersen, 1999). The reason for this is probably that systems-theory enables different observations and analyses of social phenomena than the most obvious and "natural" ones. As Jønhill (2012, p. 8) points out, the general concepts of systems-theory seem more sensitive when engaging with "empirical reality". The high level of abstraction creates a distance to the social phenomena at issue and prevents the researcher from being absorbed by

self-evident notions. In addition, as Luhmann (1995) himself argues, the concept of systems seems especially fruitful in order to abstract facts that enable comparisons between different kinds of system formations.



The Form System

Figure 1: The elementary form of social systems

The figure above shows the elementary form of social system. It should be emphasised that systems, according to Luhmann (1995), are not constituted by identity, but by distinctions between *system* and *environment*. All systems differentiate themselves from something that is not themselves, defined as an outside or environment. However, this environment is constructed by the system and is not an environment “an sich” (Luhmann, 1995). The system can only access its environment through its own communicative possibilities. However, what is crucial about this conceptualisation is that a system can be seen as a “guiding difference” for a researcher, and this difference is what enables the theory itself to process information (Luhmann, 1995) from the environment. Given this, Luhmann’s theory is more precisely named as a theory of system/environment distinctions.

The distinction between inclusion and exclusion is equivalent to the distinction between system and environment. At its most basic level, inclusion entails what is considered relevant for the system (self-reference), while exclusion entails what is left out – the outside or environment (other-reference) (Luhmann, 2002a). By

applying Luhmann's systems-theory, one can thus operate with a clear-cut concept of inclusion and exclusion, which can prove useful given the lack of conceptual clarity in the field of inclusive education.

4.2 The Conceptual basis:

In the following sections, I will present the conceptual basis for the systems-theoretical framework. There are especially three concepts that have been essential for the analytical work in this dissertation: communication, observation and meaning/semantics.

4.2.1 Communication

Communication is a concept that has conditioned this project in every analytical phase. According to Luhmann, social systems are reproduced through communication, and communicative acts are therefore the basic events of social life. However, while communication traditionally has been defined as transmission of messages or information from a sender to a receiver, Luhmann (1995, p. 139) finds this model inadequate, as "It suggests that the sender gives up something that the receiver then acquires". Instead, Luhmann takes a constructivist stance: Communication involves at least two persons who initially are intransparent to one another: one cannot know what goes on inside another person's consciousness. The communicative act is thus (at the basic level) a mutual adjustment between two persons where the social situation creates expectations for further conduct. This mutual adjustment is, however, not necessarily representative of the persons' intentions, but creates a third level: a social system on its own basis (Luhmann, 1995).

This is why Luhmann (1995) suggests that we conceptualise communication as a selection process of information, utterance, understanding and action. First, a person (alter) selects information and utterance – for example: a teacher selects a theme for communication: how to write a sentence in Norwegian, and uses the blackboard to utter this information. However, the social consequence of this

utterance is undetermined until another person (ego), for instance a student, selects an understanding and a further conduct. The student's selection may be an acceptance or rejection of the first selections. Crucially, however, someone has to select an understanding and a conduct to follow up on the initiative before the contribution can be seen as a part of a communicative structure. Hence, communication is seen as a selective process that connects to earlier communication and conditions further communication (Luhmann, 1995, Chapter 4).

Given this selective process, Luhmann (1995) claims that social systems can be observed as an independent reality, a reality that is constituted by communication, not by individual consciousness. The mind does not participate in communication, but there are couplings between consciousness and communication, enabled in particular by *language*, but also by other media such as for instance power, digital and social media (Luhmann 1995, pp. 160–162 or Article 2 for elaboration). This is why Luhmann (1990, p. 31, my translation) has expressed this controversial thesis: “The human being cannot communicate. Only communication can communicate”. While psychic systems reproduce themselves on the basis of thoughts and feelings, social systems reproduce themselves on the basis of communication.

Obviously, this notion is quite radical, as it entails an understanding of social life as an independent system formation and not *per se* generated by the human beings engaged in the social activity. As many of Luhmann's arguments, the distinction may at first seem counter-intuitive. However, I will argue that this is primarily *an analytical distinction*, enabling us to observe social processes more clearly. A communicative act, also in Luhmann's conceptualisation, after all involves at least two persons, but the point is that communicative expectations are created independently of the participation of *particular* individuals.

During the fieldwork, this conceptualisation of communication made it possible to distinguish between different communicative selections. The teacher for example selected *information*, an equation, and an *utterance*, for example he/she instructed the equation in a fast manner in the Norwegian language. When a student selects an understanding and acts upon what has been uttered by the teacher, a social structure has been established, and the social consequence of the information/

utterance can be observed. Moreover, the conduct initiated by the student now conditions further communicative processes. This approach thus makes it possible to focus on communication and systemic constructions, and leave the students' and teachers' individual intentions to the "Unbekannt bleibende Realität" (unknown existing reality) (Luhmann, 1993, title). The concept of communication was thus a guiding concept, especially in the fieldwork, enabling me to grasp the characteristics of the communication at issue.

4.2.2 Meaning and semantics

Luhmann has proclaimed *meaning* as the fundamental concept in sociology (Luhmann & Habermas, 1971), and communication is fundamentally a *meaning-making process* in social systems. The systems-theoretical concept of meaning is a further development of the phenomenological concept of meaning as understood by Edmund Husserl. In agreement with Husserl, Luhmann (1995, p. 65) sees meaning as a distinction between *actuality* and *possibility*: "everything actual has meaning only within a horizon of possibilities indicated along with it." Something is indicated and stands in the focal point and all else constitutes a horizon of further possibilities. Meaning is thus a processing of information according to distinctions (Luhmann, 1995).

However, differently from Husserl, Luhmann does not base the concept of meaning on a transcendental authority. Instead, meaning is considered a self-referential process – not confined to consciousness or based on a transcendental ego. Both psychic and social systems process information according to differences and by doing this they constitute meaning in self-referential processes. Psychic systems constitute meaning by thoughts and feelings, while social systems constitute meaning by communication (Luhmann, 1995). Meaning accordingly does not refer to something outside meaning, but only to other forms of meaning and must therefore be analysed in this self-reflective, recursive emergence (Åkerstrøm Andersen, 2014).

The main issue here is not to give a comprehensive account of these abstract philosophical discussions, but to show how these concepts have conditioned this dissertation. By framing the project by this conceptualisation, meaning-making and

social phenomena can be seen as self-referential (*autopoietic*) systemic constructions, and thus contextual and contingent (“they could also be otherwise”) rather than natural or essential. In addition, the concept of meaning is important in terms of the semantic analysis at the core of the analytical work in the dissertation.

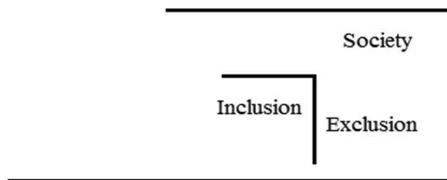
Meaning is an event constituted from instance to instance; concepts are created, and a horizon of further possibilities runs along with it (Luhmann, 1995). However, while the production of meaning as operations is an unstable and changeable event in the world, some forms of meaning are preserved by social systems and constitute a *semantic reservoir* for communication. When analysing a system’s communicative structures, the semantic reservoir is what is observable for the researcher, as these forms of meaning are durable. Semantics are, in Luhmann’s (1995, p. 163) terms, preserved structures of meaning, in other words: “a supply of possible themes that are available for quick and readily understandable reception in concrete communicative processes.” Thus, while meaning is seen as specific operations, semantics are *condensed* and *generalised* forms of meaning. Semantics may consist of pictures, symbols and ideas, but concepts are often at the centre of semantic analyses (Åkerstrøm Andersen, 2014). Especially the concept of semantic has been essential for the analyses presented in the three articles, and the more concrete analytical processes are accounted for in the articles, as well as in the methodological chapter of this synopsis.

4.2.3 Observations and distinctions

The theory of distinctions, based on the logic of forms, in Luhmann’s latest works has also conditioned this project.¹⁰ This theory entails that an observation is an operation that makes a distinction to indicate one (but not the other) side. A distinction, for example true/false, is selected, and one of the two sides is indicated (marked space), for example *true*. Even though it is the indication that is made explicit, an observation is always a distinction. The other side (e.g. *false*) is always present, but the distinction is hidden. All observations are based on a distinction and an indication, which together is conceptualised as a *form* of meaning (Luhmann, 1994).

In a so-called *first-order observation*, the observer only sees the marked side of the distinction, unaware of the contingency and blind spot of the observation (Luhmann, 1994). However, the same or a different observer can observe the distinction used in the first observation, and become aware of the double-sidedness of the form.

Luhmann (1994) calls this *second-order observation*, and this is the way a researcher inspired by *logic of forms* strives to analyse. The three studies in this dissertation are based on second-order analyses of inclusion and exclusion, and they therefore rest on the premise that inclusion as form entails both inclusions and exclusions. The figure below shows inclusion as a form, showing both the marked (inclusion) and the unmarked side (exclusion) of the distinction.



The Form Inclusion

Figure 2: The form of inclusion

The leading distinction for this entire project has thus been inclusion/exclusion. This systems-theoretical concept of inclusion is a second-order concept, as it entails its opposite. The second-order analyses have implied analysing the concepts and distinctions in use, be it in political documents or fieldwork material, to see what is indicated by the system, and what is not. The second-order analyses have also entailed a focus on how distinctions between inclusion and exclusion are duplicated (re-entered) *inside* the system, resulting in internal differentiations.

4.3 Inclusion and exclusion

The concept inclusion/exclusion in systems-theory concerns the relationship between human beings and the society as consisting of social systems. Luhmann distinguishes between social and psychic systems, where the two system types are situated in each other's environments. An individual *as such* cannot be a part of social systems, but can only participate as a socially relevant *person*. To be included is thus to be addressed as a person by a system, and this personification is based on certain conditions that are characteristic for the system at issue (Luhmann, 2002a, 2013; Venneslan, 2013).

The modern society is characterised by a plurality of different systems, each addressing persons according to their own communicative expectations and requirements. It is therefore worthwhile to present Luhmann's (1995) overview of different systems formations, as the distinctions between these systems have consequences for how we can approach and analyse inclusion and exclusion from a systems-theory perspective:

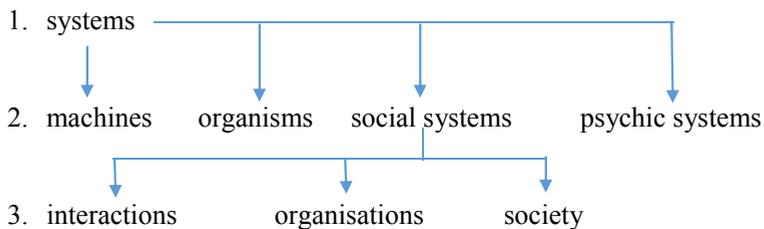


Figure 3: Overview of system-types

The scheme (Luhmann, 2005, p 2) presents different systems that are characterised by different functions and elements. The social system types are most relevant for this project. The levels (1–3) indicate that comparisons between systems can only take place at the same level. Social systems (communication) can for example be compared with biological systems (life) and psychic systems (thoughts, feelings), but psychic systems cannot be compared with for instance organisations, as this is a

particular type of social system. Social systems are divided into three comparative categories: *society*, *organisations* and *interactions*. These are the basic social system formations in Luhmann's matrix. However, Luhmann (2013, p. 154) also describes *protest movements* as a specific system type, and in later works (Luhmann, 2000a), *networks* become an important systems category, although these are understood as particular versions of interaction systems. In this dissertation, all social system types, except protest movements, are applied as analytical tools.

As the matrix indicates, psychic systems are not a part of social systems. Neither is the human being, the human body (biological life) or the individual. Social systems consist of communication and communication only. However, human beings or individuals participate in social systems insofar as they communicate. This is why Luhmann distinguishes between the *person* (the social "mask") and the *individual* (outside the social system). I will now go through the different system types and explain their modes of inclusion and exclusion.

4.3.1 World society: Inclusion and exclusion

Systems-theory is a theory about communication as it unfolds in social systems. There is, however, one social system of "higher order", and that is *society* defined as the all-encompassing system of communication (Luhmann, 1982, p. 73). In modernity this society is a *world society*. Luhmann's world society is thus not defined from the bottom-up as an integrated society consisting of nation states (Albert, 2004), but rather via the concept of communication and the fact that worldwide communicative contacts are attainable (Luhmann, 2012, pp. 83–84). At this "higher order" level, we are included in society as far as we communicate (Jønhill, 2012, p. 8).

However, world society is an all-encompassing system where, as Luhmann (1982, p. 238) playfully expresses it: "the whole is less than the sum of its parts". Society is totally differentiated into different part systems that solve functions for society as a whole. Education, science, economy, law, love, art, media, religion and politics are functional communicative complexes that all solve different functions for society as a whole. These function systems are *autopoietic* (self-produced) and cannot

communicate with each other, only inform and at best “irritate” each other. However, function systems may be structurally coupled with each other through for example programs or organisations (Luhmann, 2012).

The restructuring of society from being primarily differentiated in *segments* and *strata* to *functions* was a process that started in the eighteenth century. What is most relevant, however, is that the present “functional differentiation mode” entailed a fundamental change in how human beings were included and excluded in society. In pre-modern societies, an individual was either fully included in a *segment* (family, household, clan) and/or *strata* (class, estate), or completely left out (Luhmann, 2013). One thus became an individual as far as one was included in one (so to speak) multifunctional household (Braeckman, 2006), and it therefore gave meaning to speak of a state of “full inclusion” where the individual gained identity by this (mono) participation. On the other hand, to be excluded from such a household, was a devastating situation in these societies, as there were few other options for social inclusion (monasteries as one of few arenas) (Luhmann, 2002a; 2013).

Different from earlier societies, the boundaries of societal differentiation now run straight through the individual (Braeckman, 2006), and each social system only *partially* includes human beings as *persons*. Throughout a person’s lifespan, one is normally included in many functional domains, for instance as a consumer, art-knower, newspaper-reader, voter, student, lover or employee. However, we do not belong to any domain “fully”. This entails that identity now is characterised as an “exclusion-individuality”; individuals are situated in the exclusion domain of society, and develop social *careers* by connections to the different functional domains (Luhmann, 2013; Braeckman, 2006). This situation makes it more difficult for individuals to attain an integral identity (Farzin, 2006).

Social systems, on their side, only address certain aspects of individuals that are relevant for continuation of communication in the system. For instance, the educational system addresses students for the most part through *educational requirements and expectations*, leaving out for example questions of payment and love. This notion of inclusion allows Luhmann to raise critical questions about the conception of “full inclusion” in society, and leads the attention towards the *multiple*

conditions of inclusion and exclusion in different systemic contexts (Braeckman, 2006; Luhmann, 2002a). Due to this multiple constitution, it is not adequate to operate with a generalised understanding of inclusion and exclusion. These processes must be understood in the context where the social consequences of inclusion and exclusion for concrete persons are at stake. Luhmann thus seems to operate with a different conception of inclusion and exclusion than both “the equity problematic” and the “problematic of knowledge”. Contrary to “the equity problematic”, Luhmann insist on the notion of *partial inclusion*. Contrary to the “problematic of knowledge”, Luhmann’s theory makes it possible to study inclusions and exclusions in *multiple* systemic contexts, and thus to explore the social consequences of different *modes* of inclusion and exclusion.

According to Luhmann (2002a), functional differentiation brings about universal, but *partial inclusion*. Society is no longer primarily differentiated by strata and hierarchies. Rather, everyone on the entire planet is in principle welcomed to every functional domain of society, be it by virtue of achievement roles, such as doctors or artists, or by complementary roles, such as patients and art-consumers. The semantical correlates of these structural changes are the symbolic values of freedom and equality. In the following quote, Luhmann (1997, p. 8) explains these societal changes thoroughly:

Traditional societies included and excluded persons by accepting or not accepting them in family households, and families (not individuals) were ordered by stratification. Modern society includes and excludes persons via function systems, but in a much more paradoxical way. Function systems presuppose the inclusion of every human being, but, in fact, they exclude persons that do not meet their requirements. Many individuals have to live without certified birth and identity cards, without any school education and without regular work, without access to courts and without the capacity to call the police. One exclusion serves as an excuse for other exclusions. At this level, and only at this level, society is tightly integrated, but in a negative way. And modern values, such as equality and freedom, serve as cover terms to preserve an illusion of innocence (...)

In this quote, Luhmann points to a paradox regarding inclusion in the modern society: function systems address everyone by virtue of freedom and equality, but the systems

nevertheless rest on certain requirements that actually exclude those who do not fulfil the systems' conditions. As everyone in principle is welcomed to the communicative complexes of world society, non-participation is attributed to the individuals, a strategy which makes the systems avoid recognising exclusion as a socio-structural phenomenon (Luhmann, 2013). Luhmann therefore warns against taking for granted the (totalitarian) notion of full inclusion and the symbolic values of equality and freedom, as this may obscure the actual exclusions and the dynamics between inclusion and exclusion that are characteristic for the modern functionally differentiated society (Luhmann, 2013).

In later writings, Luhmann (1997; 2002a; 2013) claims that the *domino effect of exclusions* is among the greatest problems of modern society. While the relationship between the functional systems in the inclusion domains can be characterised by loose couplings, the exclusion domain seems to be highly integrated. Being included in one system is not a guarantee for inclusion in another functional system – being an employee does for instance not automatically give access to political positions. To be excluded from a function system, however, increases the likelihood of being equally excluded from another system. Insufficient education may lead to unemployment, insufficient income, unsteady and poor housing, unstable family relations, lack of identity papers and so on (Luhmann, 2013). We therefore have a situation where forms of exclusion are created at the margins of function systems, with negative repercussions for the ability to participate in other systems (Venneslan, 2013). The next section will focus on the educational domain, which has a special function when it comes to inclusion in society.

4.3.2 The educational system: Inclusion and exclusion

Not unlike many other educational theorists, Luhmann (2006b, p. 43) sees education as an intentional activity aiming at developing human capabilities as well as preparing individuals for inclusion in other social systems of society. Education is about making human beings into persons and thus preparing individuals for their future lives, their societal prospects and careers. This entails that the educational system plays a special role for inclusion in other functional domains of society as

well, and opposite; individual educational deficits entail a substantial risk for multiple exclusions (Hillmert, 2009; Luhmann, 2006b).

According to Luhmann (2006b), the educational system gradually emerged as a function system from the eighteenth century and onwards. The differentiation process was affected by the new understanding of the “child” as a distinct human category, resulting in the “child” becoming the medium for inclusion in the educational system. The aim of the system was thus to prepare the child, understood as incomplete but full of potential, for the future life as an adult (compare “Erziehung”) (Luhmann, 2006a). However, Luhmann (2006b) suggests that this changed during the twentieth century as the educational system expanded and reached universal inclusion through a new medium, namely the “lifespan” (“Lebenslauf”).

Before the era of functional differentiation, schools had been organised according to social stratification. As previously mentioned, most European school systems were differentiated into the Latin school, citizen school and school for commoners. There had also been substantial ties between the school and the church (Luhmann, 2006b). When the educational domain was emancipated from religious ties and selection processes organised by stratification, the purpose of education became self-referential (Luhmann, 2006b). Luhmann (2006b, p. 81, my translation) accordingly defines education under modern conditions quasi-tautologically: “Every communication that is actualised with respect to education is education.”

Education becomes an *autopoietic* system that is characterised by recursive reproduction of communication about education (Luhmann, 2006b). Universal inclusion is gained by the norm of compulsory school access across the globe. However, unlike earlier, the educational system now addresses everyone in their entire lifespan (Stichweh, 2009b), not only children. Inclusion in the educational system is further completed through role expectations. The system addresses individuals, not *as such*, but through generalised and condensed role-expectations: achievement roles such as teachers and school leaders, and complementary roles, such as students (Luhmann & Schorr, 2000).

Equality as symbolic value is the semantic correlate to the structure of universal inclusion in education. However, although the norm of equal access is the basis, the system also produces exclusions and inequalities through its differentiations and selection processes. There is accordingly a great tension between the two primary functions of the educational system: While education/upbringing is directed towards generalised expectations towards becoming a person and thus equality, selection processes are contrarily directed towards differentiation and inequality (Luhmann, 2006b).

The educational system communicates through the code: educable/not educable, meaning it includes everything that is considered *educable*, and remains ignorant to the *not educable* (Luhmann, 2006b). On this basis, exclusion from the educational system would entail being ignored by the system. Obviously, this kind of definite educational exclusion is observable in certain regions of the world (favelas, ghettos, slum-areas). Still, as also Stichweh (2009b, p. 37) points out, exclusion under modern conditions is usually only accepted as part of the inclusion domain. While definite exclusions may be less prevalent in the modern society, re-incorporated and institutionalised exclusions (e.g. prisons, psychiatric clinics) that appear as inclusions are frequently observed. This makes it particularly difficult to observe phenomena of exclusions in the modern society, although these obscured exclusions may have severe consequences for the individuals at issue and their future social careers.

The educational system thus creates internal inequalities, despite its symbolic value of equality. By categorisations, differentiation in sub-systems and roles with different normative status, the system creates internal exclusions. As Brunkhorst (2015) points out, the structures of inequality in the modern society are therefore *heterarchical*, not hierarchical: each system produces its own structures of inequality. I will now bring some other system types into the framework: the emergence of *school organisations* and *classroom interactions* was a part of the process of educational differentiation, constituting different but interdependent forms of systems *within* the educational system.

4.3.3 Organisations: Inclusion and exclusion

Function systems cannot communicate with each other, except through their respective organisations. While function systems constitute a semantic reservoir for organisations, organisations constitute units that are able to make decisions and communicate with their environments. While there are numerous organisations that are not constrained by one functional domain, the most important and comprehensive organisations in society form within the context of function systems, and adopt the functional primacies of these domains (Luhmann, 2013, pp. 141–154). The educational system is for example dependent on school organisations to make decisions about rules, content, time schedules etc. (Luhmann, 2006b).

While function-systems treat inclusion and access for all as normal, the opposite applies to organisations: organisations are primarily excluding, because they are based on membership. It is thus through organisations that function systems can treat persons differently (Luhmann, 2013, p. 151). As Luhmann (2000b, p. 393, my translation) claims: “Society is equipped with the capacity of discrimination through its organisations.” In this way, function systems can make distinctions between persons, even though they have equal access to the systems. The semantic value of equality with which society operates at the level of function systems does accordingly not determine the conditions under which an individual can become member of an organisation (Braeckman, 2006). Although everyone has equal access to education, only a selective group (e.g. decided on the basis of age, competencies, residency) are members of a specific school organisation.

The paradoxical unity of the distinction inclusion/exclusion thus culminates in this “Gesamtarrangement” between functional systems and organisations (Luhmann, 2000b, p. 392). The more open and including functional systems are in the name of equality and freedom, the more need there is for organisations to discriminate internally. For instance: When access to primary education became equal and universal, the need for stronger internal differentiation increased on the level of school organisations (see Chapter 2). Structures of exclusion are realised by requirements set by organisations, and access to function systems is now to a larger degree mediated by membership in organisations. Organisations thus tend to limit the

principles of freedom and equality by their conditions and requirements (Braeckman, 2006; Luhmann, 2000b) as well as their internal hierarchical organisation of status.

We are normally excluded from most organisations of society, a situation that is unproblematic as long as we are included in those organisations that are necessary to us. Exclusion is thus not *per se* problematic, but it may be problematic under certain circumstances (Jønhill, 2012), especially when it endangers one's life conditions and future career in society, and when one's abilities to participate in other systems are diminished (piled exclusions). However, this makes it pertinent not to take inclusion/exclusion for granted as an asymmetric, normative distinction, but to analyse how these processes actually unfold in organisational contexts; to explore the concrete social consequences of the inequalities created by the systems.

4.3.4 Interactions: Inclusion and exclusion

Education is realised as a social form in *classroom interactions*, systems that reproduce themselves on the basis of presence/non-presence (Luhmann, 2006b). Interactions are not characterised as formally organised, but arise in the moment and include those who are present. When a person leaves an interaction, he/she is no longer included (Luhmann, 1995).

Classrooms can be observed as interaction-based educational communication. Interactions in classrooms are thus characterised by the *autopoietic* reproduction of communication between the persons who are present. Still, it may to various degrees be conditioned (not determined) by the function system of education and the school organisation in which it is embedded. The decisions of the school organisation, such as temporal expectations (class starts at 8:15, finishes at 13:40), distribution of resources, behavioural rules and expectations constrain interaction-based communications to various degrees. Classroom interactions are also conditioned by the semantic reservoir that is at disposal in the educational systems, programs such as curricula, as well as generalised role expectations that condition the teachers' and students' conduct and relationships (Luhmann, 2006b).

In most of Luhmann's analyses, he approaches society, function systems and organisations, while interaction systems are not treated as systematically (except

networks, as I will return to). Still, Luhmann (2006b) acknowledges the importance of interactions, especially for the educational system. During the fieldwork analyses, it therefore became necessary to further develop and nuance the framework, in order to distinguish between *different kinds* of interactions. In this process, I had to rely on my own systems-theoretical knowledge in order to further develop the framework, although I was also able to apply some concepts from Stichweh (2009b). I will now account for these contexts and the conceptualisation of them.

I used the concept **organisation-based interactions** to indicate the sub-systems (e.g. introduction classes) created by the school organisation with the purpose of distinguishing between different categories of students. The classroom interactions that minority students participate in are placed in an organisational matrix of differentiations that indicate their level of performance. The systems' position in the matrix conditioned (not determined) the communication in the classroom interactions. This kind of organisation was including and excluding at the same time. It constituted re-entries (duplications) of the distinction between inclusion and exclusion (creation of sub-systems), and the organisation in introductory classes was therefore, in accordance with Stichweh's (2009b) terminology, conceptualised as *including exclusion*. It should be emphasised, that although the organisation of these classes was based on decisions in the school organisation, the actual interactions that took place in the classrooms, were seen as *autopoietic*.

The concept *organisation-based interactions* was also used to indicate a difference between the education-based communicative structures, and communicative structures that were observed among the students. In order to indicate the latter structures, I applied the concepts "networks" and "networks systems". The way I used the concept (student) **networks** is quite similar to how Luhmann characterises basic interaction systems, except they only took place between students, and often switched between being formal and informal in character. These systems were flexible with regard to inclusion, and mostly included students who were present in the moment.

What I called **network systems** (of students) were, however, contrary to the more flexible networks, more durable and had fixed criteria for inclusion and

exclusion, namely friendship, trust and language. This system type shares characteristics with Luhmann's (2002a; 2000b), descriptions of networks, especially his analyses of the mafia. Contrary to Luhmann's examples, however, the network systems in my research did not necessarily work *across* function systems (like the mafia). The network systems at the schools were solely dependent on the organisational roles (students), but similarly to the mafia example, they worked with opposite signs to the organisation-based interactions, as a structure of counter power. The network system was not formally organised, but arose creatively on the basis of communication that was unrecognised by the organisation-based interactions. The network systems often included those who had difficulties connecting to the organisation-based interactions, but by this inclusion, they actually excluded themselves from educational communication. Due to this reciprocal dynamic of exclusion between organisation-based interactions and network systems, the latter system-type was conceptualised as an *excluding inclusion* (Stichweh, 2009b).

4.4 The educational system's relations to other systems

I have now described the relevant systemic distinctions within the framework of the educational domain. Although Luhmann sees the educational system as an *autopoietic* system, this does not entail that the system operates *entirely* independently of other systems, as there are *structural couplings* between function systems. The systems are cognitively open to their environment and can be informed and irritated by another system that accordingly makes a difference for the operations in the system. Still, the principle of *autopoiesis* remains clear – the systems are normatively closed. Function systems operate on the basis of different communicative logics, and interpret information from their environment on their own premises. No function systems can direct or determine the communication in another function system (Luhmann, 1995; 2012)

The most important systemic resource for education is the system of science, from which the educational system gets thematic support for its educational interactions. Still, Luhmann (2006b, p. 155) is clear that these truth-based themes are

so to speak “translated” by the educational domain to serve its particular functions. Obviously, the relation between education and the state (and thereby the political system) is quite complex, as schools are administratively dependent on school bureaucracies. As the first article in the dissertation offers an analysis of policy documents from the Norwegian government, and decisions within the state bureaucracy are an important context with regard to the organisation of students in introductory classes, I have devoted the following section to this particular relation.

4.4.1 The political system and the system of law

Although the political system in a systems-theory framework is a globalised communication complex that recursively produces power communication, it is segmentarily differentiated into state organisations (Luhmann, 2000a).¹¹ From a systems-theory perspective, the documents that constituted the material for the first article in this dissertation can thus be interpreted as utterances from the Norwegian state organisation in the context of the (global) political system. By these utterances, the state addresses the population as a whole, in particular relevant organisations and functional domains. The aim is to prepare the ground for collectively binding decisions, decisions that eventually are put into force as legal bindings by structural couplings with the function system of law (Luhmann, 2000a).

Still, the documents aim especially at influencing the educational system by the means of the suggested regulations concerning inclusion and the political program of “the education strategy”. The documents were, as mentioned in the article, analysed as political semantics in a structural coupling with the educational system. The aim of the documents is to gain political influence and regulate, but this is not a *causal* and simple endeavour in a society consisting of *autopoietic* systems. Although political decisions and the school bureaucracy constitute important contexts for the educational system by means of their decision-making processes, Luhmann (2006b) insists on distinguishing between education and politics as different communicative processes.

The educational system is dependent on the political system to make collectively binding decisions, for instance concerning curricula, exams and

distribution of resources. In a welfare state such as Norway, there are obviously many couplings between education and politics, especially in order to ensure redistribution of resources and social equalisation. These measures are facilitated by state policies within the context of the political system. The Norwegian government has, for example, ensured access to education by deciding that education is compulsory and free of charge.

The educational system is thus dependent on the political system to make collectively binding decisions, and on the legal system to put these decisions into force. Still, according to Luhmann (2006b, pp. 153–154, my translation), the educational system is paradoxically also independent of the political-administrative apparatus with regard to its own communicative processes:

On the other hand, interventions in what actually happens in the classrooms are difficult at this [the political] level. On the operative level, the educational system is and remains autonomous. How good or bad education is, can only be decided at the level of [educational] interactions. We do of course not contest that distributions of resources (...) have consequences. (...) The problem is, however, that one is unaware of how differences in regulations affect differences concerning educational success.

The political and legal system can, through their programs, such as curricula and school laws, resonate in the educational system and initiate “irritations”. However, this is not a *quid pro quo*. How the educational system responds to the political and legal initiatives cannot be determined in advance. With the concept of communication in mind, ego (in this case the educational system) is what constitutes the communicative structure initiated by alter (the political system), and given their communicative closure, acceptance of political initiatives is unlikely to occur.

However, by the means of power and sanctions, the likeliness of acceptance of political communication increases. Still, although the educational system may accept political regulations through decision-making processes in school organisations, the schools may also resist or remain indifferent towards political decisions; reactions that in turn may lead to new political consequences. Against this background, Luhmann (2006b, pp. 169–170) argues that, in order to be successful (obtain

communicative acceptance) the political system should adjust to the functional domains it tries to regulate.

4.4.2 Analyses of power: A limitation? Supplemental perspectives.

In Luhmann's systems-theory, power is monopolised by the political system, and under modern conditions it can only be analysed *systematically* in this context. Luhmann (2000a) does not deny that power can work as a medium for communication in other systems as well, but these events are occasional and parasitical, conditioned by the system's own logic aiming at continuation of the communication that is characteristic for the system. In other words, power becomes a subordinated, embedded communication medium in communicative contexts that are not political (Hilt & Venneslan, 2010; Luhmann, 2000a, p. 55).

To a certain degree, this makes sense. After all, political power *per se* does not operate *within* school organisations, and the outcomes of political initiatives in school contexts are not predetermined. Political decisions concerning the educational system may for example in certain cases be seen as illegitimate, and eventually create chains of counter powers, for example through influential educational professional organisations. Still, when I conducted fieldwork in the school organisations, Luhmann's concept of power appeared to have certain empirical weaknesses.

In the fieldwork, events and structures were observed that could and should be conceptualised as power communication, but not as *political power*. For instance when the teachers sanctioned students who communicated in mother tongue languages, or when the school organisations differentiated between students in hierarchical categories. Even more fundamental, the very basic inclusion and exclusion processes can be seen as processes of power, as they entail a struggle for recognition where some are recognised at the expense of others.

In the dissertation, I made the analyses more sensitive to power relations, partly by applying Luhmann's (2003) "old" concept of power from his book *Macht*, originally from 1975, and partly by supplementing the analytical framework with concepts from the theories of Foucault and Agamben. Luhmann (2003, p 12) argues in the mentioned book that power is a symbolically generalised communication

media that increases the probability for ego accepting the communicative selections initiated by alter as basis for ego's own operations. Given this definition, power can be observed in all kinds of interactions, and is generally about conditioning the room of conduct. However, *Macht* was written before the *autopoetical* turn in Luhmann's authorship, and later Luhmann reserved power to political communication. In 1975, "action" was the prime concept of Luhmann's theory, and power was seen as "action on action" (*handlung an handlung*); a mechanism that increases the likelihood of an action being followed by another action.

Power defined as "action on action" is a quite similar concept to Michel Foucault's (1982) definition of power as "conduit de la conduit". Power is about structuring the field of action of others. Although there are also several differences between these theories, Foucault's concept of power is probably more sensitive to empirical contexts, as it can be analysed "everywhere", and as relational processes. Foucault (1991) is concerned with the relation between power and knowledge, and his works on disciplinary power are especially of relevance for the educational system. In the modern society, power is not equal to violence, but about individualisation in order to control the body. To preserve the society, normalisation and discipline create docile and useful bodies (Foucault, 1991).

Luhmann (2006, p 65) defines the function of the educational system as "making human beings into persons". This process of "personification" is differentiating, contingent and normalising, and not "natural" or "essential". Thus, the very process of making individuals into persons in the system of education can be seen as a process of power, at least in Foucault's perspective. Discourses in Foucault's terminology, like systems and their semantics in Luhmann's conceptualisation, include and exclude individuals in a process of differentiation, categorisation, examination and assessments.¹²

Giorgio Agamben further develops the terminology of Foucault, especially the conception of bio-power, in his works *State of Exception* (2005) and *Homo Sacer* (1998). While Agamben agrees with Foucault that political power in the modern society is characterised by the inclusion of biological life in the political realm (bio-power), he supplements this view with the notion of "self-suspension" of power,

where (resting on Carl Schmitt) “the sovereign is seen as the one who decides on the “state of exception” (Agamben, 2005).¹³ While Foucault focuses on the relations between knowledge and power, Agamben is primarily concerned with relations between the bio-power and legal realms. Following Foucault, Agamben interprets the *including exclusions* throughout history (concentration camps, Guantanamo) as examples of *totalitarianism*. The state of exception is a no-man’s land between public law and political fact, where the law is suspended in order to deal with phenomena under abnormal circumstances. Agamben (2005) sees the many exceptions from the law not as special kinds of laws, but as the law’s threshold or limit concept. The problem is that these phenomena blur the distinction between inside and outside, which is seen by Agamben as a totalitarian trait of the modern society.

Although there are several differences between Agamben’s and Luhmann’s thinking, and the examples Agamben uses are of a much more accentuated character, there are still certain traits in the organisational legitimation of introductory classes that can be interpreted as a state of exception in the context of education and the school law. The categorisation of minority language students as deviant seems to justify an educational organisation as a *state of exception* or an *including exclusion*. The school law is suspended in order to deal with a situation of anomaly (see Article 2 for elaboration). There are thus common traits between Agamben’s conception of the state of exception and the legal basis for organisation of newly arrived students in introductory classes.

The use of Agamben’s and Foucault’s theories raises further questions concerning power relations and minority language students. The findings in the articles show several structural couplings between functional domains in which the category of minority language pupil is set forth. The category is both a scientific, political, legal, knowledge-economic and educational category. The question is whether power can, in agreement with Luhmann, be regarded merely as subordinated and embedded communication media, given the fact that power structures of inclusion and exclusion for minority language students tend to work across systemic domains. I will revisit these questions in the discussion of this synopsis.

4.4.3 The structural couplings of the knowledge economy

In the third article of this dissertation, as well as in the first chapter of this synopsis, the conception of the knowledge economy is used to indicate the present educational context. Unlike some globalisation theories, as well as the ideology of multilateral organisations such as the OECD, Luhmann does not see society as an essentially economic society (see Article 3). World society in Luhmann's view consists of several independent domains, each with their own code and function. Still, the systems are, paradoxically, also dependent on each other, and there are loose and tight structural couplings between them. If one is to operate with a notion of the "knowledge society" within the framework of systems-theory, one thus has to explore empirically to what degree the relevant functional domains interact.

The semantics of global skills policies are economically coded, as its primary concern is "profit/non-profit". Still, this semantic makes a difference in several other relevant functional domains. This happens primarily through global organisations that are coupled to several functional domains. Multilateral as well as non-governmental organisations thus play a special role when it comes to the evolution of world society (Kerwer, 2004). Although organisations such as the OECD primarily work within the framework of the function of the economic system, they have become increasingly important in setting policy agendas in other domains of society as well, especially in education (Robertson, 2005).

The OECD must be seen as an organisation embedded in the economic realm. Still, the organisation is structurally coupled to other functions, as far as these couplings serve the organisation's primary concern of economic development. This is, however, not necessarily a problem in itself. The crucial question is whether the tight structural couplings between the education domain and economic and political realms obstruct the autonomy of the educational system. This is a pertinent question when reflecting on the purpose as well as the personification-structures of the educational domain. I will revisit these questions in the discussion in Chapter 7, while the next chapter will focus on methodological issues.

5. Methodology

The analytical framework presented in the previous chapter was actualised by theoretical discussions of the concepts of inclusion and exclusions, as well as events and utterances that were observed when conducting policy analysis and fieldwork at two upper secondary schools. In this chapter, I will first reflect on these methodological issues, and give a more detailed account of methods.

5.1 Methodological reflections

There are certain epistemological implications of applying systems-theory that have been discussed by other researchers inspired by this theory (Åkerstrøm Andersen, 1999; Harste & Knudsen, 2014b; Esmark et al., 2005; Tække, 2006). In short, systems-theory has often been understood within the paradigm of “epistemological constructivism”. This position does not deny the existence of an external world (compare “ontological constructivism”), but it problematises the assumption that we can have access to this world directly. According to Luhmann, we have only access to the world through operations, observations and distinctions, which is why Luhmann has categorised his epistemological stance more specifically as “operative constructivism” (Luhmann, 2002b; Luhmann, 1992).

I will not go into these epistemological discussions in detail, but rather investigate some methodological consequences that can be drawn from them. The methods and analytical tools that have been applied in the studies have *conditioned* the way I observed the social phenomena at issue as a researcher. Accordingly, the way I have observed and conceptualised the social phenomena is essentially what has constructed the field of research. Given this notion, it becomes even more important to be transparent about which theoretical distinctions have been used in the analytical procedures, as well as the scientific guidelines that have been followed.

In agreement with Harste and Knudsen (2014a), the use of systems-theory in this dissertation can be characterised as *abductive*. The conceptual apparatus has served as instruments when I as a researcher tried to cope and give meaning to the

social phenomena at issue. Throughout the project, I have continuously moved back and forth between the theoretical concepts and the construction of fieldwork material. This process has resulted in a further development and operationalisation of the analytical framework, making it more applicable to the social character of the research field, as well as a suitable conceptualisation of the findings in the research field. The theoretical perspectives are thus justified by the usefulness of the research concepts, in order to get behind the case circumstances (Luhmann, 2011), while the social character of the field has influenced the operationalisation and further development of the theoretical concepts. Given this, it is fair to say that the project has primarily taken a pragmatic stance with regard to the status of concepts (Hagen & Gudmundsen, 2011).

In agreement with Andersen (2005), I will argue that the use of systems-theory is fully compatible with general scientific guidelines or research methods. However, the justification of research methods is different within a constructivist paradigm compared to, for instance, a realistic stance. To give up on a conception of truth as correspondence does not entail entirely giving up on contributing to scientific communication (Andersen, 2005). Open communication and transparency concerning methods are necessary to enable connections and contributions to scientific communication, and thus to contribute new knowledge and insights within the scientific community.

This chapter is organised in correspondence with the chronology of the research process, explaining the procedures that constituted the basis for, first, the first study and then the second and third study. I will describe the research methods that have been used to gather, shape, process and manage the material for research (Esmark et al., 2005), as well as the more concrete application of the theoretical concepts in analyses of the gathered material. In the final sections of the chapter, I will address questions concerning the project's transparency, reflexivity and ethics.

5.2 Qualitative document analysis of policy documents

The following two sections will describe the procedure of selecting and analysing policy documents that constituted the basis for the first study of the dissertation.

5.2.1 Selection of documents and initial reading

Norwegian policy documents are publicly accessible on a government website (regjeringen.no). As they generally are available and easy to access, the huge amount of documents makes it difficult to be selective. I therefore skimmed many documents in order to select a few with a good thematic fit for in-depth reading. I was interested in policy documents that addressed the society in general, concerning questions of integration and inclusion, as well as documents with equal thematic scope that primarily addressed the educational sector. I thus excluded documents that were not within this thematic scope, as well as documents that applied only to specific levels of the school system.

Initially, I focused on how students with a different cultural background than Norwegian were presented in the political documents, and how the Government approached the issue of a multicultural student body. However, throughout the reading, it became clear that this group was presently labelled “minority language pupils”, and that the governmental strategy was inclusion, not multi- or inter-culturalism. This thematic focus therefore conditioned the further reading and selection of documents. The selection process was further supplied with a reading inspired by the “snowball method” (Torfing, 2004), following references in the documents to be able to select “mother documents” covering a certain timeframe of interest. The documents were thus also selected in accordance with their time of publication, as I wanted to analyse documents at different times within an overall timeframe.

I eventually chose two (later three) *White Papers* and one *Official Norwegian Report* (see Article 1 for titles and information about these documents) in accordance with these criteria. After having analysed these documents, and written the first draft of the first article, I had an intermission in my PhD-period, due to maternity leave.

When I returned from this leave, a new general White Paper, “An Overall Policy of Integration” had been published by the Government (2012) for the first time since 2003/2004. In this document, some of the tendencies I found in the other documents were strengthened, for example a more pronounced aim of inclusion of minority language pupils through the educational system. I therefore updated the analysis by including this document as well.

5.2.2 Analytical procedure

After the initial selection of themes and documents, I conducted a qualitative document analysis and in-depth reading of the documents (Lynggaard, 2010). As the selected policy documents are not made for research purposes, they can be read as “naturalistic material” (Brinkmann, 2012, p. 131). I thus tried to grasp the social meaning of the documents, to investigate how they construct a certain kind of social “reality” (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004, p. 58). As Silvermann (2011, p. 229) emphasises, the raw material for analysis is the written words in the documents. The material was accordingly read as *texts*, and not as representations of something else.

According to Luhmann (2005), texts can be seen as parts of the society’s memory, as they make it possible to store meaning and thereby constitute a supply of possible themes for communicative purposes, what I in the previous chapter conceptualised as *semantics*. Luhmann’s concepts of meaning and semantics thus conditioned the analysis of the policy documents from the beginning, which entailed approaching the policy as processual, contextual and contingent. In this semantic analysis, the main focus was on the documents as reservoirs of concepts, and how the use of concepts constituted a certain world view.

Throughout the reading, it became clear that the political documents were anchored in a particular understanding of inclusion that entailed the categorisation of minority language pupils as a target group. In order to relativise and not treat these descriptions as given, I wanted to study in depth which theoretical preconceptions this political view rested on. However, I also wanted to grasp variations in meaning:

The consequences of the change in targeting was of special interest. Table 2 gives an overview of the analytical procedure in four phases:

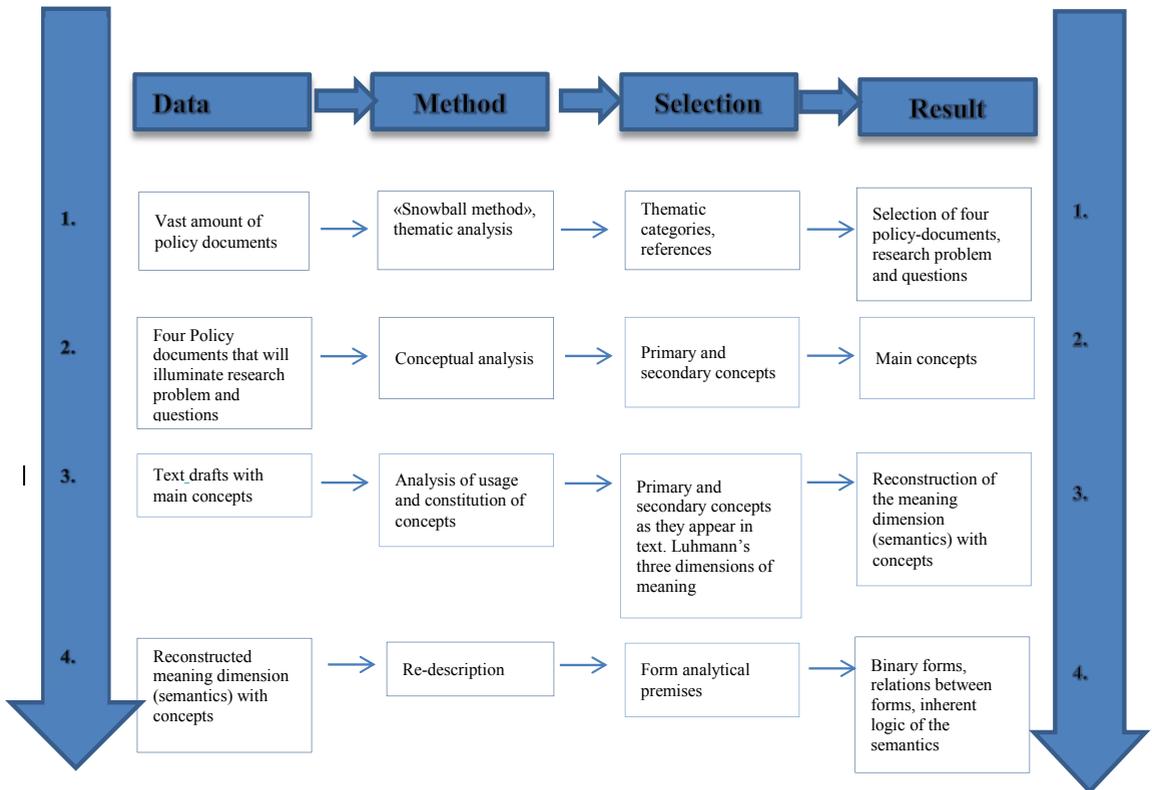


Table 2: The analytical process of policy documents

The aim of the analysis was thus to study the conceptualisation of the inclusion policy and the stabilisation and variation of meaning during the mentioned period. The first phase in the table indicates the criteria for selection of documents, as I addressed in the previous section. The second, third and fourth analytical phases indicate the procedures I followed when reading the four policy documents systematically as texts. In these analytical phases, I followed three different sub-questions that guided the analysis. These questions are presented in the first article, and I therefore encourage readers to supplement the reading of this section with a reading of this article. In the following, I will give a brief summary of these procedures.

I started the reading with a focus on the primary concepts used in the documents, as well as the different versions of these concepts (secondary concepts). I also counted the primary concepts in order to get an overview of their prevalence. When I had an overview of the concepts, I read all the text passages where these concepts occurred in order to investigate how they were constituted meaningfully in the texts. It was, thus, not only the concepts *as such* that interested me, but rather the usage of the concepts in the text. In this process, I also compared the use of concepts across the different documents in order to investigate changes in meaning during the overall time span. At this point of the analysis, the aim was to reconstruct the main concepts of the inclusion policy.

I had now reconstructed some of the concepts that were decisive in the four documents as well as the changes in the use of concepts. After this initial phase of reconstruction, I started to work more systematically with the theoretical instruments in order to get behind the political descriptions. I deployed a categorisation of the semantic descriptions in the social, factual and temporal dimension, in accordance with Luhmann's (1995) conceptualisation. The temporal, social as well as the factual dimensions appeared suitable to organise the reconstruction of the policy documents, and provided me with fruitful sub-questions (See Article 1 for further elaboration).

In the final phase, I positioned the concepts in relation to each other in order to illuminate the inherent conceptual logic of the policy. For this purpose, Luhmann's form-analysis was a fruitful and sensitising tool that enabled me to abstract and re-describe the documents. In this final reading, I provided a re-description of the three dimensions of meaning, by deploying three more abstract second-order concepts (see 4.2.3) to the analysis: the form distinguishing between inclusion and exclusion (factual dimension), the form distinguishing between person and individual (social dimension) as well as the form distinguishing between before and after (temporal dimension). By re-describing the reconstructed semantics in accordance with form analysis and Luhmann's second-order concepts (see 4.2.3), I was able to uncover blind spots and ambiguities in the inclusion policy.

5.3 Qualitative fieldwork

Obviously, to be categorised and excluded by political communication, as was illuminated in the first study, may constitute a risk and possible obstacle for minority language pupils' educational careers. Still, the *social consequences* of the policy addressed in the first study were at this point still unknown. It is beyond the limits of the document analysis to say finally that the exclusion entailed in inclusion policies has negative repercussions. While this is a limit to the first article, constituted within the boundaries of political documents, it was one of the motivating powers for studying these processes within an educational context. I will now present the procedures I followed when I conducted qualitative fieldwork in two upper secondary schools with introductory classes for newly arrived minority language students. The findings from this fieldwork constituted the basis for the second and third studies in the dissertation.

The data collection procedure in the fieldwork was inspired by ethnography. According to Schatz (2009), ethnography is primarily characterised by participant observation and sensibility to context. Although some scholars define ethnography as encompassing both these criteria, Schatz's anthology defines a study as ethnographic when at least *one* of the criteria are present (Schatz, 2009, p. 5). In this project, both aspects are to a certain degree present. I collected data through physical presence, and visited both schools regularly for seven months. At both schools, I was present with various degrees of intensity. In some periods, I visited every day at each school, respectively. In other periods, I was more withdrawn, and visited only a few times a week, to be able to think, reflect, write and interpret impressions from the field.

In accordance with Eberle and Maeder (2011, p. 54) multiple methods of data gathering were applied during the fieldwork: observations, interviews, collection of documents and other kinds of material as well as field conversations. The aim of the fieldwork was thus at this point to study the interactions between the staff at school and newly arrived students in their naturally occurring settings, and to capture their social meanings and ordinary activities (Brewer, 2000, p. 6).

In the research process, I also collected material in accordance with the principle of contextual sensibility, but I focused on the contextual issues that were of interest for the project's research questions. After all, it is not the details in the material *in itself* that are of interest, but the sociological meaning the researcher observes in them (Lysgaard, 2001, p. 69). Without analytical focus, everything looks important when doing fieldwork. Given this, fieldwork is fruitfully combined with clear-cut sensitizing concepts, and I have combined methods of qualitative data collection with a systems-theoretical conceptualisation.

This stance is in accordance with Lee (2007, p. 455), who argues that a combination of systems-theory and methods inspired by ethnography may be especially fruitful, as "ethnography needs systems-theory and systems-theory needs data." Especially the systems-theoretical concepts of meaning, communication and observation were kept in mind already in the initial stages of the fieldwork. The focus on communication and systemic processes is thus an analytical choice, at the expense of descriptions of particular individuals, as well as social aspects and contextual details beyond this analytical scope.

5.3.1 Getting access

When I entered the field, the focus of the study was quite open, although, as mentioned in the previous section, some distinctions were made from the start to guide the research process. In the information letter (Appendix 1) to the schools, I explained that the focus of the study was going to be processes of inclusion and exclusion for minority language-students. Originally, I wanted to look at these processes in ordinary classes in upper secondary school where the number of minority language pupils was high. However, during the reading of the policy documents in the first phase of the project, I became more interested in the category *newly arrived minority language students*, and the educational arrangements for this group. Newly arrived students are of special concern in the policy, associated with a high risk for marginalisation and exclusion (see Article 1).

In addition, when I presented the project to two upper secondary schools with the aim of getting access, a person in the leadership at one of the schools,

recommended a study of introductory classes. The school was quite interested in information about this educational provision. This person became a door opener, and showed me all the relevant facilities and the locations of the classrooms for introductory classes. He also introduced me to some students and teachers. Afterwards we had a long conversation about the school's work and their facilitations for the group in question. Based on this meeting, I realised that introductory classes and newly arrived students might be of special interest.

The reading of research literature supported this interest, as very little research on education for newly arrived students, especially introductory classes, had been conducted. In addition, there had been political controversies about the fact that introductory classes are segregated educational provisions, and this inspired me to see how the policy controversies coincided with the processes of inclusion and exclusion that unfold in the schools. These factors helped me decide on the focus for the study, as well as which group to focus on.

I got access to two schools, here called "Southside" and "Northside" (see second article for information about the schools). A door opener in each of the two schools facilitated the process of getting access. The door opener at "Southside" was the previously mentioned leader, while the door opener at "Northside" was the assistant school leader. They were thus both in the leadership at the schools, and were able to facilitate access to the classes and provide contact with informants among the teachers. When I eventually met with the teachers, *they* became the most important contacts in order to gain further access to different social arenas.

5.3.2 Observation

In the first period of fieldwork, I conducted an observation study. According to Hatch (2002, p. 72), the goal of an observation study is to grasp the culture, social phenomena and settings on the field's premises, expressed in Silverman's (2011, p. 113) words, "to get inside the fabric of everyday life". As the social phenomena I intended to analyse were inclusion and exclusion in the setting of the educational system, school organisation as well as interactions; observations were crucial to achieve an understanding of these events and structures. I chose to "sit in" in all of

the introduction classes for an extended period and made careful records of what the teachers and students said and how they interacted with each other. The observations generated interesting material for the analytical process, and made it easier to develop an interview guide, as the themes and research questions became clearer. I observed 48 school hours in total, distributed seemingly equal at the two schools, the different levels, and the different subjects.

A key issue in the fieldwork was positioning myself as a researcher and finding a suitable level of participation (Paulgaard, 2006; Hatch, 2002). Obviously, a researcher will influence the processes she/he studies. The participants may become more self-aware from the presence of a researcher, even adjusting their conduct and utterances. However, this can be seen as a continuum of more or less involvement, in which I chose to place myself as *partly participating*. It was necessary to position myself in a way that made it possible to gain the informants' trust and get the information I needed without "going native". I took on an inquiring role as *novice* when I interacted with the participants in conversations and interviews, although I took on a more withdrawn role in the classroom observations, trying to focus on how the interactions took place. As the observations were conducted early in the study and the interviews in the end, I was able to develop my role in the field from a more distant, to a more involved role in the latest parts of the study.

During the observation sessions in the classrooms, I wrote thorough notes in as much detail as possible, about utterances *in verbatim*, responses to utterances, actions and contextual issues. In the beginning, the records were quite extensive and open. After some time of observing, I developed some sub-questions that steered the further process. To mention some:

- *How is understanding of educational communication facilitated, mediated and communicated about?*
- *What kind of communicative selections facilitate inclusion and exclusion?*
- *What kind of educational expectations are constructed in introductory classes?*

Immediately after these sessions, I went back to my office, and converted the raw field notes into research protocols in Word format. This was done through a process

of “filling in” the original notes, making a more complete description based on both the raw field notes, as well as memory (Hatch, 2002, p. 77). I tried to keep these protocols as descriptive as possible, although it became evident quite early that I would need to keep track of preliminary interpretations as well as impressions and reflections. To be able to separate the descriptions in the research protocol from these more subjective comments, I decided to use “bracketing” (Hatch, 2002, p. 86).

This way of writing, first the thorough descriptive accounts, then the bracketed assumptions and interpretation, made it possible for me to be continuously aware of my own presuppositions and to use them more consciously in the analytical work. It should however be emphasised that transformations of observations in the field to research protocols are events of meaning-making, where the researcher shapes the material in accordance with his/her understanding.

5.3.3 Informants

At the end of the observation period, I recruited informants among the teachers and students for the interview studies. I started with the teachers and recruited them directly. Twelve teachers were asked to participate, and all of them taught introductory classes to a substantial degree, although in different subjects. Two teachers did not want to participate, and one of the teachers never answered my request. All of these worked at Southside. At Northside, all the teachers that were asked agreed to participate. In all, nine teachers participated, six at Northside and three at Southside. Most of the teachers had taught for approximately five to ten years, and taught introductory classes in some of these years. However, one of teachers was in her first year of work, while another, who became a key informant, had taught introductory classes since the seventies. All of the teachers, except one, had university degrees at graduate level.

I had a dialogue with the Norwegian teachers about the different candidates (considering their language skills, academic level, etc.) for the interview study with students before selecting them. All of the selected students agreed to participate in the study. Already in the first phases of the fieldwork, I was struck by the linguistic, academic and cultural diversity of the students in the introductory classes. The

category “minority language-students” thus entails an over-simplification of a very complex and diverse group. I therefore purposely selected students in accordance with this complexity. Twelve students were selected, six from each school. I selected informants from all levels: five from basic, five from advanced, and two from intermediate level. Six were boys and six were girls. They had previously attended schools in Somalia/Kenya (1), Ecuador (1), Philippines (1), Eritrea (2), Uganda (1), Iraq (1), Afghanistan/Iran (1), Poland (1), Romania (1) and Lithuania (2).

5.3.4 Interviews

The interviews can be categorised as *semi-structured* (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), although the interviews with the students became slightly more structured than the interviews with the teachers. Two interview guides (Appendices 2 & 3), one for the teachers and one for the students, indicated topics and suggested questions (Kvale, 1996). However, the interviews were open to the course of the conversations and the guides worked rather as reminders of important themes than as determinants.

The interviews with the teachers lasted for about 40–55 minutes dependent on how much the informants had to say about the questions at issue. Due to language difficulties, I found it necessary to reduce the length of the interviews with the students. However, because differences in the level of reflections in the interviews were quite extensive, the interviews with the students lasted from 20 to 45 minutes, although the average was 30–35 minutes. All of the interviews took place at the schools, most of them in empty classrooms, meeting or seminar rooms.

Language difficulties were a challenge when interviewing newly arrived students, especially when I interviewed students from groups at the lowest level. When I worked as advisor in IMDi and as a researcher in other research projects, I conducted interviews both with and without interpreters. I considered using interpreters in these interviews as well, but as I did not conduct interviews with the students until the final part of the fieldwork, most of the students had at this time gained at least a minimum of language skills and managed to engage in a conversation. In addition, it was important to gain trust by engaging in face-to-face interactions without additional transitions. Still, due to language difficulties, one of

the last interviews was very difficult to conduct, transcribe and analyse. At this time, however, I had conducted many interviews and collected an extensive amount of material, and this particular interview did not give substantial new information with consequences for the analytical work.

During the interviews, I had to be attentive and look for signs and gestures that could indicate confusion and insecurity. Most of the students did however ask questions or signal with gestures if they did not understand. I explained the questions thoroughly and asked follow-up questions to ensure understanding. This was however a balancing act, as explaining the questions exhaustively would have entailed the risk of leading the informants in a preconceived direction. Some of the interviews were conducted in English, others in Norwegian. This was decided through the initial dialogue with the students, and in some interviews, we switched between the languages.

I transcribed all the interviews by using the transcription program “Express Scribe”. Given the pragmatic methodological stance of this project, the transcriptions were guided by the question: “What is a useful transcription for my research purposes?” (Kvale, 1996, p. 166). I focused on the content and rendered primarily oral expressions. Gestures, tone of voice, pauses, hesitations and other contextual issues were rendered when I regarded them as relevant for interpretation. Due to heavy accents, the interviews with the students were sometimes hard to transcribe, and I transcribed these interviews as soon as possible, while my memory was still reasonably fresh.

5.3.5 Collection of other types of material

In addition to the previously mentioned procedures, I also collected documents such as schedules, plans and schematic overviews with evaluations of students. I studied the schools’ websites and read all the information I came over concerning the group in question as well as the two upper secondary schools, and I collected material about introductory classes from the Ministry of Knowledge, the Directorate of Education as well as the county administration. Additionally, I was fortunate to have a contact at the county administration who provided me with valuable information about current

regulations. This person was available to answer questions, and read the second article to validate information about county regulations.

I also conducted several field conversations with students, subject teachers, the school nurse, minority advisors, school leaders and other important staff members. Additionally, I made myself available for conversations with the students in recesses. As these conversations were less formal and arose “in the moment”, I was sometimes provided with more controversial information than in the interviews. These informal conversations were not recorded, and the informants may have felt freer to express opinions than when they were aware that information would be stored. In these cases, I had to rely on memory and write down important conversations as soon as possible.

At Southside, I also observed a parents’ meeting and a teachers’ meeting led by the school leader where newly arrived students and introductory classes were the main topic. Finally, I participated at some of the lunches with the teachers, which made it possible to engage in informal conversation that sometimes led to valuable inside information. These different types of material were used to support the analysis in the second and third study.

A recent document from the OECD (2012) called “Better skills, better jobs, better lives” was selected as supplementary material for the analysis in the third study. This particular document was included in the third study because of its focus on the so-called twenty-first century skills. This document accounts for which educational expectations have presently been rendered valuable in a global context. This was accordingly a document well suited to supplement the analysis of inclusion operationalised as fulfilling educational expectations, which was the focus of the third study.

5.4 Reconstructing the analysis of fieldwork material

Analyses were a continual process from gaining access, throughout the fieldwork and to these last stages of “data analysis”, but the analyses in this final stage were more systematic and based on the material as a reconstruction of the field. When the fieldwork ended in March 2014, I had collected a huge amount of material. In

addition to the material accounted for in the section above, I had many field notes, observation notes and twenty-one transcribed interviews. I now chose to read through the material thoroughly as texts. Thus, the material was read as semantics in Luhmann's (1995) terms, constructions of meaning, and not as representations of something else. This enabled me to study the characteristics of inclusions and exclusions as communicative events in the contexts of classrooms and schools, as they appeared in the fieldwork material.

First, I read the entire material with the main research problem for the fieldwork in mind: *What characterises the processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students in schools with introductory classes?* In this reading, Luhmann's definition of communication, and inclusion and exclusion processes as communicative events, were kept in mind, but did not determine the reading. At first, I identified the social arenas in the schools in which newly arrived students communicated and thus participated, and the arenas in which they, for different reasons, did not participate. In the reading of the interviews, I also focused on how the teachers described and positioned newly arrived students compared to mainstream students, and how the students described themselves, their meetings with Norwegian schools and their comparisons with schools in their home or transit countries.

This first reading resulted in some initial findings that were further developed to main ideas for the second and third articles in the thesis. The analysis was overall quite comprehensive, and initially I tried out several empirical as well as concept-driven approaches on the material in order to deal with the comprehensive material. It should therefore be emphasised that the analytical procedures accounted for in the two following sections are reconstructions that focus on the aspects of the analysis that were relevant for the main findings. In the following, I will reconstruct the further analytical procedure in two directions: Approach 1 for the second study, and Approach 2 for the third study. The sections will provide a more comprehensive account of the procedures explained in Articles 2 and 3, but I will as far as possible avoid too much repetition. I therefore urge readers to supplement the reading of the next sections with a reading of the articles.

5.4.1 Approach 1: Procedure for the second study:

In the first overall reading, it became clear that the phenomena of inclusion and exclusion were ambiguous when it came to the many arenas in which newly arrived students participated. There were multiple socialities at play, both formal and informal, and it was possible to be included in one arena and excluded in another, and vice versa. The aim of the study at this analytical level was, however, not only to map different modes of inclusion and exclusion, but also to explore the characteristics of these processes. Operationalising inclusion as *requirements* set by a system, and exclusion as the side effects of these requirements, made it possible to analyse the dynamics of participation in these arenas more in depth. Table 3 on the next page gives an overview of the different codes and questions that conditioned the analysis.

I understood the social arenas that were identified in the first reading as systems constituted by distinctions and with different requirements for participation. However, the conceptualisation of these systems was dependent on the characteristics of the communicative processes in play, and were not selected arbitrarily. At the level of the school, I used the concept of “organisation” to give meaning to the communication that was decisive for categorisation of newly arrived students, and thus the legitimisation of introductory classes as organisational principle. I used the concepts of “differentiation” and “organisation-based interactions” to give meaning to how the schools distinguished between different categories of newly arrived students and differentiated them according to performances. The concepts of “networks” and “network systems” were used to give meaning to the interactions between students and the difference between unstable (network) and stable (network-system) interactions that emerged between students at the schools.

During the reading, especially of the observation notes, it became evident that there was more to inclusion and exclusion processes in the schools than the systemic requirements. In interactions in the classrooms, many students seemed to have difficulties connecting to communication due to language problems. Thus, they were at a certain level excluded, even though they were formally and physically included. This kind of inability to communicate also seemed to be connected to the development of networks of students based on language. In order to understand these

phenomena in greater depth, I used Luhmann's concept of "communication media". I did not perform an exhaustive analysis of communication media, but focused on the ones that had consequences for inclusion and exclusion processes.

Table 3: overview of codes and questions for the second study

Research question	Code in Nvivo	Operationalisation
What characterises the processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students in the school-organisations?	"Organisation"	Requirements for participation in mainstream versus introductory classes. Descriptions and decisions in the school organisation that distinguish newly arrived students from mainstream students.
What characterises processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students in organisation-based interaction systems?	"Differentiation"	Decisions and descriptions that distinguish between different categories of newly arrived students. Requirements for participation in organisation-based interactions (classes/groups) and the relations between these subsystems.
What characterises inclusion and exclusion processes in networks of students?	"Networks of students"	The requirements for participation in networks of respectively Norwegian-speaking students and newly arrived students.
What characterises the use of communication media, and what consequence does this have for processes of inclusion and exclusion?	"Communication-media" with sub-codes: "Power" "Language" "Social media" "Digital media"	The use of communication-media in interactions, both organisation-based and network-based.

By analysing the conditions for participation at different systemic levels, it became possible to go from the basic overview of participation modes to the exploration of these modes in context and in their particularity. Thus, because of the mapping in the initial reading, I was able to develop the design further for the next analytical phase. I had now identified several systemic levels with different criteria for inclusion, but I wanted to explore the characteristics of these criteria and processes in greater depth. Accordingly, I developed four sub-questions that were decisive for the next analytical phase.

The sub-questions were conceptualised in accordance with the systemic levels at issue in the previous reading and operationalised. In order to make the material more manageable, and to reduce it into excerpts that were of relevance for the research questions, I chose to perform the next level of analysis as a concept-driven coding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 202) of the entire material. Given the huge amount of texts that were written during the fieldwork, it became crucial to have a system that could provide an overview of the entire material. I therefore used the qualitative analysis program *Nvivo* that makes it possible to organise and analyse unstructured data. On this platform, I stored and categorised relevant material in accordance with the codes in Table 3.

5.4.2 Approach 2: Procedure for the third study

The third study was the result of a different, but interconnected, analytical process. Initially, the idea for the third study emerged after some findings that stood out during the reading of the interview material in the initial analytical phase. When interviewing newly arrived students, I found it difficult to get them to reflect on their experiences with the Norwegian school system. The students seemed often very polite, did not offer critical comments on the Norwegian system, and I did not get many informative answers to my questions. When I started to ask the students to compare their experiences with Norwegian schools with the schools they had attended in their home or transit countries in the past, however, they gave quite

extensive descriptions of differences. The descriptions were also quite similar, regardless of where they came from.

When I read through the interviews with the teachers, many of them described working with newly arrived students as a challenge due to the difference between these students and the “Norwegian” ones. They related a situation where newly arrived students had problems adjusting to the Norwegian system. They did articulate some of the requirements that these students struggled with, but it also became clear that there were differences that to a larger degree were *implied* in the way they described and addressed newly arrived students, and that were more informal and had to do with the abilities we often take for granted concerning the *student role*. There were thus matters of inclusion that entailed some understanding of what kind of conduct that was acceptable and valued in Norwegian schools.

I therefore started working systematically with the concept “expectations”. The approach for the third study focuses on the semantics in the school organisation, and thus the explicit and implicit educational expectations that came forth in the descriptions of newly arrived students. Inclusion in this phase of the analytical approach was accordingly operationalised as fulfilling educational expectations, while exclusion was operationalised as deviating from these expectations. I conducted a new concept-driven coding in *Nvivo*, and Table 4 on the next page gives an overview of the different codes.

I started with two broad analytical questions, as can be seen in the table. In order to answer the first question: “How do the teachers describe newly arrived minority language students”, I read the entire interview material and used the code “descriptions of newly arrived students”. This code included all the descriptions of what characterises newly arrived students, or what distinguishes them from mainstream students.

This reading and coding resulted in excerpts that were extensive, thick and complex and I therefore developed two more sub-codes. While the coding of the descriptions was empirically driven, open and including, the sub-codes “expectations” and “adjustments to new teacher roles” entailed a theoretical conceptualisation (see Article 3). The code “expectations” referred to descriptions of

newly arrived students that entailed implicit or explicit educational expectations. The code “adjustments to teacher roles” included all descriptions that entailed an observation of different teacher roles in Norway and the home or transit country of the newly arrived students.

Table 4: Overview of codes and questions for the third study

Research question	Informants	Code in Nvivo	Operationalisation
<i>How do the teachers describe newly arrived minority language students?</i>	The teachers	“Descriptions of newly arrived students” Sub-codes: “Expectations” “Adjustments to new teacher roles”	Descriptions of the characteristics of newly arrived students, including what distinguishes newly arrived students from mainstream students. Sub-codes: - Descriptions that entail expectations towards students - Descriptions that evolve around different relationships towards teachers
<i>How do the newly arrived students describe educational expectations in respectively Norway and in their home-or transit countries?</i>	The students	“Change in expectations”	Descriptions of the encounter between educational expectations in respectively Norwegian schools and their home or transit countries.

In the interview material with students, I focused on selecting all the text-passages that entailed descriptions of the encounter between the educational expectations in newly arrived students’ home or transit countries, and the ones they met in Norwegian schools. The code “change in expectations” was used and included these

excerpts, as well as stories that described continuity and thus no differences between the sets of expectations: although this was the case for only one of the students. The codes were used to cut and insert text into excerpts in order to get a more manageable amount of text to work with.

5.5 Transparency and reflexivity

In the following sections, I will reflect on some questions that have been crucial to make this study valid and reliable: the transparency and credibility of the project, as well as my own position as a researcher.

5.5.1 Transparency

In the reconstruction of meaning in the policy documents and fieldwork material, I aimed at being fair towards the original meaning content. This can be described as a process where I continually questioned and re-investigated the meaning content and communicative patterns at issue. As one of the aims of this dissertation was to offer sound theoretical re-description of the social phenomena at issue, the semantics offered by policy documents and school organisations were not taken for granted.

Political texts often seem impenetrable and self-evident at first glance. They are often based on a selective use of research, and tend to have sound evidence for their claims. I was therefore in need of a theoretical perspective that enabled me to see through these self-evident notions, and the first study therefore offered both a reconstruction of political documents as well as a *confrontation* with the systems-theoretical conceptualisation. I aimed at being fair towards the “original” policy text, but at the same time at providing a comparison with Luhmann’s conceptualisation. To ensure transparency, I chose to stay close to the original texts in the reconstruction, and I included quotes as well as references to the original documents in the article. I also chose to separate the reconstruction of the documents from the re-descriptions.

I have aimed at being transparent about how I gathered and shaped the fieldwork material. In the second and third articles, I included a comprehensive

number of quotes to ensure transparency. In previous sections of this chapter, I have given an account of the relationship between the theoretical concepts and the communication in the field. Inclusion/exclusion has been the leading theoretical distinction in the project, although it has been operationalised in different ways to illuminate different aspects of the processes. Accordingly, the findings presented in this dissertation are not findings *per se*, but are findings generated by different operationalisations of the theoretical distinction inclusion/exclusion. By being transparent with regard to the analytical concepts and categories, I hope to make it possible for readers of the dissertation to evaluate whether this process is sound and meaningful, given the possibilities and constraints of the analytical perspectives.

For this dissertation, I will argue that the most important aspect with regard to transparency is what Kvale (1996) calls “communicative validity”, although with a slightly different understanding of the concept. Validation can be seen as a communicative and argumentative encounter where knowledge claims are continuously tested and revised. However, given a systems-theory perspective, one has to take into account the characteristics and purposes of the communication in play, in order to be sufficiently transparent. It therefore becomes crucial to reflect on one’s own embeddedness when conducting a study from this perspective.

This dissertation is conditioned by the communicative context of educational research and systems-theory. It is thus the scientific concepts, primarily the conceptual pair of inclusion and exclusion, which have shaped the dissertation. At the same time, the project has been informed, and sometimes surprised, by the communication in the fields of study, in this case political and educational communication. Thus, the project can be seen as a re-description of political and educational communication from the point of view of educational science and systems-theory. The dissertation does accordingly not communicate from a privileged outside position in order to provide educational critique, but has been shaped by a critical movement between theory, political documents and fieldwork material. This process has entailed openness for self-reflection, trials and errors.

5.5.2 Reflexivity

In the foreword, I provided a narrative of my previous experiences that have had an impact on the dissertation's motivation and focus. Obviously, our previous experiences shape us as researchers, including the preferences and interests we pursue in our work. As I had worked as a researcher before starting this project, it was a natural process to pursue this role again. In addition, I have quite diverse experiences from the field, as teacher, bureaucrat/advisor, university lecturer and researcher, which have been an important source for reflections and field knowledge from diverse points of view. Due to these experiences, I had gained knowledge that was valuable when entering the field, such as for instance, how a "normal" classroom interaction proceeds and how migration, settlement and integration processes are facilitated.

My background as advisor in the Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi) gave crucial experiences from the field, as it entailed addressing refugees' potential for settlement and integration, and in some cases being part of decision-making processes that would lead to acceptance or rejection of these individuals as residents of Norway. Obviously, this background has given me important information about the field and the group at issue, as well as experiences of how systemic processes shape our opinions and conduct. Part of the reason for choosing a research project on newly arrived students was probably also a concern for the life conditions of so-called unaccompanied minors that emerged during my time in IMDi. Some of my informants had come to Norway alone, and lived presently without close family members to take care of them.

Throughout the process of this dissertation, it became necessary for me to reflect on these experiences, and be aware of the different expectations entailed in the position as an advisor versus, for example, as a researcher, and how this could affect my relationship with the newly arrived students. One of the interviewees was for example an Afghan boy who had resided in Iran, and came to Norway as a quota-refugee the year after I had been there as a part of the commission. As the experience of selecting refugees had made an impression on me, I had to deal with the risk of over-identification. At the same time, I was familiar with the conditions of Afghan

refugees in Iran, which made it possible for me to share some mutual references with this boy.

On the other hand, as I had previously worked as a teacher at several levels in the school system, there was also a risk that I would identify myself too much with the staff at the school. I have never experienced immigration or attended introductory classes myself, and the teachers were therefore closer to me as identity positions. Obviously, the teachers were also interested in my work, and I was dependent on them to arrange observations and interviews. I tried to make up for this by making myself available for conversations with the students. For example, I often chose to stay in the classrooms with the students when the teachers left for their breaks, and I approached the students in their usual locations at the schools. Still, it was difficult to compensate entirely for this distinction, also because I am a white, middle class and soon middle-aged woman, not unlike many of the teachers. It was therefore necessary for me to be aware of the unequal distribution of power between the informants and myself, and also as Pedersen (2003) expresses it in a painterly way, to be conscious that interviews are not only an expression of the participants' lifeworld, but may be an arena where different discourses "cross their blades".

As I was present at the schools for approximately seven months, and in some periods every day, I became well acquainted with some of the informants, especially key informants among the teachers. As Alver and Øyen (2007) point out, a researcher needs "musicality and ear" for the informants' utterances and expressions. These kinds of relationships, where trust is essential, may resemble friendships in certain parts of the project. It therefore became crucial to be aware of the relationship between closeness and distance in order to preserve professional integrity. Although the role as a sympathetic listener is necessary to gain information, it was also necessary to obtain distance to avoid over-involvement.

This balance between closeness and distance became even more important during the interviews with students. Some students were eager to share their stories, including traumatic experiences and life problems. Although I made room for the informants' initiatives and stories, I did not want the interviews to cause unnecessary strain or re-traumatisation for them (Alver & Øyen, 1997). I saw it as necessary to be

carefully present and to listen to their stories with empathy, but I avoided asking follow-up questions or eliciting such entrusted stories. In these interviews, I was able to draw on my previous experience as advisor in IMDi. The newly arrived students shared similar life stories, including traumatic events from war, persecution and migration, with the individuals I interviewed in refugee camps in Syria and at UNHCR facilities in Iran. These previous experiences were thus an important source for reflection, and probably made it easier for me to find a fruitful balance between closeness and distance.

5.6 Research ethics

5.6.1 Anonymity and confidentiality

Before I started the fieldwork, the project was reported to, and approved by, the Norwegian Social Science Database (NSD) (Appendix 4). During the research process, the material was stored in accordance with NSD guidelines in order to ensure confidentiality. Although the informants were anonymised, and given pseudonyms in transcripts as well as articles, I had to take some additional measures to ensure protection of their identity. This had to do with the social character of the group of informants as well as the educational measures at issue.

When I was going to present my findings about language networks in the second article, it was necessary to provide information about the students' mother tongue languages. However, this information could potentially entail a risk that readers would identify students who spoke rather unusual languages. In order to prevent possible identifications, it became necessary to anonymise the schools as well as the regions in which the educational provisions took place. I discussed the issue of anonymity with the door openers at both schools. One of the schools saw advantages of *not* being anonymised, as the school wanted their educational provision to be openly assessed by a qualified person. Still, due to the abovementioned reasons, I made an independent judgment to anonymise.

There are different educational measures for newly arrived students across the country, but generally only a few schools in each region offer introductory classes for

newly arrived students. If I had revealed the region in which the study was conducted, there would be a possible risk that informants could also be identified. As there is no national oversight of these educational measures, it will be difficult to trace the schools based on the information I have provided.

There were also other considerations to be made to avoid indirect identification of the schools and the informants. This was however, a balancing act, as far-reaching anonymity measures may jeopardise the transparency of research data (Alver & Øyen, 2007). Due to relatively strict anonymity measures, I have not provided so many thick descriptions with background information and contextual issues. Neither have the characteristics of the informants been described in detail. Still, there have been contextual issues, background information, and individual characteristics (such as mother tongue language), which have been crucial for interpretation and analytical work. In these cases, I have allowed accounts that are more extensive in order to comply with the need for transparency.

5.6.2 Informed consent

As previously mentioned, I was given access through a member of the leadership at both schools. They consented on behalf of the schools, and informed the school-leaders and the rest of the staff about the project. I also informed the classes in plenary session before I started the observations. In each group, the teachers introduced me, and I was able to tell the students about the aims and focus of the study. In these presentations, I tried to explain in simple terms what the project was about, in order to ensure understanding. For the students in the groups at the lowest levels, I gave the information in English as well.

The informants consented individually before I conducted interviews. To secure informed consent, I explained the project and its overall purpose thoroughly to each interviewee. As many of the students had language difficulties, I explained the purpose of the project and the principles of anonymity and voluntariness as informatively as possible before starting the interview. We read through the information letter together, and I asked them if they understood the information and encouraged them to ask me questions if they did not understand. As all of the students

were at least at the age of 16, they were able to consent individually. All informants signed a written declaration of consent (Appendix 1).

As Alver and Øyen (1997) point out, there are two important questions concerning informed consent: “How informed?” and “How voluntary?” These questions are important for interviews with all kind of informants, but immigrants, especially newly arrived ones, are considered a group of special concern. Due to language problems and the potential status of being a “stranger”, they may have difficulties protecting their rights and integrity (Alver and Øyen, 2007). In my experience however, there were great individual differences between the students in terms of this kind of vulnerability. The group can therefore not necessarily be seen as *per se* vulnerable. Rather, this issue had to be kept constantly in mind and evaluated, and my ethical assessments *there and then* affected how the interviews proceeded.

In the process of ensuring informed consent, the researcher has to consider the quality of the relationship with the informants, especially the aspect of trust (Alver & Øyen, 1997). As the interviews were conducted at the end of the fieldwork, I had already been present at important social arenas at the schools for approximately three to five months, and was thus generally acquainted with the informants and had gained a certain level of trust. However, I had been in contact with the informants to various degrees, and there were cases where I was uncertain if the informant had understood the information I gave. In these cases, I had to spend more time in the initial phases of the interview to get more familiar.

The students were generally very polite, and this made me wonder if some were reluctant to express it if they did not understand or did not want to participate. In addition, the students were recruited indirectly by the teachers, and they might therefore have felt obliged to participate. Obviously, asymmetrical relationships may influence the principle of voluntary consent (Alver & Øyen, 2007). Still, in most interviews, the informants were eager to respond to my questions, and there were few signs of distrust or insecurity concerning the purpose of the study. On the contrary, many of the students were openly interested in the project. I also made sure to inform the students that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time, and emphasised that they were not obliged by the school, the teachers or me as a

researcher to participate. The teachers were also aware of this aspect of voluntariness when they helped me to recruit.

5.6.3 The problem of categorisation

When conducting research with so-called vulnerable groups, one has to be particularly aware of risks of stereotyping and stigmatising. As Ytrehus (2007) emphasises, cultural research has potential political power, especially if our analytical concepts become accepted and taken for granted. If the categories deployed are biased and constituted as a version of the *us /them* dichotomy, the need for ethical reflections becomes crucial. As expressed by the Norwegian National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities (2006, p. 22):

Researchers who gather information about characteristics and behaviour of persons and groups must be careful about operating with distinctions and characterisations that give ground for unreasonable generalisation and in actual practice may lead to stigmatisation of certain social groups.

Engaging in a research project in a field where categorisations such as “minority language pupils” are frequently used, calls for awareness of myth production and stigmatising effects. Being defined as a minority language student means being opposed to and deviant from the majority or mainstream student. This categorisation may create unnecessary distance between population groups, as it can be seen as a version of the distinction *us/them*.

When entering a field it may be fruitful to put one’s own preconceptions in parentheses, and try to understand the field with its forms of meaning. Thus, I tried to understand why the binary distinction between mainstream students and minority language students became so defining in the field. When communicating the results, however, it was crucial to make the different levels apparent: “minority language pupils” was not an analytical category that I as researcher brought in to the field, but a category that gave meaning for persons in the field of study. This notion can be conceptualised through the distinction *etic/emic*: *emic* categorisations can be

understood as peoples' own categorisations, while *etic* categorisations can be understood as the researcher's analytical categories (Ytrehus, 2007). Hence, I have made it apparent in the writing process that "minority language pupils" was an *emic* category.

The distinction between *emic* and *etic* categories may however not necessarily be sufficient to solve this problem in its entirety. One could argue that to merely describe how the school organisation with its leaders and teachers gives meaning to the distinction may result in a legitimisation of the *status quo*. If I were to present the way minority language students were understood in the schools without discussing the problems entailed in such a categorisation, or offering alternatives, my project might run the risk of contributing to myth construction and unintentionally justifying exclusive practises. This problem can be addressed more or less radically: one could aim at developing a new and less excluding language or one could try to relativise the categories in question and show the contingency, variations and diversity within the categories. In my project, I have aimed at solving the problem with the latter strategy. The dissertation has aimed at making visible the actual diversity of minority language students, an issue that will be further explored in the discussion. Also, this dissertation takes the stance that whether or not having a minority language is seen as a problem depends on the system at issue and its sensitivity towards diversity.

A central finding in the second article is Arabic-speaking as well as Polish-speaking networks of students that created oppositional structures to educational communication. These findings may contribute to the myth production or stereotyping of Polish- and Arabic-speaking pupils. To avoid this, I have tried to make it clear that the oppositional structures are interpreted as systemic phenomena that must be understood *in context*. By this analysis, I offer an alternative to the culturalised explanations offered by some of the teachers.

5.6.4 Analytical freedom versus protection from harm

Analytical freedom needs to be balanced with the principle of protecting the informants from harm (Røthing, 2002). As this project primarily analyses semantic constructions, there is both a risk that individual voices of the informants have been

underemphasised, and that the utterances of the staff at the schools will be understood as bad intentions with regard to minority language students. There is thus no guarantee that my interpretations are in line with how the informants perceive themselves. The teachers at the schools should, however, not be seen as individuals with the *intention* of excluding minority language students. On the contrary, they worked hard to ensure a good education for newly arrived students, and contributed to my project despite busy days, relatively low status and poor educational resources.

It should be emphasised that this dissertation is not critical towards the participants' intentions, professional or ethical character, but raises critical questions towards the historically and socially produced semantic repertoire that is available to these informants (Arnesen et al., 2007). Given the present policies and organisational measures, their room of conduct is restricted, and they do not have many other communicative options. The fact that this dissertation focuses on systemic processes also illuminates the educational conditions the teachers work in, and may in the end initiate processes that improve *their* praxis and create new communicative possibilities. The principle of analytical freedom versus the care for the informants and their stories is not a matter of either-or, but a balancing act where the researcher must be conscious about how power is unequally distributed between the informants and the researcher (Røthing, 2002).

6. The three articles: Key findings

In this chapter, I will present a post-interpretation of the main findings of the studies according to the main research problem of this PhD thesis.

The first article, *Included as excluded and excluded as included* finds that inclusion, defined as opposite to exclusion, is consistently used as a key concept in policy documents from 2003–2012. “Full” inclusion in society seems to be the goal, while exclusions are seldom mentioned, and when they are mentioned, they are always mentioned in relation to strategies of inclusion. Consequently, the article finds that inclusion is stabilised as a concept that is potentially limitless in the policy.

The article also finds that the educational system becomes the most important reference for the Government’s inclusion policy. From 2006 and onwards, inclusion of minority language pupils is explicitly formulated as an educational responsibility (“education strategy”), and the category “children and young people with immigrant background” is replaced by the category “minority language pupils”. Simultaneously, the strategy of “early intervention” is introduced, emphasising early educational inclusion. When the article applies the systems-theoretical concept of inclusion as an analytical tool, the political descriptions appear paradoxical. The concept “minority language pupils” is defined as opposite to “majority language pupils”. When minority language pupils are addressed, and thereby included, they are not addressed in the same manner as the majority language student, but are associated with particular *exclusion roles* in education. Based on these findings, the article argues that minority language pupils are being *included as excluded* as well as *excluded as included*.

A systems-theoretical re-description thus makes it possible to identify an inherent paradox: Although inclusion is the goal, the policy is excluding given the fact that minority language pupils are associated with deviant role-expectations. Minority language pupils’ failure to succeed in education is attributed to individual characteristics, and the strategy of early intervention tries to cope with this problem by aiming at inclusion as early as possible. The article argues that these strategies make the system avoid reflecting on exclusion as a socially structured phenomenon that is entailed by the inclusion processes of the system.

Educational careers have become crucial in terms of inclusion in society, and the first article points to the possible dangers of stabilising exclusion roles. The article however concludes that the social consequences of this *including exclusion* must be explored in context. This is the starting point for the second article, *Education without a shared language*, which explores the social consequences of educating newly arrived students in introductory classes. The article finds that the school organisations construct a notion of newly arrived students as not only lacking language skills, but also as having an insufficient educational background, resulting in a lack of sufficient learning strategies, adequate cultural references and subject knowledge. Newly arrived students are therefore understood as lacking the educational requirements that are regarded as necessary in the mainstream system, a conception that in turn legitimates an *including exclusion* that entails a number of exceptions from educational principles valued in the mainstream system. Introductory classes, as opposed to mainstream classes, are for instance organised by stratification according to performances in a complex matrix with different paths towards inclusion and exclusion. For the students at the basic levels, this had severe consequences, as they had to cross several boundaries even to be included in the mainstream.

The article shows how introductory classes are characterised as an education without a shared language, which makes it especially challenging to mediate educational communication. Although newly arrived students are included in interaction systems (classes) in the sense that they are present, they do not necessarily have sufficient language skills to connect to educational communication. Many students preferred to communicate with other students who shared their mother tongue, but these incidents were sanctioned by the teachers. Consequently, network systems based on mother tongue languages emerged as counter powers, especially among students at the basic levels, resulting in an *excluding inclusion*. The unrecognised communication structures thus tended to evolve into oppositional structures with reciprocal exclusion as effect. The social consequences of organising students in introductory classes were thus different depending on where the students were placed in the social hierarchy of performance levels. The article expresses a

special concern for students at the basic levels, who have to cross several boundaries to attend the mainstream system and continue their educational careers.

The third article: "*They don't know what it means to be a student*" illuminates the excluding consequences of global educational *expectations*. The teachers expressed that one of the greatest challenges when educating newly arrived students is their lack of ability to take responsibility for their own learning processes. Newly arrived students were generally understood as lacking meta-cognitive skills, such as creativity, independence and the ability to self-manage. The teachers thus found newly arrived students deviant in terms of valued expectations in the Norwegian school system, and found it plausible that the students had previously been socialised into other or more traditional educational expectations. The students supported these semantic descriptions, as almost all of them described great discrepancies between expectations in Norwegian schools and their previous school experiences. Despite these similar semantic descriptions, the article shows that other communicative expressions can be interpreted as resistance and processes of counter powers.

The article finds similarities between expectations that were expressed in the interviews and the ones that are emphasised in the so-called skills policies for the twenty-first century, represented by the OECD. By applying a systems-theoretical re-description, the article shows that the schools as well as the OECD operate with a binary distinction between educational expectations that are attuned to modern society (emphasis on meta-learning and generic skills), and traditional, old, outdated, and local educational forms (emphasis on obedience and replication). As newly arrived students are associated with the latter, they are categorised as deviant in terms of educational expectations, both in the Norwegian schools as well as in the OECD-document. The third article argues that the expectations of being a self-managing learner can be seen as a significant feature of the knowledge economy and the policies of lifelong learning that are promoted by organisations such as the OECD. This article thus calls attention to the processes of exclusion that result from globalised expectations promoted by the knowledge economy, and questions whether the economical-educational expectations at issue are an oversimplified notion of the student role that obstructs the educational system's independence.

7. Discussion

This chapter will provide a broader discussion where patterns from the three studies will be abstracted, compared, and put more explicitly into the contemporary context. In the first section, I will revisit the shift from the national identity project to the global skills policies, presented in Chapter 2. I will argue that the governmental strategy of global skills policies has created new conditions for inclusion and exclusion. In the second section, I will revisit the question of power, presented in Chapter 4, and argue that the understanding of society as a knowledge economy, which came to expression in the studies, tends to over-integrate the purpose of education with economic considerations.¹⁴ I will argue that this can be understood as a multidimensional structure of power, resulting in the production of piled exclusions. The discussion culminates in the third section, where I argue for further differentiation concerning the purpose as well as the personification structures of education, in order to deal with these problems. The last section presents concluding comments.

7.1 Exclusions under contemporary educational conditions

In this section, I will take the contemporary context more explicitly into account, and revisit the shift from the national identity project to global skills policies. The first article discusses the “education strategy”, where the political system, represented by the Norwegian state government, relies increasingly on the educational system to achieve the political ambition of full inclusion in society. The political notion of the “education strategy” emerges through a specific observational view and conception of society, namely the “knowledge society”: achievements in education are seen as crucial for participation in an increasingly more knowledge-intensive work life, and production of skills and competencies are crucial for Norway’s ability to compete globally. Minority language students are, however, a “problem group” in this semantic, as they do not deliver sufficiently on educational measures.

The second article shows the educational consequences of this policy, more specifically the compensatory and *including excluding* measures that are offered to the group of newly arrived minority students at schools with introductory classes. Introductory classes have been the primary measure for newly arrived students since the nineties, while there were previously several alternatives. The article shows that by means of this organisational measure, the educational system can categorise newly arrived students as deviant in terms of the educational priorities deemed important in the contemporary society, and keep them apart from the mainstream. Thus, in agreement with Luhmann, it can be argued that the educational system creates inequalities and exclusions for newly arrived students through the school organisations, which may compensate for the symbolic value of equality and full inclusion.

Although the teachers seem to complain about the lack of cultural references among newly arrived students, their semantics of deviance are primarily centred on the *competencies and skills* that newly arrived students lack. It can thus be argued that it is no longer primarily the national identity project that is the mechanism for inclusion and exclusion in the Norwegian school system, but the global skills policies, in the context of the knowledge economy. Newly arrived students lack language skills, subject knowledge and competencies that are seen as essential to participate in the inclusion domain of the educational system given its present purposes and aims.

The third article shows even more comprehensively the exclusionary consequences of the policies of the education strategy and the knowledge economy. In the teachers' semantics, the main problem concerning education of newly arrived students is their lack of abilities to self-manage their learning processes. Their meta-cognitive skills and learning strategies are deemed inappropriate, as they are associated with old and traditional educational expectations. There are thus only remnants of the national identity project in the teacher's semantics. The expectations through which they include and exclude students are based on the skills rendered important for the modern society, especially work life. It can thus be argued that the present educational semantics of the knowledge economy create new conditions of

inclusion and exclusion that in turn constitute risks for newly arrived students' educational careers. Although this dissertation has focused on minority language students, especially newly arrived ones, the present expectation structures of the inclusion domain may cause problems for other groups of students as well.

7.2 Revisiting the question of power

I will now revisit the issue of power, as there are findings and common features in the three articles that should be abstracted and discussed more substantially. In the following, I will argue that the exclusionary measures offered to minority language students can be seen as a multidimensional power structure that tends to “over-integrate” the purpose of education with other societal interests, especially (knowledge) economic ones.

The very category of minority language students/pupils is at the same time a scientific, legal, political, (knowledge) economic and educational category. In the context of science, the category has been used to indicate a group that deviates statistically on important educational measures – and as Luhmann (2006b, p. 154, my translation) laconically expresses it: in the state administration, “numbers make an impression”. The political system reacts to this information from the system of science, by suggesting compensatory measures for the group of minority language students. Given the present knowledge economic horizon and the “education strategy”, economic considerations are of particular concern: marginalisation costs money – especially if risk for unemployment is involved. Through the system of law, the category is incorporated in the school act. Minority language students have certain rights to compensatory measures, on the premise that they are in need of these. Finally, the category works as an important script in the educational system, represented by the pedagogical establishment, school organisations and classes. The category gives meaning to the differences between majority and minority students, and works as an important script to make decisions about organisational measures and educational content.

Thus, this scheme of standardisation and differentiation works on multiple levels, in structural couplings between different functions systems. Still, it is in the educational system that these scientifically and knowledge-economic informed policies and laws make a difference for the persons at issue. Minority language students in general and the newly arrived in particular, are positioned in the exclusion domain of the educational priorities set forth by school organisations in the context of these multiple functional areas.

The three articles show that the consequences are quite diverse for different students. While some students had to cross only the limit to mainstream education, others were excluded on several systemic levels, making them especially vulnerable concerning their future educational careers. Some students accepted their placement and the expectations it entailed, and managed the process of being included at increasingly higher levels. They eventually passed the limit to the mainstream and continued their educational careers with success. Others, however, resigned themselves (powerlessness) or objected by engaging in oppositional network systems (counter powers), and were probably on the path to definite educational exclusion.

Given the educational regime in which the global skills policies are a defining feature, the field of educational options with regard to inclusions is *restricted*. The governmental strategy nested in the neo-liberal conception of society as an essentially *economic society* creates tight couplings between systemic domains, where educational success is deemed essential for participation in the “knowledge-intensive” work market.¹⁵ An individual with scarce educational resources seems increasingly less likely to become included in the work market. Educational careers are understood as the gateway to “full inclusion” in society, understood as the knowledge society.

Still, the heterogeneity of the student population is not mirrored in the educational opportunities offered by the system. It is the self-managing student, with well-developed metacognitive abilities, aiming at academic success and eventually a job in the global, modern, knowledge-intensive worklife that is the focal point for the educational system. Minority language students’ abilities are supposedly different, culturalised, and thus not recognised. Obviously, this creates exclusions that cannot

be solved by re-including efforts within the same ideological framework. The problem is not the students themselves, but the very notion of society as a knowledge society, and the homogenisation of the inclusion domain that runs along with it.

In section 4.4.2, it was argued that Luhmann's concept of power has certain limitations concerning analyses of power relations that are not political power. In agreement with Foucault, it can be argued that the categorisations and differentiations (structures of "inclusive exclusion") that unfold in the educational system are processes of power. Furthermore, these differentiations and categorisations are tightly coupled with scientific, economic, political and legal power by decision-making processes, regulations and laws based on equivalent including-excluding categorisations. Eventually, the educational structures of including exclusion may have consequences for those who are given, or not given, positions and thus included or excluded in the job market (system of economy). These tendencies make it pertinent to argue that power can work *across* functional domains, in multidimensional power structures, although this might challenge the *autopoietic* premise of Luhmann's systems-theory.¹⁶

In any respect, the tight structural couplings between the categorisations and differentiations in the different functional domains can be understood as an over-integration of education with especially economic values. The governmental education strategy is not only a political reaction to prevent and remedy exclusions. It also *produces* piled exclusions in terms of its knowledge economic ideology: those who fail to achieve in education are deemed unsuccessful in society. They are treated differently by the means of political decisions and law, and as the work market is increasingly mediated by (higher) education the state of piled exclusions is actualised at multiple levels at the margins of each system. Unemployment obviously creates further societal anomalies for the persons it affects. Accordingly, the structures of power that are constituted by differentiations and standardisations in the educational system are tightly coupled to other functional domains, constituting a multidimensional power structure of *including exclusion*.

I will also suggest that the state of *including exclusion* has its equivalent in the concept of "state of exception" from the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben. As

mentioned in section 4.4.2, Agamben (1998; 2005) offers a further development of Foucault's conception of bio-power by arguing that states of exceptions are expressions of totalitarian power in the modern society. Agamben's "state of exception" is expressed empirically by the distinction between political facts and public law, where public law constitutes exceptions in order to deal with political facts concerning situations that are deemed abnormal (for instance the Guantanamo camp). The state of exception is thus not a special case of law, but is seen as a borderline between outside and inside, inclusion and exclusion, where political facts and public law are increasingly intertwined and blurred. Agamben (1998, p. 9) therefore suggests that these phenomena should be considered an expression of a "zone of irreducible indistinction" and thus of *totalitarian power* in the modern society.

Although Agamben's examples are more accentuated than the cases of including exclusion in this dissertation, there are certainly common features. Given the present context of the knowledge economy, the distinctions between functional domains are increasingly blurred, with crucial consequences for the educational domain. It can be argued that the tight functional couplings of science, politics, law, education and economy that constitute the *including exclusions* at issue in this dissertation rest on a multidimensional, and thus a totalitarian ideology and power structure. The result is a homogeneous structure of personification in the educational domain, and an increased uncertainty concerning the educational purpose as different from the purposes of other functional domains, especially economic considerations.

7.3 Consequences of a theory of distinctions

Theories of distinctions can prove useful for rethinking education and cultural and linguistic diversity (e.g. Kooij and Pihl, 2009). Systems-theory can be seen as an attempt to consistently think in *differences*, rather than identity and wholeness. If there are any normative urges in systems-theory, it is accordingly the anti-totalitarian potential of Luhmann's theory of distinctions. In this section, I will therefore discuss

some consequences and implications of the findings in the studies in light of these aspects of systems-theory.

The reflections in the previous section suggested that the structural couplings of the knowledge economy seem to over-integrate the purpose of education with the values of other functional domains, especially economic ones. The result is a homogenous personification structure that refrains from accepting differences in the student population through *including exclusions* or “states of exceptions” within the educational system. This *including exclusion* is legitimised by deviant characteristics of the group of newly arrived minority language students. However, the studies in this dissertation suggest that newly arrived students *as such* have few common educational characteristics.

In this section, I will therefore argue that a further differentiation of the educational domain is necessary in order to deal with these problems. Based on the theory of distinctions, I will argue that a re-constitution of distinctions at two levels may prove useful: (1) Increased differentiation and complexity in the educational system in order to distinguish between the purpose of education and the purposes of other functional domains; (2) increased differentiation and complexity in the inclusion domain of education in order to deal with complexity in the “environment of individuals”.

According to Harste (2007), the educational system is characterised by a risk of being too little, as well as too much, integrated with other functional domains. When the educational system is *insufficiently* integrated with other functional domains, educational subjects and programs are preserved independently of structural couplings with other domains. On the other hand, the educational system can become over-integrated when differentiations are initiated solely on the background of adjustments to other systems and not *inner* educational needs and demands. In this situation, the educational system fails to withhold and stabilise its own communication structures. Political and economic considerations are re-entered into the educational domain and appear as “values” that codify educational success (Harste, 2007). When several functional codes operate together, there are risks of

accumulation of power and in the worst case totalitarianism and corruption (Luhmann, 2002a).

Luhmann and Schorr (2000) argue that the educational system's *autonomy* as well as the *dependence* on other functional domains tend to be disrupted by the educational system's lack of structural complexity. The solution to an over-integration of functional domains constituted by the knowledge economy seems accordingly to be more differentiation, more structural complexity (Eigenkompläksitet), and increased abilities for second-order reflections *within* the educational system. By second-order reflection *within* the educational system, the system can realise the contingency of its own conditions and values and offer educational alternatives.

Given the premise of functional differentiation, second-order reflections on the educational domain cannot be pursued adequately by politics or science if the aim is to improve the structures of the educational system. Luhmann and Schorr (2000, p. 398) thus argue that reflection-functions for education can most fruitfully be served by *pedagogy*, in the meaning of a "theory about the system of education within the system of education." Luhmann and Schorr (2000, p. 398) thus distinguish between pedagogy and educational science, where:

Pedagogy's strive for independence does not have to be based on (dependent on!) science; it is better grasped – or at least in a way that is closer to the facts – if one looks at it from the perspective of the reflection functions of pedagogical theory as a special sort of inspection and production of knowledge for the business of education.

Luhmann thus argues for a strengthening of the educational domain by differentiating between first- and second-order communicative processes within the educational system itself. Reflections on the purpose of education are best served by the educational system itself.

The second argument in this discussion follows from this first argument, but pertains to the educational system's relationship to its "environment of individuals" through its present structures of inclusion. A common feature in the three studies is that the policies and educational measures for minority language students are based

on a notion that the students should adjust to the expectations and requirement in the systems – and not the other way around. Although inclusion is the intention of the educational program, it is difficult to find traits of a principle of *mutuality*. In section 2.1, I described how the national identity project resulted in assimilation of the national minorities and the Sami population. Based on the studies in this dissertation, it can be argued that we are witnessing a new form of assimilation.¹⁷ Newly arrived students are supposed to be assimilated according to primarily knowledge-economic values and expectation structures, but at the same time, they are depicted as culturally *distinct* from these expectations and thus hierarchically subordinated to the mainstream and majority student (Gressgård, 2010).

In the relationship between the educational system and its environment of individuals, the personification structures embedded in the ideology of the knowledge economy can be seen as a totalitarian structure, aiming to assimilate and “fully” include newly arrived students in the knowledge society through educational expectations represented by skills policies. The findings in the studies thus indicate that the educational system struggles with the relationship between equality and distinctiveness, homogenisation and differentiation.

The educational system is currently in a situation where it must provide educational possibilities and careers to students with a wide range of school-backgrounds. Students that have attended school in Poland have for instance quite different educational competencies, knowledges, qualifications, language skills, prospects and needs than students who have attended Qur’an-schools in Afghanistan or boarding schools for privileged students in Eritrea. Still, all of these students are presently labelled “newly arrived minority language students”, and offered the same educational measures. The educational system has to deal with this complexity in a different manner than refraining from accepting differences through states of exceptions or including exclusions.

If these individuals are to be welcomed as persons in the inclusion domain of education, and be able to pursue their educational careers without too many obstacles, they should be addressed in a different way than merely as a negation of the majority or mainstream student. To comply with an increasingly heterogeneous student

population, the educational system must gain enough structural complexity and differentiate sufficiently to deal with complexity in its “environment of individuals”. As Luhmann (1995, p. 26) argues: complexity can only be handled by complexity.

This claim does not entail, however, that the educational system should *identify* with individuals. Following Harste (2007), the relationship between differentiation and homogenisation is constantly re-specified by the educational system. The educational system mediates between society and individuals by offering educational careers, which is also why the system addresses students by generalised role-expectations and not as “whole human beings.” If the educational system were to address individuals as *whole human beings*, it would entail a totalisation of communication, where the individual is, so to speak, absorbed by communicative structures aiming at education. At this level, exclusion and distance from communication is actually a necessary condition for individual freedom (Harste, 2007). This is also part of the reason why Luhmann (2013) calls the notion of full inclusion a “totalitarian logic”, as it (theoretically speaking) gives no non-communicative spaces in which individuals can pursue self-interpretation.

Accordingly, the solution is not to place responsibility for “full inclusion” in society on the educational system. The educational system must differentiate itself from other functional domains, but also from its environment of individuals. This entails accepting that some aspects of individuals’ past experiences are of no relevance for the educational system, and that it is not necessarily an *a priori* educational responsibility to deal with each students’ identity-development and individual empowerment. It should however certainly be an educational responsibility to make educational careers possible for individuals who at any time are given access to the system, and this can only be done by developing structures that recognise the relevant talents and competencies they exhibit on a broad scale, not just the ones that serve the knowledge-intensive work life.

This would imply gaining sufficient structural complexity to observe and recognise the qualifications, knowledges, skills and competencies these individuals exhibit, which may be relevant for personification and career-selection. If diversity dimensions to a larger degree were incorporated on the inclusion side of education,

the system could deliver more diverse and flexible options for educational careers. It is thus only by critically reflecting on and expanding the prevailing categories, conditions, requirements and evaluative standards set forth in the *inclusion domain* that students with varied educational experiences can be given better chances of educational success.

7.4 Concluding remarks: Can this dissertation make a difference?

This dissertation has further developed some of the aspects of systems-theory that can provide analyses of societal anomalies that constitute the basis for societal and educational “critique”. However, by the abductive and selective use of systems-theory and the further development of some of the implicit critical aspects of Luhmann’s writing, there is no guarantee that Luhmann himself would acknowledge the result. The dissertation can be regarded as critical as it questions the conceptual basis of the present educational priorities, but it does not offer critique from a privileged point of view. Following Luhmann’s (1994) perspective, there is no Archimedean point, only an endless regress of observations.

This is not to say that all observations are equally fruitful. In accordance with systems-theory, it should be emphasised that the critical remarks raised in this dissertation rest on second-order observations, with the advantages this kind of procedure entails. As Luhmann (1994, p. 28) explains:

But there is a possibility of correction: the observation of the observer. It is true that the second-order observer, too, is tied to his own blind spot, for otherwise he would be unable to make observations. The blind spot is his *a priori*, as it were. Yet when he observes another observer, he is able to observe his blind spot, his *a priori*, his “latent structures.” And in doing so, and in thus operatively ploughing through the world, he, too, is exposed to the observations of observations.

The observer of second order has the advantage of observing both sides of an observation, which provides better grounds for reflexivity. This PhD project applies the logic of form as an analytical tool in the articles. However, the theory of

distinctions is also an overall framework for the thesis. The dissertation rests on the premises of the theory of distinctions; it does not look for given entities or substances, but rather the distinctions that give meaning to the social world. This implies being transparent concerning what kind of distinctions are being deployed in the dissertation. In accordance with the quote above, one could say that the distinction is the *a priori* of this project, a notion that can be criticised.

These reflections also entail that the dissertation's possibilities for providing changes in other systemic contexts cannot be predetermined. At best, the dissertation, framed within the perspective of educational science, can provide sufficient irritation for new and increased complexity and structural changes in other domains, which in turn may benefit the educational conditions for minority language students. However, these changes are urgent if society is to prevent domino effects brought about by educational exclusions. From the perspective of this dissertation, problems of exclusion can only be solved by decisions that are attuned to the structural complexity in each functional domain. The potential thus lies in the understanding and conduct that will follow up on the arguments in this dissertation, especially within the domains of politics and pedagogy.

Notes

¹ The outlines are primarily based on articles and books that give an account of these historical developments, and are thus not an independent study resting on primary sources. The aim of the chapter is first and foremost to provide an historical context for the dissertation, especially the overall discussion of findings in Chapter 7.

² Although it was not until the seventies that the conception of adapted education became influential and incorporated in the law.

³ National minorities are groups with a long-standing attachment to the country: Jews with long attachment, Kvens, Forest Finns, Roma and Romani people (see regjeringen.no).

⁴ Pressures from among others UN Human Rights commission, the Sami movement and the national commission on Sami cultural and linguistic rights (Engen, 2010).

⁵ Religious education is an exception to this. The curriculum did to a greater degree than before recognise religious diversity (Pihl, 2002).

⁶ There are, however, exceptions: National minorities (defined in note 3) are given certain cultural, linguistic and educational rights, also due to commitments to international conventions. Since the 1990s, the policy has thus only aimed at ensuring bilingual rights for these students, while other language minorities, categorised as the “immigrant population”, are not admitted these rights (Øzerk, 2013), except in the cases that will be accounted for in section 2.3.

⁷ Municipalities are school-owners for elementary schools, and county-administrations are school-owners for upper secondary school.

⁸ Readers interested in the shift from integration to inclusion, can consult Luhmann (2002a) and Jønhill (2012).

⁹ In general, this entails a stance where the means of knowledge, such as concepts, models etc., do not necessarily equal or mirror the world, but are scientific constructions that enable observations and descriptions of the world from a certain perspective (Luhmann, 1995).

¹⁰ The theory of distinctions and the logic of forms is inspired by the logician George Spencer Brown.

¹¹ According to Luhmann (2000a), political communication is characterised by the code power/non-power–government/opposition.

¹² For a more comprehensive comparison between these two conceptions, see Hilt (2007).

¹³ In Luhmann’s terminology, biological life cannot be included in social systems *as such*, but only as a social structure.

¹⁴ Harste (2007) uses the concept over-integration (of education) to indicate a situation where communicative codes and values from other functional domains are re-entered into the educational domain and appear as values. Luhmann (2002a) writes critically about the concept of integration, but seems to allow its use as a secondary concept.

¹⁵ The concept neo-liberalism is used with some hesitation, as the concept has been used so widely that it is in danger of becoming meaningless (See Ball 2012). In agreement with Ball (2012) and Ong (2007), I refer to neo-liberalism in two senses: (1) in the Foucauldian understanding of governmentality, where the population, in this case through the educational system, is governed through the production of self-managing selves; (2) in the understanding of ‘economisation’ of other social domains in order to create new opportunities for profit.

¹⁶ This is in line with the Government-appointed committee (Østerud et al., 2003) that analysed power relations in Norway in the report “Power and Democracy”. They, for instance, investigated multidimensional power relations between ideological, economic and political domains.

¹⁷ Assimilation in the meaning of a policy aiming on inclusion solely based on the premises of the majority.

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Included as excluded and excluded as included: minority language pupils in Norwegian inclusion policy

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This article offers an analysis of four Norwegian policy documents on inclusion of minority language pupils. The main concepts of this policy will be reconstructed and re-described, applying Niklas Luhmann's systems theory at different levels of the analysis. Luhmann's theory about society as a conglomerate of self-referential social systems investigates how these systems construct meaning and what consequences these constructions have for inclusion and exclusion processes. This article will focus on the Norwegian educational policy towards minority language pupils, defined by the policy as pupils who have a different mother tongue than Norwegian and Sami language. It is argued that this inclusion policy is excluding in its social form, and that it exhibits an increased emphasis on education when it comes to inclusion in society. Re-descriptions based on logic of forms will show how binary distinctions such as 'inclusion/exclusion', 'majority language pupil/minority language pupil' and 'early intervention/wait and see' emerge in the timespan of 2004–2012. Based on this, it is claimed that descriptions of inclusion and exclusion are mutually constituted in the policy, thus giving rise to the question of whether the policy goal – 'full' inclusion in society – is realisable. A paradox will be uncovered: minority language pupils are being *included as excluded* as well as *excluded as included* in the documents, displaying how inclusion and exclusion are two sides of the same coin. The strategy *early intervention* is introduced to remedy exclusions, thus converting the problem of inclusion into a problem of time.

Keywords: inclusive education; politics of education; education policy

Introduction

Since 1994, inclusion has been an important conception in the educational debate of most countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Fasting 2013). How to promote an inclusive society and offer everyone the prospect of lifelong learning has been one of the main concerns of governments across Europe. As economic prosperity is considered increasingly dependent on the skills and abilities of the population, educational exclusions come with higher expenses both for society and individuals.

In Norway, as in Scandinavia in general, the strategy of work orientation has been a leading concept in the policy of inclusion since the 1990s (Engebrigtsen 2007),

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somewhat similar to the strategy of ‘welfare to work’ in the USA. The ambition is to reduce the state’s welfare spending by including more citizens in the labour market, as along with increasing requirements for work-related activity for those who receive welfare benefits (MW 2012). However, as the labour market is currently perceived as increasingly knowledge intensive, the conception of inclusion as being more dependent on participation and success in the educational system emerges.

Thus, it can be argued that the policy has shifted from a focus on work orientation to a stronger focus on inclusion and achievements in education. Norway is the OECD state with the lowest percentage of the working force in jobs consisting of simple and unvarying tasks that do not require education (OECD in MER 2009, 12). Due to these circumstances, participation in lifelong learning has become crucial for inclusion in society. According to the Norwegian Government, *education* is now the answer to the challenges facing the welfare society – resulting in a new policy approach, namely the ‘Education strategy’ (MER 2009).

The policy of inclusion has an inherently positive value (Vlachou 2004). To be against it could be perceived as morally suspect or elitist, as it might promote the idea of an exclusive society or of resignation on the part of the disadvantaged. However, these self-evident notions should be questioned by going beyond an either/or perspective. In this article, the Norwegian inclusion policy towards a specific group called ‘minority language pupils’ will be reconstructed and re-described. Through a document analysis, this paper will focus on the usage of important policy concepts and their relations in four important documents from the Norwegian Government: *Diversity through Inclusion and Participation* from 2004, *Early Intervention for Lifelong Learning* from 2006, *Diversity and Coping* from 2010 and *An Overall Policy of Integration* from 2012.

After reconstructing this policy, the descriptions will be re-described, applying the logic of forms as it is understood in the latest writings of the sociologist Luhmann (1927–1998). Thus, with the help of systems theory, we will go beyond the either/or focus and illuminate the inherent logic of ‘full inclusion’, a logic that considers inclusion as limitless and aims at eradicating exclusions. The article will show how systems theory can contribute to research in the field of social inclusion in educational policy.

Systems theory and the field of educational policy and inclusion/exclusion

Recently, attempts at analysing issues related to educational policy and inclusion/exclusion have followed a broad range of fruitful approaches (Popkewitz 2001; Liasidou 2008; Lumby 2009; Miles and Singal 2010; Slee 2001; Schuelka 2013), but no research on inclusion and exclusion in education policy based on systems theory has been done. In a review article of this field, Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000, 6) argue that policy research in education often seems to accept policy discourses with its categories and problem definitions as starting points and governing structures for research. They further call for knowledge produced through critical analysis and intellectual scrutiny rather than recapitulation of given systems of reference (6).

This difference between recapitulation and critical analysis of policy can, respectively, be conceptualised as first- and second-order observations in systems theory. In Luhmann’s opinion, first-order observations are embedded in *one* particular logic or way of observing. Thus, they are too simple to allow an understanding of social phenomena in modern society: ‘Observations of the first order use distinctions as a schema but do not yet create a contingency for the observer himself’ (Luhmann 1998, 47). If instead one observes social phenomena from a ‘second-order perspective’, that is, observing

observations as observations, the researcher provides grounds for including contingency in meaning and the possibility of reflecting it conceptually (46–50). Second-order observations therefore allow complex and reflective descriptions.

Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000) further explore the organisation of educational problems and policy pertaining to social inclusion/exclusion through two analytical categories, 'the equity problematic' and the 'problematic of knowledge'. 'The equity problematic', they argue, focuses on the representation and access of individuals and groups to educational practices. Governance, from this perspective, is understood as policies that make inclusion possible and try to eliminate exclusion of targeted groups (6). The alternative category, 'problematic of knowledge', focuses on the systems of reason that are embodied in educational policy and pedagogical reforms. Exclusion, from this point of view, is something that is inseparable from the notion of inclusion; hence, exclusion is *not* something that can be eliminated through governance (7).

Although Popkewitz and Lindblad (2000, 7) recognise that there is an overlap between the 'equity problematic' and the 'problematic of knowledge', exemplified by Ball (1994), they argue that these analytical categories are important to understand the need for a bridging of the equity and knowledge problematics through rethinking the conceptual ways that research is organised within the field of inclusion and exclusion. They do not mean joining the problematics in an additive way, but rather suggest new ways of organising research on governance and inclusion/exclusion (34).

This article suggests systems theory as a new way of organising research on governance and inclusion/exclusion. Inclusion is, according to Luhmann (1997a, 2002a), defined as being addressed by a system. Thus, the premises of inclusion are dependent on how the given society differentiates systems. In Luhmann's terminology, 'the equity problematic' would account for theories embedded in an 'old-European semantic', the remnants of earlier societies based on stratification (top-down) as the main organisational principle. In these societies, the individual was either fully included in a stratum or class, or completely left out (Luhmann 1997b; Braeckman 2006).

According to Luhmann, the society of today is a *singular* society and a *world society*, an all-encompassing system of communication. This world society, however, is totally differentiated into partial systems, each of which serves a function for the overall society. Function systems, such as education, economy and politics, all operate worldwide. The systems are autopoietic (Greek: self-production), self-referring and operationally closed. Exchange of information between systems is possible, however, through what (Luhmann 1995, 1997b) calls structural couplings.

Individual participation and inclusion, in contrast to earlier, is now partial and not 'full' (Jønhill 2012a). We are in principle welcomed to every one of the function systems, but the systems exclude persons who do not meet their requirements, and we do not belong to any single one of them fully (Luhmann 1997b). Thus, the premises of inclusion and exclusion are now structured and described in different ways, following the function systems.

This article investigates how inclusion and exclusion for minority language pupils is structured and described in the Norwegian educational policy. From a systems theoretical perspective, we are localised within the framework of the Norwegian state organisation coupled to the global functional systems of politics and education. The policy documents are primarily aimed at making collectively binding decisions, and are consequently seen as political communication (Luhmann 2000). Nevertheless, the documents represent communication about educability, concerning the educational system and a category in this system, *minority language pupils* (Luhmann 2006).

In accordance with Beck and Paulsen (2008, 68), it is argued that such structural couplings between politics and education can be analysed as *semantics*. The term semantics refer to meaning stabilised over time, a supply of possible themes, which makes it possible for systems to disturb each other reciprocally (Luhmann 1995; Beck and Paulsen 2008). This paper will focus on how inclusion and exclusion of minority language pupils are being conceptualised in the political semantic, and will question whether this conceptualisation is including or excluding given a systems theoretical perspective.

Clearly, systems theory has more in common with Popkewitz and Lindblad's category 'problematic of knowledge', although there are also several differences. Luhmann offers an alternative to hegemonic educational discourse approaches, offering fruitful distinctions between systems, such as the distinction between education and politics. Given the understanding of a changed society, analysis and descriptions of educational governance and inclusion/exclusion are in need of a new terminology. Although the systems theoretical concepts might at first seem unnecessarily complex, they are a requisite to generate new descriptions of educational policy.

Methodological reflections

This article is based on a qualitative document analysis (Lyngaard 2010). However, Luhmann does not offer an explicit method of analysis. His work is primarily based on readings of a wide range of texts, from sociology, literature and philosophy to biology and physics. Thus, to be able to apply systems theory, I have both extracted information about analytical issues in the systems theoretical canon and also found methodological support elsewhere.

To apply systems theory in a deductive manner would not be in accordance with the epistemological reflections in Luhmann and Schorr's (2000, 28) work. If we look at analyses on a continuum from pure analytical-inductive to pure hypothetical-deductive (Lyngaard 2010), this procedure was initially closest to the analytical-inductive, or as Luhmann and Schorr (2000, 28) calls it: 'an inductive manner that is guided by theory'. Some broad categories were used in the beginning of the analysis, but these categories changed and were specified as the analysis progressed. Even the research question evolved during the reading: *How is the inclusion policy concerning minority language pupils conceptualised in the policy-literature from 2004 to 2012 and on which logical premises does this description rest upon?*

Thus, the aim of the analysis was to study the conceptualisation of the inclusion policy and the stabilisation and variation of meaning over the mentioned period of time, *semantics* in Luhmann's terminology (1995, 59). Semantics are unfolded in three meaning dimensions: The factual dimension ('what') indicates themes of meaningful communication (76). The social dimension ('who') denotes those who are constituted as persons ('addressees') by the system (80). The temporal dimension ('when') indicates the horizon of time, constituted by the difference of past/future (78). These dimensions are mirrored in the structure of this article. However, despite the fact that they are analysed separately, the dimensions do not appear in isolation (86).

At the core of Luhmann's (1995) theory is the thesis that communication is a selective process of information, utterances and understanding. Accordingly, all texts, including policy documents, are utterances, containing information that is understood by a receiver and which, precisely by his/her understanding, constitutes the text as communication. Thus, the reader is what constitutes the text as communication. Following

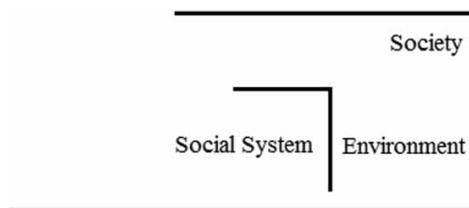


Figure 1. The elementary form of social systems.

this premise, a representational logic is of no relevance for a reading inspired by Luhmann. Scientific research is also seen as a communicative occurrence. This does not entail a methodological relativism; some elementary principles will have to be followed, such as the distinction between *first-* and *second-order observations* (Luhmann 1994, 2007, 1998).

Second-order research distinguishes itself from first-order ideological posited theories (Luhmann 2006, 217). However, the second-order analysis cannot underestimate the observable first-order opinions, and confine truth claims to its own theory. According to Luhmann (2006, 218), this complex relation can be conceptualised as ‘re-descriptions’, emphasising that one has to do with something that is already described. Accordingly, to make the distinction between first- and second-order transparent, reconstructions and re-descriptions will be presented in different sections of this article.

After a reconstruction of the meaning dimensions in the policy descriptions, these descriptions will be re-described, applying Luhmann’s *logic of forms* (Åkerstrøm Andersen 1999; Luhmann 2002b; Jønhill 2012b) developed from the British logician Spencer Brown (Originally 1969). According to the logic of forms, a form consists of two sides, the marked and the unmarked side, as well as a distinction. An angle, called a cross or a mark, is used to show the limit or distinction between the marked and the unmarked side. The elementary form of social systems can be illustrated as in Figure 1.

An observation always indicates something, in this case *social system*, but can only be indicated by drawing a limit to something else, in this case *environment*. While the marked side indicates what is being observed, the unmarked side, always present, indicates what it is separated from (Luhmann 1998, 33; 2007, 65–87). This kind of abstraction will enable us to discover the inherent logic in the policy of inclusion.

In the following section, I will go more into detail on the four documents selected and give a short description of the Norwegian context.

The Norwegian case: background and selection of documents

The population in Norway was fairly homogeneous until the 1970s, consisting to a high degree of what some would call ‘ethnic Norwegians’, as well as a smaller group of native Sámi people. From the 1970s and up until the present, the rate of immigration has increased with each decade, making the population more and more multicultural (Kjeldstadli 2006). According to the definition of Statistics Norway (SSB) (2013), the immigrant population in Norway consists of immigrants who have migrated to Norway as well as those who are born in Norway of two parents born in a foreign

country. As of January 2013, these two groups amount to 14 % of the Norwegian population.

The Norwegian school system is almost entirely public. Only a few private schools are allowed to operate, and these schools are based on religious or pedagogical alternatives. From year one in primary school up to and including third year of upper secondary school (in all 13 years), education is based on right and is free of charge. In this unitary school system, a central principle is the inclusion of all pupils, regardless of capabilities and heritage, and the goal of inclusion has been closely related to the issue of social equalisation (Nilsen 2010).

Four central Norwegian policy documents, three White Papers and one Official Norwegian Report, have been chosen as analytical objects. *White Papers* are written by bureaucrats in the Ministry, responsible for the policy area. They are expressions of the Government's opinion and include recommendations for future policy in the area. Furthermore, they provide foundations for future legislation. *Official Norwegian Reports* are commissioned by the Government with the mandate to review a certain policy area, and they provide the basis for White Papers. Although they are the end products of the work of appointed committees consisting of representatives from unions, municipalities, universities, the bureaucracy and other associations, the work is regulated by a political mandate and task.

- *The White Paper Diversity through Inclusion and Participation* from 2004 (hereafter D04). The author is The Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, referred to as MGD. This White Paper explicates the Government's overall strategy towards the now more diversified population in what the paper calls 'the new Norway'.
- *The White Paper Early Intervention for Lifelong Learning* from 2006 (hereafter D06). The author is The Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, referred to as MER. This White Paper explicates the Government's strategy to reduce the differences in society through the educational system.
- *The Official Norwegian Report (NOU) Diversity and Coping* from 2010 (hereafter D10). The author is MER, but the work was done by a government-appointed committee. The Report assesses the participation of pupils and students with minority language in the Norwegian educational system.
- *The White Paper An Overall Policy of Integration* from 2012 (hereafter D12). The author is The Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social inclusion, referred to as MCES. This White Paper presents principles and a framework for future policy concerning diversity and community.

It should be noted that D04 was published under a rightist/centrist coalition government and D06, D10 and D12 under a leftist/centrist ('red-green') coalition. Also, D04 was published before the most recent school reform in Norway, D06 in the same year, and D10 and D12 subsequent to the reform. This 'Knowledge promotion reform' was implemented from year one in primary school up to and including upper secondary school. The rationale for choosing these documents will be presented as a part of the analytical procedure in the next section.

The analytical procedure

The reading of the policy documents was structured in four phases, which can be described as followed:

1st phase: A vast amount of policy documents were read. The reading was inspired by the ‘Snowball method’ (Torfing 2004), following references in the documents to be able to select ‘mother-documents’ covering a certain timeframe. This method was combined with a thematic analysis. Also the status of the documents was assessed. Simultaneous with the document selection, I was able to develop a research question, which further evolved into three sub-questions, addressed in the following phases.

2nd phase: This reading was aimed at illuminating the first research question: *What are the primary, as well as the secondary concepts and categories used in the documents?* For this purpose, I used a conceptual analysis which resulted in an overview of the main concepts in the inclusion policy.

3rd phase: This reading aimed at answering the second research question: *How is the meaning of the main concepts constituted in the texts?* As the primary interest was *the usage* of the concepts, they were not extracted from the text: all the text passages were read in context. In this reading, Luhmann’s conceptualisation of semantics in the temporal, factual and social dimensions served as an analytical frame to structure the findings. Thus, the meaning dimension of the policy was reconstructed.

4th phase: The third and final research question was addressed in this reading: *What are the relations between the concepts and thus the inherent logic of the policy?* Now the reconstructed meaning dimension was re-described in a systems theoretical way. The logic of forms served as a tool when once again the reconstructed primary and secondary concepts were analysed, focusing also on the relations between them. The analysis of forms as binary schemes, and the relations between the meaning dimensions, illuminates the inherent logic of the inclusion policy.

The policy of inclusion: to be included as excluded and excluded as included

I will now present the *reconstruction* of the political semantic with its conceptual structure. This reconstruction is presented in three dimensions of meaning offered by Luhmann, the factual, social and temporal. After each dimension, I will *re-describe* these descriptions applying the logic of forms. The starting point is the factual dimension. According to a systems theory perspective, communication is always based on themes of meaningful communication, and the factual dimension is therefore the ‘what’ of the communication.

Reconstruction

The theme of these documents is inclusion in general, and eventually inclusion of children and young people with immigrant background, also known as ‘minority language pupils’. In D04, inclusion is presented as a key concept and defined as follows:

Inclusion is a concept used partially as a substitute for ‘integration’, partially as opposite to exclusion. One who encourages inclusion is indirectly saying that someone is responsible for making it happen. Somebody has to open up and invite in. The Government thinks that responsibility normally rests on the majority, or those who have the power to shut people out or bring them in. (MGD, 30)¹

The definition is consistent throughout the four documents. Inclusion and exclusion are understood as opposite to each other, and inclusion concerns the relationship between the majority and those who are not yet a part of the majority: ‘Somebody has to open up and invite in’ (MGD, 30). Further:

As a goal, being included is closely related to the goal of participation: in work life, neighbourhoods, associations, politics, etc. Active inclusion can be a supplement to formally equal rights, in recognition that equal rights do not necessarily give the desired results. (. . .) At the same time, inclusion presupposes the willingness to participate. (MGD, 30)

Inclusion and participation are used interchangeably in the documents. As we can see from the quote, inclusion is understood as closely related to social equalisation. In addition to the responsibility on the side of the majority, inclusion presupposes willingness on the part of the not-yet-included. Thus inclusion is understood as reciprocal. Further, the goal of inclusion is described as related to participation in many areas: work life, neighbourhoods, associations, sports, culture, education and family life.

Even though inclusion is differentiated into the mentioned areas, inclusion in *society* or *societal life as such* seems to be the overall goal in the four documents, a situation wherein exclusions are non-existent. As explained in D04: ‘The goal of the Government is an inclusive society without social exclusion, marginalisation and unequal opportunities’ (MGD, 30). Thus, the relationship between inclusion and exclusion is a relationship of opposites, and inclusion is seen as potentially limitless. Exclusion as a concept, however, is rarely mentioned in the documents. Concepts such as marginalisation (primarily economic), dropping out of education (primarily upper secondary school), exclusion from higher education and getting expelled from the workforce is mentioned here and there, but not systematically. Exclusion *as such* is not explicated. Rather, cases of exclusion are mentioned insofar as they can be re-included by political efforts.

If we look more closely at how the documents describe inclusion of children and young people who are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, (aka ‘minority language pupils’) there seems to be a shift in the political documents during the time-span targeted by the analysis. In D04, the responsibility for inclusion is primarily a parental responsibility (MGD, 10). The *first* focus point of the White paper is described as follows: ‘The Government thinks that parents who have immigrated have an independent responsibility to promote their children’s opportunities in Norwegian society’ (11). The importance of education is emphasised in 2004 as well, but as a *second* focus area (11). Hence, inclusion is understood as a reciprocal relationship between immigrant families and authorities (MGD, 18).

In D06, D10 and D12, however, the responsibility for inclusion of children and young people with immigrant background is placed more explicitly on the educational system. Even though good cooperation between the schools and the homes is emphasised, and the problem of social control in immigrant families as a possible obstacle to inclusion is mentioned a few times in D12 (MCES, 8), the educational system becomes the most important reference for the inclusion policy (MER 2006, 86; MCES 2012, 10). The ability to participate in society is now considered to be dependent on efforts to promote positive learning at every level of the educational system. Contrarily, a negative developmental spiral with poor learning outcome and drop out from school will lead to low-skilled jobs, or unemployment and dependence on social security benefits (MER 2006, 10–11).

Re-description

For Luhmann, inclusion simply means that a person is relevant to the social system in play (2002a). However, there is inclusion only if exclusion is possible. Inclusion is a two-sided *form*: a distinction between inclusion on the one side, and exclusion on the other side (Luhmann 1997a; Farzin 2006). The form inclusion can be illustrated as in Figure 2.

Inclusion is the indicated side or *marked space*, while exclusion is the *unmarked space* of the distinction. Consequently, the form inclusion consists of both inclusion and exclusion. They constitute each other (Luhmann 1997a, 2002a).

Contrary to this, we saw how inclusion is understood as opposite to exclusion in the reconstruction (MGD 2004, 30). Inclusion and exclusion were presented as mutually exclusive: if inclusion is present, then exclusion is not, and if exclusion is present, then inclusion is not. Exclusions, though, were rarely mentioned, and only insofar as they could be controlled by re-including efforts. The quote from D04 displays this understanding: ‘The goal of the Government is an inclusive society without social exclusion, marginalisation and unequal opportunities’ (MGD30). Even though inclusion is considered potentially limitless, the distinction between inclusion and exclusion is reflected. This distinction, however, is asymmetrical and normatively biased: inclusion is the preferred side of the distinction.

If we apply a system theoretical concept of inclusion, it may be questioned whether inclusion and exclusion are mere opposites. In the reconstruction, exclusions were incorporated on the side of inclusions: re-including cases of exclusion. For example, as the policy expresses deep concern with minority language pupil’s dropout rate, several remedial measures are suggested: homework help, summer schools and introductory classes for minority language pupils exclusively (MER 2006, 14). In form-analytical terms, these observations can be conceptualised as a ‘crossing’ (Luhmann 1995): the outside (exclusion) turns into the inside (inclusion). The outside becomes the theme of the communication, such as marginalisation, poverty and drop out. But the outside, exclusion, is the theme of communication only insofar as it is relevant for inclusion: the not-yet-included or excluded are (eventually) to be included. Thus, exclusions are not legitimate without inclusion. As Stichweh (2009) points out, one could say that exclusion is a special case (German: *sondernform*) of inclusion.

Exclusion, though scarcely mentioned in the documents, is understood as marginalisation (especially economic), dropping out of school and exclusion from working life. These instances of exclusions are targets for the inclusion policy and are constitutive for the policy. Inclusion and exclusion processes are, respectively, conceptualised as positive chains of learning experiences versus negative developmental spirals

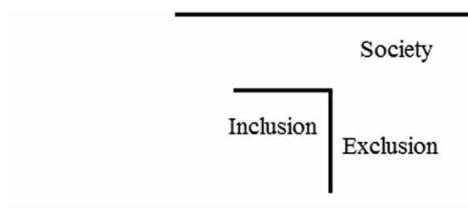


Figure 2. The form inclusion.

(MER 2006, 10–11). Even though the inclusion policy reproduces the indicated side of the form (inclusion), inclusion is not logically possible without exclusions.

In the reconstructed policy, inclusion is perceived as reciprocal, concerning the relationship between majority and minority. From a systems theoretical perspective, however, inclusion has to do with whether and how one is being addressed by the system. A re-description shows how the difference between inclusion and exclusion in the policy documents is made internal: First, minority language pupils are addressed as excluded, *included as excluded*. Second, they are addressed as included, but *excluded as included*. This point will be elaborated further in the re-description of the social dimension. However, as a preliminary conclusion, this re-description displays a paradox in the inclusion policy (Luhmann 1994, 28).

Conclusively, inclusion and exclusion cannot be seen as antonyms. Inclusions follow inclusions in a recursive network, and exclusions are relevant as far as the excluded can be included. This poses the question as to whether ‘full’ inclusion in modern society is achievable. How can full inclusion be achieved when exclusion processes are an internal part of inclusion processes? Actually, Luhmann (1997a, 626) calls the notion of full inclusion ‘a totalitarian logic’, a logic that aims at eradicating its opposite with demands of unity and equality. The totalitarian logic does not recognise that exclusion and inclusion are actually two sides of the same coin, thus it is blind to the socially produced cases of exclusion in modern society.

But how do we understand the change of reference from *family* to *education* in the inclusion policy? According to Luhmann (2006, 65), one of the primary functions of the global educational system is to make human beings into persons, that is, to increase individuals’ abilities to connect to the different function systems of society. This may explain the increased political efforts towards the educational system: the system has a special role when it comes to the facilitation of inclusion in society. Traditionally, socialisation was taken care of by the family. In the modern society, however, more and more emphasis is put on organisations that are specialised for the purpose of education: schools (182). Re-including efforts towards minority language pupils should accordingly be taken care of by specialised organisations within the educational system, and not be left to the unsystematic socialisation that takes place in families. This leads us to the question: Who are the addressees of the inclusion policy?

The addressees of inclusion: minority language pupils

In this section, the ‘who’ of the documents will be presented. The efforts to include a specific group in the policy: ‘minority language pupils’ will be reconstructed and re-described.

Reconstruction

The policy defines minority language pupils as those who have a different mother tongue than Norwegian and Sami language, that is, the mother tongues of the language majority (MER 2010, 24). Thus, minority language pupils are defined as opposite to majority language pupils. The concept of pupils with minority language is mentioned in the earliest documents, D04, but the addressee of this document is more frequently children and young people with immigrant background or just immigrant/descendant of immigrants. This can be due to the fact that this particular document is an overall White Paper, concerned with the inclusion policy for society as such. Interestingly though, in

D12, also a general White Paper, the group of pupils with minority language is a frequent addressee for political decisions and actions. To explain this, we have to observe what happens during the time period between the publication of D04 and D12.

In D06, pupils with minority language are pointed out as a group at particular risk of exclusion and marginalisation in society. The group of minority language pupils, and especially boys (MER, 46) and immigrants (45), especially from non-Western countries (45), are at risk. The risk factors are school dropout, poor learning outcomes and eventually marginalisation, unemployment, poverty and crime (9, 35, 51, 55).

The understanding in D06 of minority language pupils as a group at risk is amplified in D10. D10 is commissioned by the Government with the mandate to review the education offered to *children, young people and adults with minority language*. Now the addressees of the inclusion policy are crystallised and made explicit, and they are even addressed in a separate document. The subject of the report is *into* language minorities, more specifically children, young people and adults from language minorities in the educational system.

The challenges associated with minority language pupils are threefold: lower participation in kindergarten, poorer learning outcome in the elementary school, as well as dropouts from secondary school. These are mentioned in D06 and are the centre of focus in D10. The primary variables that explain school dropouts are family background (parents' education) and lower grades from primary school, while the primary variables that explain poorer achievements and basic skills are language and social background (MER 2010, 44–45, 190).

Crucially, the documents observe each other and link to one another; for example, D10 is observed and used as a knowledge resource for further political decisions in D12. Both D10 (116) and D12 (48) express special concern about *newly arrived* minority language pupils. This group has been mentioned in the earlier documents as well, but not as frequently and comprehensively as in D10 and D12.

Re-description

In Luhmann's systems theory, a person is an addressee for communication, distinguished from the individual who is situated outside the systems (2002a). Accordingly, to be included equals being addressed and thereby being a *person* for the system at issue. In function systems, this personification is actualised and completed through *roles*. General role expectations make it possible for *everyone* to participate in the function systems of society, either through performance roles, such as teacher, or through complementary roles, such as pupils (Luhmann and Schorr 2000, 35).

In the reconstruction, we observed the emergence of the group of pupils with minority language in the inclusion policy from 2006 onwards. The emergence of this group coincides with the change in policy as described in the previous section: the educational system becomes the most important reference concerning the inclusion policy. Thus, pupils with minority language, a version of the role pupil within the system of education, become a frequent addressee for political efforts. This may illustrate a tightening of the structural coupling between education and politics.

In the policy, a language minority pupil is defined as opposite to language majority pupil. They are seen as mutually exclusive: either you are part of the majority language or a minority language. This coincides with the logic of inclusion: either you are included as majority language pupil or you are actually or potentially excluded, as minority language pupil. From a systems theoretical perspective, however, language

majority pupil can be seen as a form, consisting of the marked space language majority pupil and the unmarked space language minority pupil, illustrated as in Figure 3.

Majority language is understood as a part of the order of inclusion, and the distinction in the policy is normatively biased. Majority language pupils are ranked above minority language pupils. However, from a system theoretical perspective, the re-including efforts turn the outside into the inside, again a ‘crossing’ in form-analytical terms (Luhmann 1994). Minority language pupils are made relevant for re-including policy efforts, and the addressee is further specified as: *Immigrant, non-Western, boy and newly arrived*.

As previously seen, forms are constituted by distinctions such as: immigrant – descendant, non-Western – Western, boy – girl and newly arrived – settled. We see how these forms emerge from each other, a continuous emergence of personifications, making the targets of political decisions increasingly differentiated and specific.

If we were to define exclusion as the opposite of inclusion, as in the policy, exclusion would simply mean that these persons were not being addressed, thus an absence of role expectations. This does not seem to be the case. Minority language pupils are to be re-included, either through special efforts within the ordinary school system, or in schools and classes particularly aimed at including this group. Thus, they are made relevant as excluded – *included as excluded*. However, this personification does not offer what might be called ordinary inclusion roles. Minority language pupils can never be actual majority language pupils. Hence, the group is being *excluded as included*: particular exclusion roles are produced and made available on the side of inclusion. From a system theoretical perspective, we are witnessing duplication or ‘re-entry’ of the form in the form (Luhmann 1994). Thus, we are able to separate inclusion roles: e.g. Western girl with majority language, from exclusion roles: non-Western boy with immigrant background and minority language, this time both on the side of inclusion. Consequently, these documents might be seen as excluding in their social form. The distinction between inclusion and exclusion is made internal.

Minority language pupils are just one example of target groups being addressed for including efforts. Actually, the target for inclusion in each of the function systems is potentially ‘everyone’. Luhmann explains how the extensiveness of the functional systems of society is due to this kind of generalisation of addressees (Stichweh 2009, 35):

Each and everyone of us is in principle welcomed to every function system, as payer, voter, pupil, patient or subject of law. Consequently, cases of exclusion are only legitimate insofar as they can be re-included, and an ever increasing number of problem areas and groups come into focus (37).

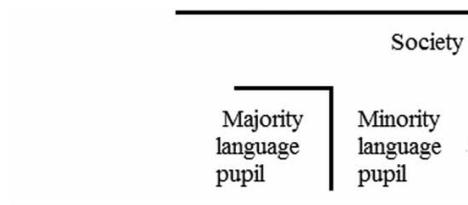


Figure 3. The form majority language pupil.

By constituting the group of minority language pupils through what might be considered a lack of competence (having a minority language), and by selecting correlations between group characteristics and poor learning outcome and dropout trends, as observed in the reconstruction, the group is defined as a problem and an object for political, remedial measures. These explanatory variables are observed *characteristics* of the group, and not the educational system in which they participate in or leave. From a system theoretical perspective, this shows the paradoxical situation for the function systems: because everyone in principle is welcomed to every function system in society, the renunciation of these possibilities must be attributed to individuals. At this point, Luhmann would actually be more in accordance with what Graham and Jahnukainen (2011, 264, 282) refer to as ‘the original intent of the inclusive education movement’: to fix our sights on social barriers rather than ‘special educational needs’ in individuals. Thus, by attributing the causes of exclusion to individuals, one avoids recognising exclusion as socially structured phenomena (Luhmann 1997a, 1997b, 625).

Why are the systems producing exclusions as a part of their inclusion processes? According to Luhmann, the difference between inclusion and exclusion has to do with the distinction between a system and its environment: the self- and other-reference of the system. Educational communication is for example coded educable/not educable (Luhmann 2006), meaning it includes everything and everyone that can be coded as educable, and excludes its opposite. Consequently, it is not the pupil’s minority language or social background itself that causes their educational exclusion, but rather how language and background are perceived as a challenge for educational communication, and consequently how these pupils are addressed as a group associated with educational failure and drop out. As the extensiveness of the educational system is dependent on the generalisation of addressees, minority language pupils are re-included and given exclusion roles within the educational system.

These exclusions may come with high expenses. According to Luhmann (2002a), society is loosely integrated on the side of inclusion, but tightly integrated on the side of exclusion. Being included in one function system, does not automatically make you relevant to another system, but being excluded in one function system seems to increase the possibility of being equally excluded in another system. For minority language pupils, this domino effect is conceptualised in the policy as well: school dropout, poor learning outcomes and eventually marginalisation, unemployment, poverty and crime (MER 2006, 9, 35, 51, 55). Distribution of educational exclusion roles caused by the conceived lack of educability may have consequences for participation in other systems as well. Especially since the educational system has the important function of making human beings into persons and thereby increase their ability to connect to other systems (Luhmann 2006). Considering this, the ‘education strategy’ with its emphasis on educational inclusion is apposite. Educational exclusion comes with high expenses for individuals. Nevertheless, new inclusive interventions will not necessarily have the intended effect. Rather it is necessary to focus on the exclusion side of the distinction, and increase the awareness of how boundary-making in educational policy itself may have excluding effects.

The problem of time: early intervention

In this section, the analysis will focus more closely on the temporal dimension, the ‘when’ of the policy.

Reconstruction

In D06, D10 and D12, the concept of *early intervention* is introduced and emphasised. It had not been mentioned at all in D04. ‘Early intervention for lifelong learning’ is the main slogan of D06 and is defined as follows: ‘Early intervention should be understood as effort at an early stage in a child’s life, as well as intervention when problems arise or are unveiled during pre-school, basic education or adulthood’² (MER, 10).

When introduced, early intervention is observed as the opposite of an attitude among teachers in the Norwegian schools called ‘wait and see’ (MER 2006, 27): ‘(...) there has been a tendency in the Norwegian school to “wait and see” instead of intervening at an early stage in children’s development and learning’ (27). D06 claims that problems may grow bigger and more complex if effort is not made at early stages. Early intervention, according to the Government, will reduce problems and costs at *later* developmental stages. For minority language pupils, this is expressed through a policy effort aimed at participation in kindergarten, as well as an early assessment of language skills. The alternative, minority language children staying at home with their family, is associated with risk (MER 2006, 11).

In D12 early intervention is given particular importance for *newly arrived* pupils with minority language (MCES, 56).

Re-description

Time, in a systems theoretical perspective, is the interpretation of reality in light of the difference between past and future (Luhmann 1995, 78; Moe 2010). Social systems, such as the system of politics, create their own time horizons, that is, their own past and future.

The form of time enables the system to make selections of its operations on the basis of a prospective, future condition, both by trying to achieve a certain situation, and to avoid one (Luhmann 1990, 4). The goal of the political system is full inclusion through the educational system, and early intervention is introduced as a strategy that will help the system achieve such a state. Thus, we observe an increased understanding of inclusion as connected to learning processes and development in the documents from 2006 onwards, and inclusion is recommended to occur as early as possible.

In the reconstruction, we saw how early intervention was seen as opposite to the wait-and-see attitude. Thus, the political problem of inclusion concerning education seems to be a choice between two mutually exclusive strategies: either a teacher can wait and see or she/he can intervene early. The strategy early intervention is mentioned a lot of times in the policy documents, while the wait-and-see attitude is rarely mentioned. The policy distinction is normatively biased and asymmetrical: Early intervention is ranked above *wait and see*, the latter is associated with risk.

From a systems theoretical perspective, however, wait and see is what makes the form early intervention meaningful for the system of politics. The form early intervention then consists of both early intervention and wait and see, illustrated in logic of forms as in Figure 4.

When the political system observes through this form of meaning, early intervention is the marked side, while wait and see is the unmarked side. When the latter is mentioned, it is always in relation to early intervention. Thus, wait and see is relevant insofar as it can be dealt with and eliminated by the strategy of early intervention.

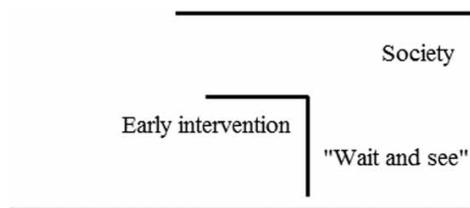


Figure 4. The form early intervention.

Nevertheless, early intervention is meaningless in the absence of wait and see. They mutually constitute each other.

Still, even though this distinction seems inevitable and natural in the policy, the form is contingent. Different distinctions could have been made: early intervention could, for example, be presented as opposed to ‘later intervention’, ‘more resources to the schools’ or ‘restructure the school system’. This would give the form a quite different meaning.

In an educational context, the wait-and-see attitude might be plausible in an attempt to see if the pupil’s development ‘catches up’ with that of the other pupils rather than stigmatising low achievers by intervention. But in a political context aimed at making collectively binding decisions, it seems obvious that early intervention is preferred to the wait-and-see stance. The wait-and-see attitude is associated with neglect and risk for the future society, while early intervention will help the system achieve the goal of full inclusion. *Before* wait and see was the prime strategy, but *hereafter* the strategy of ‘early intervention’ will be a head.

We have earlier seen how ‘full inclusion’ became the goal of the policy, a totalising logic intolerant to exclusions. However, actual differences in learning outcomes, drop-outs from school and poor participation in kindergarten cannot be ignored by the political system. Thus, one has to realise that ‘full inclusion’ is not achieved. This result in a temporal relocation of the problem: ‘full inclusion’ will be achieved with the help of time. The logic of an all-encompassing inclusion itself is not questioned in the policy. Instead exclusion is understood as a residual problem (Cf. Luhmann 1997a, 626). The question for the policy is then: when full inclusion is not achieved in the present, how can it be achieved in the future?

This analysis of the temporal dimension exhibits the last piece of the puzzle in the logic of inclusion. A relocation in the temporal dimension adds to the communicative strategies which obstruct the political system to reflect on exclusion as a phenomenon that is socially structured by social systems themselves.

Conclusion

I have now reconstructed the political descriptions of inclusion of minority language pupils, conceptualised as semantics in a structural coupling between the function systems of politics and education in the Norwegian state organisation. Semantics are structured in three dimensions: the factual, social and temporal, constituted by forms of meaning based on distinctions such as inclusion/exclusion, majority language pupil/minority language pupil and early intervention/wait and see. Applying the logic of forms, I have re-described the reconstructed descriptions and uncovered the

inherent logic of the policy of inclusion, questioning the understanding of a *prima facie* unambiguously positive and self-evident inclusion policy.

The goal of the analysed inclusion policy is ‘full inclusion’, a situation where exclusions are non-existent. This conception of inclusion is similar to ‘the equity problematic’ described by Popkewitz and Lindblad. The policy is directed towards the elimination of exclusion and enhancement of inclusion. Contrary to this, we have seen how inclusions and exclusions are parts of the same self-describing logic of the systems, having more in common with Popkewitz’s and Lindblad’s second category, ‘the problematic of knowledge’. Our analysis has shown how Luhmann’s theory may be suitable for rethinking the conceptual organisation of research in the field of social inclusion and exclusion without a recapitulation of given systems of reference, as called for by Popkewitz and Lindblad.

First, it has been argued that the policy documents indicate a stronger dependence on the educational system for the inclusion of individuals from 2006 onwards. This can be observed through the frequent policy efforts addressing minority language pupils, as well as the emphasis on the strategy of early intervention. I suggested this change to be conceptualised as a tighter structural coupling between the function systems of politics and – education.

Second, it has been argued that the inclusion policy is excluding (*including exclusion*) in its social form. This should, however, not be understood as a critique of inclusion per se. Inclusion is a necessary condition for communication and the extensiveness of function systems. Rather, one could say that in the first place, inclusion has exclusion as a side effect (Luhmann 2002a), but in the second place, exclusion becomes a special case of inclusion (Stichweh 2009). Thus, inclusions and exclusions are both part of the *autopoiesis* (self-production) of the systems. According to Luhmann (1997a, 1997b, 2002a), this makes it especially difficult to observe the phenomena of exclusion in the modern society, obscuring grievous effects for individuals. As also Hansen (2012) points out, it is now crucial to focus on the exclusion side of the distinction.

These reflections have consequences for educational practice and policy as well. Both inclusion and exclusion processes are necessary in order to draw distinctions between a system and its environment, in the case of politics and education as well as other systems. After all, it is not the minority language in itself that is the problem, but how the lack of a common language challenges the extensiveness of educational communication. The risk of a domino effect of exclusions makes it necessary to be aware of the individual expenses of stabilising exclusion roles. However, this problem will not necessarily be solved by new inclusive interventions. Rather this article calls for political and educational awareness of the double sidedness of inclusion, as well as how boundary-making takes place in different functional contexts.

Notes

1. The political documents are originally in Norwegian. Some of them include an English summary. The quotations have been translated by the author from Norwegian into English. If a central concept is translated in the English summary, I have used the Government’s preferred term.
2. ‘Early intervention’ is the Government’s own translation of the concept. From the previous quote, we see that ‘early effort’ might have been a more accurate translation for the Norwegian term ‘tidlig innsats’. The concept can be understood both as *effort* at early stages, such as the language-testing of (all) children and participation in kindergarten, as well as actual *intervention* when problems arise, for example, when a child is diagnosed with a learning

disorder. Thus, the usage of the concept in the documents seems to be more general than the translated term 'early intervention' indicates. 'Early intervention' is the Government's preferred term.

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Education without a Shared Language: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in Norwegian Introductory Classes for Newly Arrived Minority Language Students

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Based upon fieldwork in two upper secondary schools in Norway, this article offers an analysis of inclusion and exclusion processes for newly arrived minority language students. Minority language students are defined by policy as students who have a different mother tongue than the Norwegian and Sami languages, and students who are newly arrived in Norway are considered especially at risk for marginalisation. This article explores processes of inclusion and exclusion in two schools with segregated classes for this group, called introductory classes. The analytical framework is Niklas Luhmann's theory of autopoietic social systems, where inclusion is defined as the requirements for participation set by a system, and exclusion accordingly as being unable to meet these requirements. The article displays different constellations of inclusions and exclusions for newly arrived students in school organisations, organisation-based interactions, and informal networks of students. Thus, several limits to inclusion for newly arrived students will be identified, especially for students who lack language skills in Norwegian and English. As a consequence of multiple educational exclusions, informal networks emerge as alternative socialities that include and exclude students on the basis of mother tongue. These student networks offer inclusion for the excluded, and form oppositional structures within schools.

Keywords: Inclusive education; immigrant students; minority language; systems-theory; exclusion

Introduction

Inclusion of immigrant students has become a global policy priority during the recent decade. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2010), immigrant students have generally more restricted access to quality education, leave school earlier, and have a lower academic achievement. In Norway, immigrant students are often categorized as “minority language pupils” in educational policy, defined as having a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami.¹ This group has become a frequent addressee for inclusive policy measures (Hilt 2014).

Recently, minority language students who are newly arrived in Norway have received increased political attention. In addition to poor Norwegian language skills, they are perceived as lacking sufficient basic education. Thus, the policy emphasises that newly arrived students are especially at risk for a poor learning outcome, dropout from school and marginalisation in

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general (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research 2010). In Norway, education for newly arrived students is often organised in more or less segregated classes called introductory classes.² This article explores what characterises the processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students, based upon fieldwork (2013–2014) in two schools at the upper secondary level in Norway with introductory classes for this group.

If we understand inclusive education as the vision that all students should be learning together as a community in regular classrooms of their neighbourhood schools (Loreman 2007), then introductory classes are obviously not in agreement with the ideal of inclusive education. However, as Erten and Savage (2012) point out, research has to look beyond a physical definition of inclusion. Hence, this article aims at exploring processes of inclusion and exclusion in schools with introductory classes through a *multi-systemic* approach, in accordance with the theoretical framework of Niklas Luhmann's (1927–1998) systems-theory.

In systems-theory, inclusion is identified with being addressed by a system. As systems have different requirements for inclusion, those who do not meet the requirements are excluded (Luhmann 2002). This article will explore the characteristics of inclusion and exclusion in the educational system for newly arrived students: in school organisations, in classroom interactions, as well as in informal networks of students. It will become apparent how inclusions and exclusions in these systems are independent, yet related. A form-analysis of inclusion (Luhmann 1997a; Stichweh 2009; Jønhill 2012b; Hilt 2014) will show how certain groups of newly arrived students have to cross several borders in order to be included in the mainstream system; thus they are at particular risk for the domino effects of exclusions.

Introductory classes can be characterised as involving an education without a shared language, which has considerable consequences for inclusion and exclusion. An analysis of communication media (Luhmann 1995; Tække and Paulsen 2010) will show how especially the mediation and regulation of language reinforce processes of inclusion and exclusion. As a consequence of multiple educational exclusions, network systems emerge that include and exclude students on the basis of mother tongue. The article will show how these network systems constitute a competitive social structure in the schools, and offer inclusion for the excluded.

Exploring the limits to inclusion

Inclusion and education for all have been pronounced as political goals in international politics, both in the OECD (2003) and in UNESCO, with the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO

1994) as a point of departure. Inclusive education can be seen as the key strategy of the United Nations Education for All movement (Erten and Savage 2012). The political ambition is to develop a system of education that is responsive to the diversity of learners, creates equal opportunities and minimises exclusions (UNESCO 2000).

Miles and Singal (2010) argue that since Salamanca, inclusive education has taken on manifold meanings across the world. As a consequence, there is also a lack of consensus on how to define inclusion within research (Allan & Slee 2008). According to Nind et al. (2004), one of the greatest methodological challenges in the field of inclusive education is how to look for and recognise inclusion in schools. As Slee (2004) emphasises, however, theory-making is not necessarily about deciding on a final definition of inclusion, but on providing analytical tools to recognise exclusions.

Yet, according to Hansen (2012), inclusion is often formulated as a vision that is, at least in principle, limitless. A notion of inclusion as limitless may make it difficult to examine phenomena worth investigating at the borders or margins of inclusion – and thus to look for and recognise exclusions. Crucially, without a meaningful notion of exclusion, inclusion runs the risk of becoming merely a buzzword.

In this article, inclusion and exclusion are seen as processes that are separated by a distinction. Thus, in order to proceed from exclusion to inclusion, and vice versa, a person has to cross a boundary (Jønhill 2012a). The article will explore the *limits to inclusion* for newly arrived minority language students in two school organisations in Norway. This analysis will contribute to an understanding of how educational practices not only include, but also exclude students, even though the aim is inclusion. Yet although there are limits to inclusion, these limits are not necessarily generalisable. As different systems have different requirements for inclusion, these processes will be analysed in a multi-systemic approach. Contrary to a binary approach, where a student is seen as either fully included or excluded, a multi-systemic analysis will give a more nuanced account of inclusion as systemic requirements in education, and thus of the excluding effects of these requirements.

The political context

Norwegian schools are regulated by the principle of the unitary school: children and young people are to be included in the same school, whatever their capabilities and heritage (Nilsen 2010). Equality and inclusiveness are central values for Norwegian educational policies (Arnesen et al. 2007), and exceptions to the principle of the unitary school are strictly regulated by the Education Act. From the first grade in elementary up to and including the

third grade of upper secondary, education is free of charge and based on right. Even so, one could argue that educational exclusions are far from being eradicated. Educational exclusions do not come in the form of non-access, but as internal differentiations within the educational system.

Despite controversies, the organisation of newly arrived students in introductory classes was accepted as an exception to the principle of the unitary school by an addendum to the Norwegian Education Act in 2012. The organisation in introductory classes is connected to minority language students' right to language training. This right persists until the students' skills in Norwegian are sufficient to benefit from mainstream education (Education Act § 3.12). The right is effectuated at county level, but the law is not specific about how to organise language training. However, an Official Norwegian Report "Diversity and Coping" (2010) suggests that introductory classes are the best way to organise education for this group, and after the judicial legitimisation, a national guide for introductory classes was published by the Directorate of Education (2013).

Due to the principle of a unitary school, the use of segregating structures such as classroom division, even though they are preliminary, remains very controversial. Nevertheless, with increased immigration to Norway, especially work immigration from EEC countries, the need for introductory classes at the upper secondary level has increased substantially. Even though newly arrived students are being segregated from the mainstream, the policy argues that the remedial measures offered to them will increase their ability to be included in the longer run (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research 2010).

Data collection

This article builds on qualitative material from ethnographic fieldwork (Silverman 2011) in two upper secondary schools in Norway with introductory classes.³ The schools were visited regularly for seven months. One of the schools, in this article called "Northside", is a university-preparatory school that provides general studies for this purpose. The other school, called "Southside", provides vocational courses that do not in themselves qualify for university entrance, but give a certificate for completed apprenticeship.

Both schools differentiated newly arrived students according to performance: Southside in advanced, intermediate and basic, and Northside in basic and advanced. The students were tested in English, mathematics and Norwegian, and placed accordingly in classes that varied in each subject, with usually 10–15 students in each. The students had different reasons for immigrating, and had been living in Norway from a few days up to two

years. The classes were multilingual, but students who spoke Arabic, Tigrinja and Polish were often in the majority.

In accordance with Eberle and Maeder (2011), multiple methods of data gathering were applied, although the central data collection strategies were interviews and classroom observations (Kvale 1996). I chose to “sit in” in the classes for an extended period and made careful records of what the teachers and students said and how they interacted (Hatch 2002). I observed classes in each subject at different levels: 48 school hours in total. I conducted field conversations with teachers, leaders, advisors and students and also observed recesses, a parents’ meeting and a teachers’ meeting. Descriptive protocols made records of these events.

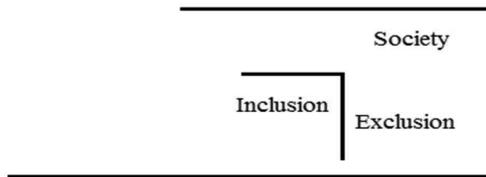
After an extended period of observations, I conducted an interview study. The interviews were semi-structured with separate interview guides for teachers and students (Kvale 1996). The guides indicated topics and questions and had two purposes: to verify the findings in the observation study and gain new information about processes of inclusion and exclusion. I recruited informants for the interview study with teachers directly when observing classes. All of the nine teachers that participated taught introductory classes to a substantial degree.⁴ The twelve students were recruited indirectly through the teachers, but were purposively selected.⁵ All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed afterwards.

Systems-theory as analytical framework

In the analysis of the fieldwork material, systems-theory was used as an analytical framework. Luhmann (2002) defines inclusion as being addressed by a system. To be addressed is to become a person for the system at issue, and every system has its requirements for this “personification” (Hilt 2014). In terms of logic of forms (Luhmann 1997a; Jønhill 2012b; Hilt 2014), inclusion can be visualised like figure 1 at the next page. Even though inclusion as a meaningful social form consists of inclusion and exclusion (as illustrated), inclusion is the marked side of the distinction. Inclusion is identified with the conditions for participation set by a system. Exclusion is what remains unmarked when conditions are set; hence it is a side effect or “logical shadow” of inclusion. As not everyone meets the requirements of the system, inclusions are ambiguous and always accompanied by exclusions (Luhmann 2002; Venneslan 2013).

Luhmann understands social systems as autopoietic (self-producing) systems of communication (Luhmann 1995). Because systems have different requirements, the meaning of inclusions and exclusions are not generalisable, and should as Jønhill (2012a) points out, be

studied in context. In this article inclusion and exclusion will be operationalised differently depending on the systems in play, and these system-types will now be presented.



The Form Inclusion

[Figure 1] Inclusion is a two-sided form: inclusion on one side and exclusion on the other side, made distinct by a mark. Everything social is always in society, and the final frame of an inclusive operation is therefore always society.

The educational system is a global system with the function of career selection and making human beings into persons (Luhmann 2006). Education is therefore essential for inclusion in other systems as well, for instance the economy. The functional system of education is open and including with generalised addressees such as student- and teacher-roles (Luhmann and Schorr 2000). However, although we are all welcomed to the system, those who do not meet the requirements (Luhmann 1997b) associated with these roles are excluded. Functional systems are thus generally including, but are also equipped with an ability to exclude through organisations (Luhmann 2000).

The educational system is dependent on school organisations to make decisions about rules, content, time-schedules and so forth (Luhmann 2006). Organisations are first and foremost excluding, as only those who are members are included (Luhmann 2000). You may for example be excluded from a school organisation if you are not part of the school district. However, school organisations can also exclude *internally*. As organisations reproduce

themselves as communication systems through decision-making-processes, decisions can duplicate or re-enter the distinction between the inside (inclusion) and the outside (exclusion), resulting in internal differentiation (Luhmann 1997a).

For example, a school organisation can categorise students differently and make decisions about differentiation in subsystems (e.g. classes) based on these categories. Classes can be characterised as interaction systems based on co-presence of persons (Luhmann 1995). In organisation-based interaction systems such as classes, requirements for inclusion and exclusion are decided by the school. The requirements, and the relations between these subsystems, are contingent: the classes can, for instance, be differentiated as *segmentary* (equal) or *stratificatory* (hierarchical) subsystems (Luhmann 1997a). Consequently, in order to grasp inclusion and exclusion in subsystems at the level of interactions (classes), one has to understand the criteria for differentiation.

While organisation-based interactions are based on formal requirements decided by the school, other interactions are informal and may have other criteria for inclusion. According to Luhmann (2000), networks can emerge that are dependent on positions in organisations, for example among students. Access is not based on formal requirements associated with organisational positions, but rather on personal knowledge and trust (Luhmann 2002). The criteria for inclusion are thus decided by the network itself, and these decisions can be renewed from moment to moment. While some networks are unstable and emerge and disappear from moment to moment, others are stable and obtain the characteristics of systems with independent criteria for inclusion and clear-cut distinctions towards their environment (Luhmann 2000).

When analysing the fieldwork material, these systems-theoretical distinctions were applied *abductively*. This can be characterised as an inferential process from some initial observations to a theoretical hypothesis which can explain them (Peirce 1955). The presented matrix of systems was not taken for granted, but served as an analytical framework to get behind the case circumstances. To understand the dynamics between the systems at issue, however, the final part of the analysis focused on communication media.

When Luhmann (1995) explains how social systems emerge, he takes the situation of *double contingency* as a starting point: how can we understand each other and relate to one another, given that our bodies and minds are separated? After all, understanding, and the conduct that results from it, is what makes an utterance part of a social structure. The answer to this question is first and foremost *communication media* (Luhmann 1995). Language is for instance the medium that increases the possibility of understanding. Dissemination media,

such as writing and e-mails, solve the problem of reachability, and symbolically generalised communication media, such as power, increase the possibility of acceptance and communicative success (Luhmann 1995; Tække 2014).

The analysis will not give a complete picture of communication media, but will account for those relevant for the purpose of this article: language, power, and social and digital media. These communication media are available for the systems at issue, but the selection of them is contingent. For example, although the relationships between teachers and students are always based on power, *which* forms of power are realised in an educational situation vary (Tække and Paulsen 2010). This contingency accounts for both sides of a relation (Luhmann 2003), in this case, both teachers and students. Teachers can create forms of education through media of language and power and incite students to accept these forms. Students may or may not accept these educational forms, and may on their side produce other social forms based on the same media.

Including exclusion: the distinction between newly arrived and mainstream students

The analytical procedure can be reconstructed as four analytical phases with independent sub-questions. The following sections will mirror these four phases and present the findings from the analysis of fieldwork material according to four sub-questions. This first section addresses the first sub-question: What characterises the processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students in the school organisations? The section focuses on the decisions in the school organisations that distinguish newly arrived students from mainstream students and thus the legitimization of introductory classes as an organisational principle.

Introductory classes are first and foremost an organisational principle that implements the right to language training that is granted to minority language students by the Education Act. From the outset it is therefore lack of skills in Norwegian that excludes these students from mainstream education and includes them in introductory classes. However, when newly arrived students enter Northside and Southside, they are categorised in a more comprehensive manner by decisions in the school organisations. Newly arrived students were for example not just offered language training, but educated in several subjects. At both schools they had English, Norwegian, physical education and mathematics, and at Southside they additionally had science and social science. Thus, the students' past education in these subjects was seen as insufficient.⁶ The teachers expressed frustration about some of the students' educational background, here the mathematics-teacher "Birte" at Southside:

What do you do? What do you do with students that...some of them, right? They come to Norway, and they have not attended school. (...) And then they are here, and I am supposed to teach them the entire mathematics, mathematics that other students have learnt for ten years in elementary school. (...) It is absurd, and there are language problems as well.

The “other students” this teacher is referring to, as opposed to the minority students, are obviously the mainstream students. Newly arrived students are placed in segregated classes in order to catch up, not just due to lack of language skills, but also a lack of sufficient learning strategies and subject knowledge.

However, insufficient educational background was not the only issue. The teachers also expressed concern about lack of cultural references among the students, here explained by the English-teacher “Beate” at Northside:

They have no references, you know, no matter what you are talking about in English class that is not about grammar and things (...), if it is Bruce Springsteen or Queen Elizabeth, you know, history, it is in a way....completely empty, there is nothing there, science fiction, it is just...I was trying to explain what a science fiction movie is (...) And they are so polite, so they just sit there and nod and smile, but I could see that they did not make sense of it.

As we can see from the quote, newly arrived students are generally understood to lack the necessary cultural references. If they do not understand these references, they are “empty”, “there is nothing there”, indicating that their cultural references from past experiences are of no use in the Norwegian system. As the students had a different cultural repertoire than mainstream students, some teachers expressed that they were in need of a different kind of education. “Terje” at Northside explains this in a teacher meeting:

You know, what kind of educational background do they have? They have a completely different starting point. Some of them speak Norwegian, but come from a totally different culture and are in need of a completely different pedagogy.

Due to this, many teachers saw it as pivotal to teach the students the conduct necessary to function in the Norwegian system. Thus, introductory classes were not only seen as language training and academic catch-up, but a necessary approach to resocialise these students into the Norwegian student role, to learn the conduct, values and references necessary to function in the mainstream system. The Norwegian teacher Turid explains this as follows: “They are just

like Norwegian students, but they do not know what it means to be a student.” The newly arrived students needed to learn the expectations in the Norwegian society and school system.

The system of education is based on grade-level progression where one level leads to another and where the students at one level at least to some degree can be expected to know and manage the same. Minority language students challenge this system, as their educational background is seen as inadequate to achieve grade-level benchmarks. Their lack of cultural references and language skills makes it difficult to communicate. Thus we have reached a limit to inclusion: Newly arrived students do not meet the requirements in the mainstream system. However, they are not being excluded in the form of non-access. Rather they are being excluded in the more acceptable form of inclusion (Stichweh 2009). Newly arrived minority students are being excluded from the mainstream, but included in introductory classes.

This including exclusion (Stichweh 2009) had comprehensive consequences for the education offered to newly arrived students. With few national guidelines, the instructions for introductory classes were primarily decided by the school organisations. The schools’ understanding of newly arrived students as being in need of resocialisation and remedial education constituted a state of necessity giving legitimacy to a number of exceptions from educational principles. At both schools, introductory classes were called “year zero”, and did not count as a year of education in the mainstream system. They were exempted from the national curriculum, but not given an alternative.⁷ The curriculum was not standardized on the national or regional level in any of the subjects, except in “Norwegian as a second language”. Consequently, the students could not be evaluated by grades and did not receive any certificate of completion. Many teachers complained about the lack of available educational material and books, and in some subjects they were forced to make their own material for each class. The teachers expressed frustration about lack of competency and status.

Decisions about differentiation were also exceptions from the principles that regulate the mainstream system. The students in introductory classes were tested at the beginning of the year and placed in different classes according to their test results. Students that lacked sufficient progress throughout the year were advised to remain in introductory class one more year. Neither retention nor differentiation on the basis of performance is being practised, or even allowed, in the mainstream system in Norway. As expressed by the teacher “Guro” at Northside: “The usual rules suddenly do not apply for this group.”

A symbolic distinction between students in mainstream and introductory classes manifests itself through exceptions from principles and values held high in the mainstream.

As none of the schools had established permanent structures where newly arrived students could interact with the rest of the school, the distinction between mainstream and newly arrived students remained clear-cut. In both of the schools, newly arrived students were placed in different buildings and on different floors than the first graders of upper secondary. As the teacher “Ingunn” explains:

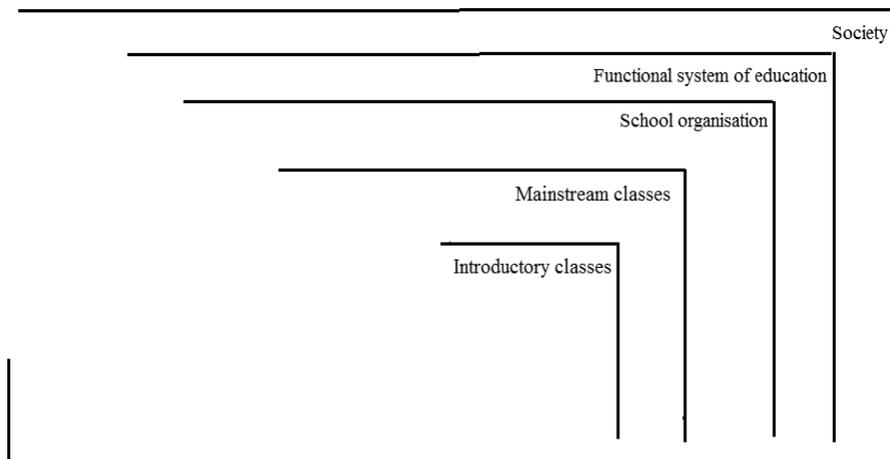
Yes they are [only interacting with each other]. It varies a bit from year to year, but... uhm... we do have this floor (...) All their classrooms are on the same floor. (...) And to a large extent they stay there when they are at school.

Hence, newly arrived students were also physically excluded in the school buildings, making the *including exclusion* visible in the architecture at both schools. The teachers expressed a high degree of ambivalence about these exceptions, but understood them as a necessary consequence of the pronounced differences among newly arrived students. The differences were seen as too great to follow the ordinary guidelines for education, making visible a borderline fringe in education, a point of imbalance between the educational logic and the conceived educational reality of these students (Agamben 2005). Because the organisational principles did not follow the usual guidelines, the reasons and justifications for the exceptions were attributed to the students.

From the perspective of systems-theory, however, it is the requirements of the system that brings about exclusions (Luhmann 2002). Despite good intentions, the organisation of newly arrived students in segregated classes is an exclusion incorporated as inclusion, making visible a limit to inclusion in the mainstream system. The exceptions are justified by the fact that newly arrived students are considered deviant from the mainstream students, lacking the necessary language and academic skills, as well as cultural understanding of the Norwegian school system and society. The students are not only to be educated, they are to be resocialised.

Newly arrived students are being included as members of the school organisation in the role of students. However, they are being internally excluded, a social form called *including exclusion* (Stichweh 2009). The school organisation re-enters the distinction between inclusion and exclusion on the inside, resulting in systemic differentiation with two categories of students offered quite different educational programmes. Thus, newly arrived students are being included in the schools in a different way and with a different symbolic meaning than mainstream students. This distinction justifies an organisation that resembles a

“state of exception” (Agamben 2005): an exception of the order within the order. In this figure the internal educational differentiation is visualised:



[Figure 3] Re-entry of the form inclusion: The school organisation re-enters the distinction between inclusion and exclusion on the inside. Newly arrived minority language students are excluded from mainstream, but included in introductory classes.

Distinctions between different categories of newly arrived student

This section will go further into the analysis and focus on the second sub-question: What characterises processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived minority language students in organisation-based interaction systems? The sections focuses on distinctions between different categories of newly arrived students, and thus on the further differentiation in subsystems.

At both schools, introductory classes were differentiated into levels. Thus, the students were included and excluded in different interaction systems (classes) depending on their performance on tests. These subsystems were mutually excluding, but the differentiation was quite flexible in the sense that the teachers could easily make decisions about promotion or demotion. The schedule for each class was parallel, so the students could be promoted if they crossed the limit to the next achievement-level.

The students were differentiated into levels in all of the subjects. This implied that they could be included at different levels in different subjects and that each class had a different composition of students. This constituted a complex constellation of different paths of inclusions and exclusions. At both schools the form of differentiation was *stratification* (hierarchical): advanced–basic at Northside and advanced–intermediate–basic at Southside. This is different from the mainstream, where the classes are organised as *segmentary* (equal) subsystems.

Inclusion of newly arrived students in different strata had symbolic value, both for the students and the teachers. The students attributed normative meaning to the level they attended. There was a stigma attached to attending introductory classes, and this stigma was especially apparent at the basic levels. As explained by “Rouman”: “The other ones think we are bad in Norwegian, or...things like that. (...) But it is better for us in the C-group (...), because we can learn on a higher level.”

This student was, as he saw it, considered by “the others” to be bad in Norwegian, as he was excluded from mainstream. But at least he was not on the basic level in the school’s ranking, he was able to “learn on a higher level”. Crucially, the schools’ ranking constituted a map of limits the students had to cross in order to be included at continuously higher levels, with a final limit to mainstream education. Obviously, the paths to inclusion for the lowest ranked students were rougher; not only did they have to cross the limit to mainstream, but several other barriers in the form of achievement levels. The ranking of students was also an important matrix for the teachers, and had consequences for the education offered to the different strata. Here expressed by “Eva” in a teacher meeting at Northside:

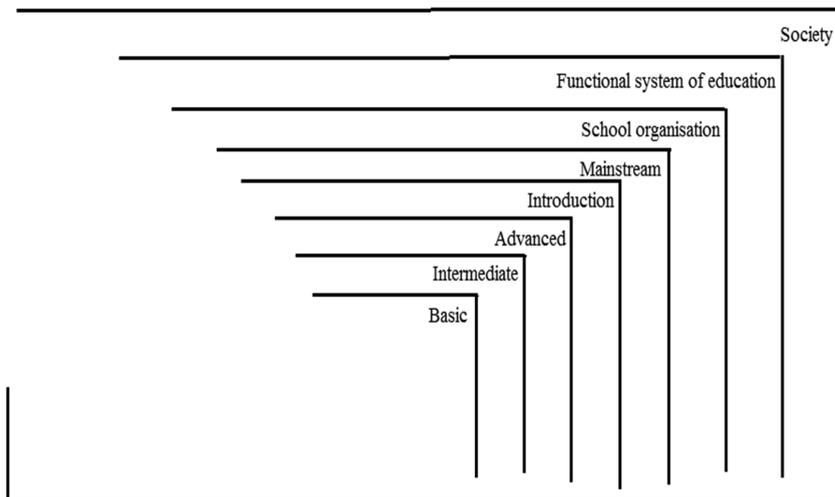
(...) you have the elite, and you have those who cannot speak Norwegian or English. They should not be here. The way it is now, we spend most resources on the A-group. They are the ones that can move on to upper secondary, thus they are the ones that are supposed to be here (...). This [the great differences between students] also creates tensions among the students: [they say] “why should we be with students that do not know Norwegian at all?”

As can be seen in the quote, the valued students were those that had the possibility to cross the limit to mainstream the following year, as was the official goal of introductory classes: “They are the ones that are supposed to be here”. The allocation of resources seemed also to be affected by the prospects of crossing the limit to the mainstream. Students that were considered unable to cross this limit, at the most basic levels, were considered misplaced: “They should not be here”. This group caused trouble and ruined the education for “The ones

that are supposed to be here”. As expressed by the school leader at a teachers’ meeting at Northside:

They [the county administration] are sending students out to the school without the necessary knowledge, and then we are stuck with them. Then you [referring to the teachers] are stuck with them. You are the ones with all the frustrations. (...) We have to agree on the goals for introductory classes. One example is this student that had trouble concentrating. Eventually it turns out he had not learned mathematics at a higher level than fourth grade. This is very damaging for those who actually are able to achieve something.

As we can see from the quote, the school leaders’ concern was for those who were able to achieve something, meaning the students that had the necessary skills to cross the limit to mainstream the following year. The students who failed to meet these expectations were in the way and ruined the education for the others. These students at the basic levels were excluded from the highest ranked interaction systems, and included in the classes with the lowest status and educational requirements in the school organisation.



[Figure 2] The figure displays the differentiation of introductory classes with Southside as example. The school organisation re-enters the distinction between inclusion and exclusion, creating subsystems with independent requirements. Newly arrived students are included at advanced, intermediate or basic level.

To be a student in introductory classes thus also carried certain requirements, even though these requirements were defined in opposition to mainstream students. Students in an introductory class should be in need of re-education, resocialisation and better Norwegian and English language skills. However, they should not totally lack academic and language skills, as the purpose of introductory classes was to eventually cross the limit to mainstream. Students at the basic level were deviant to these requirements, leading to a further differentiation within the including exclusion.

To conclude, students at the basic level of the introductory class were in the most marginalised position in the schools' stratification, being excluded not only from the mainstream, but also from the highest ranked introductory classes. Obviously, these students will have difficulties positioning themselves on higher levels in the academic order. Some of them end up remaining in the introductory class, repeating the same content for another year. Although there was a great diversity when it came to the students' linguistic and cultural background, a vast number of the students at the basic level spoke Arabic and Polish.

Excluding inclusion: requirements for inclusion in networks of students

This section will address the third sub-question: What characterises inclusion and exclusion processes in networks of students? At this level, the analysis will focus on the requirements for inclusion in informal networks of students, and the exclusions that result from these requirements.

None of the newly arrived students who were interviewed interacted to a substantial degree with Norwegian-speaking students at schools. Thus, they were excluded from these networks. In the interviews, the students had different rationales for this, but a majority attributed it to their lack of skills in Norwegian. If they had friends at school outside introductory class, it was usually other minority language students in the mainstream.

Networks among minority language students did also emerge. Some of these networks included and excluded solely on the basis of personal connection and trust, and crossed language boundaries. They emerged in the moment as informal interaction systems, and those who were present were included. This was especially the case in classes with students from diverse linguistic backgrounds. The networks were multilingual, including across language-boundaries, and made pragmatic decisions on language use from moment to moment. As explained by "Freweini", a Tigrinja-speaking girl:

Interviewer: Are there any other students in class speaking the same mother tongue as you?

Freweini: Yes, yes, there are four from the same country.

Interviewer: Four, yeah. Do you speak together a lot?

Freweini: Mmmm, sometimes.

Interviewer: Sometimes yeah.

Freweini: Yes, we speak (...) because they are my friends, and sometimes we speak Norwegian, sometimes English, we always switch.

Interviewer: So you switch between the languages?

Freweini: Yes, because we have a friend who is from Albania.

Interviewer: Yeah, okay.

Freweini: So it is completely different, sometimes we speak Norwegian, or English or our mother tongue.

Whether the language spoken in these networks was English or Norwegian or mother tongue seemed to be a pragmatic decision depending on the language skills of the students that were connected to the network in the moment. Usually English was a preferred language, but they spoke Norwegian if some participants lacked English skills. If all the students present spoke the same mother tongue, however, they spoke this language.

In all of the classes networks of students that spoke the same mother tongue emerged. There were networks of Tigrinja-, Latvian-, Polish-, Arabic- and Lithuanian-speakers. Many of these networks retained flexible criteria for inclusion, and were *not stable*. Mutual trust and personal knowledge seemed to be requirements for inclusion, and decisions of inclusion could change from moment to moment, sometimes across the borders of language, sometimes corresponding to these borders.

In some of the subjects, especially at basic levels, the networks became strikingly more stable, and obtained the characteristics of systems with independent criteria for inclusion. Arabic- and Polish-speaking students were over-represented at the basic levels. With these marginalised positions as a basis, network systems emerged that included solely on the basis of the Arabic or Polish language. Those who did not speak this language, both teachers and students, were excluded. In these drafts, two teachers at the basic level at Southside talk about the Polish-speaking network:

“Birte”: And it is difficult to relate, because they speak Polish (...). They speak Polish with each other in the classroom. (...) It is difficult to get them to speak Norwegian. And the result is that the relations in class are not very close. (...) Because the Polish, they are sort of... one group.

“Karianne”: The other students tell me that it has been a bit difficult, especially in recess, right? (...) They only interact with each other.

In these quotes we can see the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that result from the emergence of stable network systems based on language. The network systems work as wedges that split the classes, and offer alternative socialities to the organisation-based interactions.

Stable network systems could also be observed in classes where Arabic-speaking students were over-represented. This is a draft from a field conversation with one of the teachers in the classroom during recess:

The teacher points towards the Arabic-speaking boys (...). She says: There has been so much nonsense with them. You know Facebook and everything. They are on a very basic level, and it is all about their attitude. They do not work. And now I have to give them even easier assignments and I have to read everything with them, word for word [She seems very frustrated].

As we can see in this quote, the Arabic-speaking network system became a competitive social structure within the class and posed a threat to the teacher. In the session that preceded the quoted field conversation, the network system completely took over communication in class, consistently speaking in Arabic, making the teacher more and more frustrated.

The failure to educate these students was attributed to a flawed attitude among Arabic-speaking students. The teachers found it difficult to resocialise them, and ascribed their lack of success to cultural differences. As expressed by the teacher “Per” at Southside:

They spend a lot of time adjusting and understanding what kind of role they are supposed to have here. (...) Uhm, especially students that come from Arabic-speaking countries (...). They tend to realise the freedom given to them here by misbehaving. (...) They require a little more...more direct feedback.

The teachers attributed the formation of network systems and lack of educational success to a culturally deficient attitude among Arabic-speaking students. Also the network of Polish-speaking students caused frustration, but the teachers did not attribute the failure to educate these students to cultural differences. Rather, all of the teachers complained about lack of motivation among the Polish-speakers, and ascribed the motivation problems to the uncertain future for children of work immigrants in Norway. They believed that many Polish-speaking students wanted to return to their home country, and accordingly excluded themselves from educational communication. Contrary to this, the students did not express such intentions in

the interviews. In the next section, the formation of network systems will be understood from the perspective of communication media.

Communication media: dynamics between including exclusion and excluding inclusion

The previous sections presented the systemic constellations with their independent inclusion and exclusion processes. This section will focus on the dynamics between organisation-based and network-based interactions, and address the final sub-question: What characterises the use of communication media, and what consequence does this have for processes of inclusion and exclusion? The section will focus on how language, power and digital and social media reinforce processes of inclusion and exclusion, and thus the interconnectedness of these processes.

The greatest challenge in organisation-based interactions was to enable understanding and acceptance of educational communication without a shared language as medium. The teachers were not familiar with the students' mother tongues, thus they had to communicate in English or Norwegian. The students mastered English and Norwegian to different extents, and some of them lacked sufficient skills in both languages. Despite this, English was used as a support language in Norwegian classes, and Norwegian as a support language in English classes.

The most important medium for communication in organisation-based interactions was, however, translation programs on the internet. The teachers encouraged students to translate words online, either on computers or mobile phones. By using Google Translate the students translated words and sentences in a second, and classroom interactions could thus proceed at an adequate tempo without constant interruptions. However, ensuring connection to educational communication by using Google Translate obviously had problematic sides, such as lack of meaningful context and precision of information.

The teachers were dependent on computers and mobile phones to enable understanding and acceptance of educational communication through translation programs, but the technology also generated problems of discipline. As the teachers were unable to supervise all the screens and phones at the same time, they could never be certain what the students were doing. Thus, the extensive use of computers and mobile phones also posed risks, and the teachers had to rely on sanctions to counteract the non-educational use of technology.

Especially for students lacking sufficient skills in English and Norwegian, mediation of educational communication had difficult conditions. Even though the students were

physically included in the classroom, and addressed by the teachers, they were excluded in the sense that they were unable to communicate and understand what was going on. For these students, language networks were crucial to enable connection to educational communication. Without an adequate support language, they would otherwise be educated merely through Google Translate. The networks encouraged understanding by translations, and constituted communicative aid structures within the including exclusion.

When language networks worked as aid-structures for education, they were unstable in the sense that students switched between network communication and educational communication. To utilize language networks in education was, however, a balancing act for the teachers. Being unfamiliar with the students' mother tongue, they could never be certain what the students spoke about and thus the relevance of communication themes. As a consequence, power in the form of sanctions was used to cope with this uncertainty. In this draft, "Beate" explains the risks posed by language networks:

I want them to speak Norwegian and English. Because it is so excluding, especially the Arabic students, right? (...) It is always the majority that speaks Arabic. (...) It often creates a certain tension between them and the Eastern European students. Because it is not nice when people are sitting there talking and you do not understand what they say, right? (...) So that is why I try to be consistent: it is English or Norwegian! (...) But of course, they may very well explain things to each other in their mother tongue. (...) I think it is okay when it is, like, controlled. Controlled use of mother tongue (laughs). (...) Because suddenly groups emerge: If you are not conscious about having a shared language.

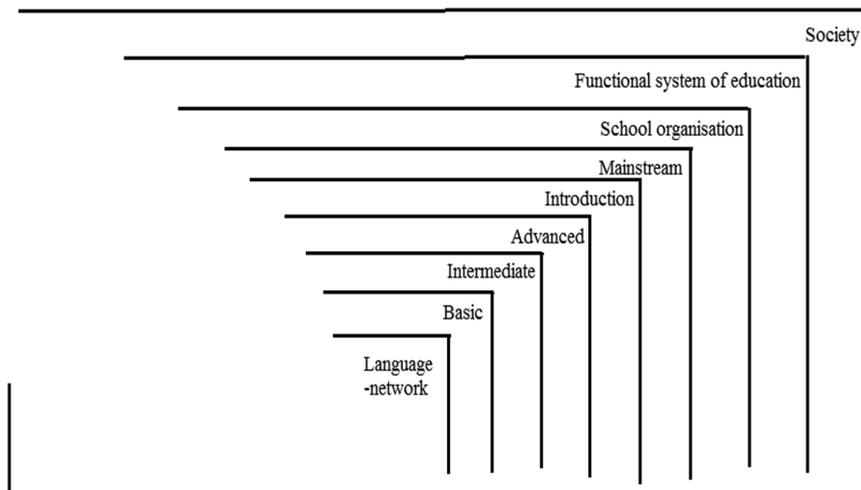
As "Beate" explains, if you are not conscious about having a shared language, oppositional network systems emerge. Both schools accordingly had a language policy where communication in language networks was disapproved of in settings that were not relevant for educational communication. Non-educational use of mother tongue could be sanctioned with reprimands, separation of students or dismissal from class. However, as a great deal of students at basic levels had difficulties connecting to educational communication, network systems that included on the basis of mother tongue became an alluring alternative. When the non-educational activity in the network systems increased, the teachers responded with sanctions, which gave rise to more resistance in the network systems. In this self-reinforcing process, the classroom interactions were characterised by alternating restlessness, noise, apathy and resistance. The language networks no longer worked as aid structures, but became unrecognised and excluded communication structures.

The unrecognised communication-structures did not, however, disappear. Rather, network systems offered alternative socialities to educational communication among excluded students. Thus, exclusion in education fostered a new inclusion based on the criterion of mother tongue. The language networks emerged as *stable* systems within the school-based interactions. Unlike the language networks that worked as aid-structures, network systems were characterised by communicative closure and counter-powers.

The most pronounced examples of network systems that included on the exclusion-side were those with Arabic and Polish language as requirements for inclusion. It was, for example, remarkably quiet in classes with Polish-speaking networks, except for Polish talk. When the teacher asked questions, they often looked down, shook their heads, looked at each other, and said “I don’t know.” Few of them said anything on their own initiative, and the teacher complained that they did not want to speak Norwegian. The Arabic-speaking networks, however, were more visible and persistent in their resistance towards the teachers. They reacted with noise, disturbances and loud talk in Arabic, making the teachers increasingly frustrated and powerless. The Arabic-speaking network system also sanctioned students that tried to connect to educational communication.

When mother tongue became the inclusion-criteria of the network system, teachers and students that did not master this language were excluded. The network systems used computers and mobile phones for their own non-educational purposes, often on sites in their own language. Some of the language networks even used chat programs to communicate with each other in class. Thus the networks, mediated by mother tongue, counter-powers and social media, constituted a competing social structure within the classes.

Luhmann (2000) emphasises that networks work on positions in organisations, but with opposite signs. The network systems worked on the most devalued and marginalised positions in the schools’ stratification. Obviously, for students that meet a plurality of barriers for participation in the school organisation, and who have difficulties connecting to educational communication, inclusion in network systems is tempting. Inclusion among equals in network systems may make it easier to endure inequalities and exclusions in education. The network systems offered inclusion for the excluded. However, this inclusion is an *excluding inclusion* insofar as it is an oppositional or deviant position with regard to the normative structure of the educational system (Stichweh 2009).



[Figure 4] The figure displays the differentiation of a language network as an independent subsystem that includes among the excluded from the basic level. Read from below, the figure displays the multiple limits the most marginalised students have to cross.

One can interpret the dynamics between organisation-based and network-based interactions as an antagonistic logic of power and counter-power (Tække and Paulsen 2010). The dynamic can be seen as a self-reinforcing process with reciprocal exclusion as an effect. Language networks that obtained the characteristics of systems made it increasingly difficult for teachers to educate. The organisation of newly arrived students in introductory classes as an *including exclusion* now had to struggle with network systems of students based on mother tongue as an *excluding inclusion* (Stichweh 2009).

However, the structure of excluding inclusion not only created problems for the teachers. Crucially, the network systems were excluding for students that did not speak the mother tongue in question. Some students did not share mother tongue with anyone, lacked sufficient skills in both English and Norwegian and were at the lowest level in the schools' stratification. These students could not communicate with anyone, and were accordingly excluded from all possible systems. *Their* situation can be characterised as a *total exclusion*.

Conclusion

In agreement with Graham and Jahnukainen (2011), this article has revolved around the social barriers that newly arrived students encounter, rather than their special educational needs. As also Razer et al. (2013) point out, exclusion is a systemic process and cannot be attributed to any single actor or factor. Through a multi-layered analysis, this article has displayed how newly arrived students are excluded at several levels as a consequence of educational requirements. Inclusion and exclusion can thus be characterised as multifaceted and interconnected phenomena in education.

Differentiation between students in introductory classes and mainstream classes constitutes an *including exclusion* in the schools. This article is, however, not critical of the organisational principle of introductory classes *per se*. Research suggests that power structures remain intact, despite mainstreaming and “full” inclusion (Platt et al. 2003; Olsen 1997). The article does, however, point out critically that the education offered in introductory classes is based on a construction of newly arrived students as deviant from the mainstream.

To realise that inclusion and exclusion are deeply interwoven in educational practice does not have to result in resignation on behalf of the disadvantaged. The educational system excludes persons that do not meet its requirements, in this case culturally, linguistically and academically. These requirements ensure the communicative process, and deviance from them makes it difficult to communicate and educate. Nevertheless, given the contingency of the distinction, it is pertinent to question whether newly arrived students might have a better basis for educational careers if the requirements of the systems were more attuned to the language skills, cultural references and competencies that these students already have.

Newly arrived students are further differentiated into strata according to their performances. This organisation constitutes a complex constellation of different paths to inclusion and exclusion with severe consequences for students at the basic levels. These students have to cross several limits in order to eventually enter mainstream education and continue their educational careers. In educational policy it is argued that the exceptions from the ordinary principles are only temporary, and that introductory classes will increase minority language students’ ability to be included in the longer run. For the most marginalised students, however, one can question whether these policy prospects are realistic.

As Jønhill (2012a) points out, exclusion is not necessarily a problem, as long as it is not cumulative and as long as one is included in other systems. The problem is when the barriers to inclusion are as multifaceted as they are with the lowest-ranked students. Being

excluded at more than one level, these students will have difficulties positioning themselves on higher levels in the academic order, with severe consequences for their educational careers. As educational careers enable inclusion in other systems of society, for example the job market (Luhmann 2006), this may become part of a domino effect of exclusions for the lowest-ranked students (Hillmert 2009).

The article has also illuminated the emergence of stable network systems that include on the basis of language. The teachers attributed the formation of network systems to flawed attitudes and motivation problems among the students. This article suggests that these phenomena should be interpreted systemically. The emergence of stable network systems results from insufficient mediation of educational communication, combined with a failure to recognise the language networks as a means for educational support.

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Notes

¹ In Norwegian, the term *elev*, translated as ‘pupil’, is also used for students in upper secondary school.

² The classes are categorised differently in the different regions of Norway, but will be called “introductory classes” in this article.

³ The project has been approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Service. All of the informants for the interview study signed an informed consent.

⁴ I selected twelve teachers, six teachers at each of the school. Two of the teachers at Northside did not want to participate, and one of the teachers at this school never answered my request. Nine teachers accepted the request. All except one had university degrees at graduate level, and they taught English (1), Norwegian and social science (5) and mathematics and science (3).

⁵ As the students were so academically, linguistic and culturally diverse, the interviewees were selected in accordance with this manifold. I selected twelve students, six from each school, with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Six of them were boys and six girls. At Northside, three from the basic level and three from the advanced level participated. At Southside, two students from each level (basic, intermediate and advanced) were selected. They came from Somalia (1), Ecuador (1), Philippines (1), Eritrea (2), Ethiopia (1), Iraq (1), Afghanistan (1), Poland (1), Romania (1) and Lithuania (2). All of the students accepted the request and participated in the study.

⁶ This despite the fact that a great deal of the students had a sufficient educational background and in some cases were on a higher level than students in the mainstream.

⁷ Although work had started on the regional level to develop a local curriculum for introductory classes.

‘They don’t know what it means to be a student’: Inclusion and exclusion in the nexus between ‘global’ and ‘local’

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This article will show how the global educational policy expectations of being a self-managing learner unfold in the context of two school organisations in Norway, and contribute to the exclusion of so-called newly arrived minority language students. The theoretical framework is Niklas Luhmann’s theory of the global educational system, and the article offers a semantic analysis of inclusion and exclusion processes, where inclusion is operationalised as fulfilling educational expectations and exclusion as the failure to meet these expectations. The findings are based on ethnographic fieldwork in two upper secondary schools with introductory classes for newly arrived students in Norway, but will be interpreted in light of recent policy initiatives from OECD. The article will show similarities between expectations in the schools and the ones embodied in the so called 21st century skills. The article argues that the knowledge-economic ideal of the self-managing learner demonstrates a reductionist notion of the student role and constitutes a risk for newly arrived students’ educational careers.

Keywords: Globalisation, education policy, inclusion, exclusion, 21st century skills, immigrant students

Introduction

This article argues that the notion of the self-managing learner can be seen as a significant feature of the policies of lifelong learning and the knowledge economy promoted by multilateral organisations such as the OECD, and that this policy constitutes a risk for newly arrived students’ educational careers. From a systems-theory perspective, the emerging ideal of the self-managing learner can be seen a tightening of the structural coupling (interrelation) between the function systems of education and economy. In its overemphasised form, the ideal constitutes a reductionist notion of society, as well as of the purpose of education. This article thus calls attention to the processes of exclusion that result from globalised expectations promoted by the knowledge economy.

During recent decades, the Norwegian school system has undergone a number of changes, many of which have been interpreted as a shift along neo-liberal lines (Solhaug 2011; Trippestad 2011; Wiborg, 2013). Although the conception of neoliberalism has been understood in many ways, this paper understands it as indicating an economisation of other domains, here particularly the educational sector. Many of these changes can be understood as

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adjustments to the impact of global organisations, in particular the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Hovdenak and Stray, 2015: 55). The latest governments of Norway have aimed to base education policy on international trends to enable the country to compete in the global knowledge economy (Ministry of Knowledge 2009). Telhaug et al. (2006) thus argues that the recent educational policy phase in Norway can be characterised as an era of globalisation and neo-liberalism, emphasising instrumental goals, for instance improvements of learning outcomes and test results, at the expense of traditional social democratic values such as solidarity, community and tolerance.

Up until the 1970s, Norwegian society was fairly homogeneous, but immigration has increased with each passing decade, and immigrants and Norwegian-born children born of immigrant parents now constitute 15.6 per cent of the Norwegian population (Statistics Norway 2015). Simultaneously, globalisation of education manifests itself through increased emphasis on international reports and intensified evaluations of academic skills, so-called output-management (Telhaug et al., 2006). Thus, in Norwegian schools, an increasingly diverse student body encounters outcome-based educational rhetoric and intensified testing regimes. Pursuant to this, the so-called minority language pupils¹, the newly arrived ones in particular, are considered at risk of poor learning outcomes, school dropout, and marginalisation. Accordingly, they have become a target group for educational policy measures (Hilt, 2015).

Newly arrived students in Norway are often offered a year of remedial education designed to prepare them for upper secondary school, and this article is based on ethnographic fieldwork in two schools with such introductory classes. The article investigates the following research problem: “What characterises inclusion and exclusion processes for newly arrived students?”. However, the analysis focuses explicitly on inclusion and exclusion processes generated by educational *expectations*. According to Luhmann (1995: 96-97), systems operate with generalised expectations of what is typical and normative, and these expectations narrow the repertoire of conduct for the persons at issue. The article investigates how expectations associated with student and teacher roles are constructed in interviews with teachers, as well as with newly arrived students, and explore how newly arrived students relate to expectations in the Norwegian schools.

In the interview study with teachers, newly arrived students’ allegedly insufficient abilities to self-manage their own learning processes were perceived as one of the greatest challenges to educating this group. As one of the teachers put it: ‘They do not know what it means to be a student (...). That is, to take responsibility for your own learning processes.’

The students, for their part, perceived the expectation that they must become self-managing learners, as well as the symmetrical relationships between teachers and students, as being divergent from the expectations prevalent in the schools of their home or transit countries.

The article offers a systems-theoretical, semantic analysis, which entails a focus on how concepts and notions are meaningfully constructed in communication. The article will show that both the teachers and newly arrived students operate with a distinction between the ideal student who has been socialised as a self-managing learner, and the newly arrived minority student who has been socialised into 'other', 'traditional' or 'old' student roles. By providing context from the OECD-document *Better Skills, Better Jobs, Better Lives* (2012), the article displays similarities between expectations in the Norwegian schools and expectations deriving from the so-called skills policies for the 21st century. In both cases, the semantic descriptions evolve around a binary distinction between educational expectations that are attuned to modern society, with emphasis on meta-learning and generic skills, and traditional educational forms that are deemed inappropriate for modern society. Newly arrived students, aka immigrant youths in OECD, are categorised on the exclusion side of these semantic distinctions: as the deviant student, associated with traditional, old or local expectations.

Theoretical framework

The research field of inclusive education is a substantial, but contested field of study, with many competing definitions of inclusion (Nind et al., 2004: 260). Although the processes of inclusion and exclusion have been illuminated by many theoretical perspectives, there have not been conducted studies of these processes from the perspective of Niklas Luhmann's systems-theory. Still, as will be shown in this section, systems-theory may prove useful for such studies, as it can provide global and multi-systemic contexts for analyses. Systems-theory is a theory of communication in social systems, and systems can basically be seen as contexts, where the context exhibits certain characteristics (Jønhill, 2012). From this perspective, inclusion and exclusion processes are not generalisable, but must be explored in their specific, systemic context. In this section, I will present the different levels of this theoretical framework.

Lindblad and Popkewitz (2003) argue that globalisation and the homeless dissemination of education expertise require new obligations in interpretations of ethnographic research. As Stäheli (2003) points out, however, globalisation is often perceived as a teleological, homogenising and primarily economic force in contemporary theories, giving rise to the

notion that eventually nothing will be left untouched by its hegemony. Niklas Luhmann's systems-theory shares the central idea of Wallerstein's and Meyer's globalisation theories: we now have a world society because fundamental social processes emerge continuously around the globe (Luhmann, 1997; Beyer, 2003). Contrary to these theories, however, Luhmann sees world society as a 'Unitas Multiplex' (Luhmann, 1995: 18), functionally differentiated into several part systems that perform different functions for society. As world society is seen as consisting of *several* thematically specialised communication complexes, systems-theory avoids both the economic and political reductionism entailed in many globalisation theories, as well as the assumption of a teleological and homogenising economic force.

The educational system, by analogy with the systems of politics, economy and law, can be seen as a function system (Luhmann, 2006). The expansion of the educational system was a result of changed societal needs at the end of the 18th century, and it finally emerged, as Ramirez (2012: 423) points out as well, through 'the rise and triumph of mass-schooling.' Unlike in earlier, stratified versions of society, educational communication on a global scale potentially addresses everyone in the scope of their entire lifespan. Luhmann therefore suggested that the 'lifespan' (Lebenslauf) has replaced the 'child' as medium of educational communication. Educational communication is now increasingly globally attainable and interrelated, and the educational system describes itself as a global system (Luhmann, 2006).

According to Luhmann, functional differentiation changes the mode of inclusion and exclusion in society. Accesses to systems are now regulated to a lesser degree by spatial boundaries and to a larger degree by rules of inclusion and exclusion that follow the function systems. In this perspective, inclusion is equal to becoming a person for a social system and to being able to participate in communication (Luhmann, 2002). The educational system reproduces specialised communication about education and therefore excludes everything and everyone that are not relevant for this purpose (functional code educable/non-educable). The rules of inclusion are further actualised through role expectations towards achievement roles such as teachers, or complementary roles, such as students (Luhmann and Schorr, 2000: 36).

For society as a whole, the educational system has a special role when it comes to inclusion, as it fulfils a necessary societal function of career selection and enables inclusion into other systems of society by making human beings into persons (Luhmann, 2006). This process, at least in Foucault's (1991) terms, is *disciplining*, because it aims at fabricating particular kinds of persons rendered desirable to society. As the educational system potentially addresses everyone, *internal* differentiations and thus re-entries (duplications) of the distinction between inclusion and exclusion emerge on the inside of the system.

Categories and distinctions order and differentiate persons, a process of power that is not essential or natural, but rather contingent and functional.

Function systems, such as the global educational system, are semantic complexes, decontextualized from interactions and local contexts, and their abstract nature entails that they are not restricted by spatial or regional boundaries. They are also open and inclusive, potentially addressing everyone. However, these abstract communication complexes are internally differentiated and unfold through formal membership organisations, since only organisations have the capacity to make decisions. Organisations are also equipped with the ability to make decisions about exclusion (Luhmann, 2000), and inclusion- and exclusion processes can therefore be fruitfully analysed in the nexus between the semantic complexes of function systems and organisations. Considering education as a global semantic encounter is not, however, equal to macro determinations of local phenomena (Luhmann, 2013; Stichweh, 2000) Instead, function systems are seen as a macro-environment, contextual framework and semantic reservoir for organisations, while organisations constitute the ‘infrastructure’ of functional systems (Luhmann, 2013; Stichweh, 2007).

This analytical framework will be used to analyse inclusion- and exclusion processes that are generated by educational expectations in two school organisations in Norway. The article will also shed light on the structural couplings (interrelations) between the semantic constructions in the school organisations and recent developments from OECD. In systems - theory terms, the OECD can be considered an organisation that primarily works within the framework of the function of the economic system (code profit/non-profit). However, the OECD has become increasingly important in setting policy agendas in other domains of society as well, especially in education (Rinne, 2008), and as will be shown in this article, there are clear alignments between educational expectations in the Norwegian schools and the ones embodied in the twenty-first century skills.

Methods

This article is based on ethnographic fieldwork in two upper secondary school organisations in Norway with introductory classes for newly arrived students. The students came from all regions of the world and had usually migrated to Norway as refugees, family-migrants or children of work immigrants. In order to be included in mainstream upper secondary education, they were offered a year of remedial education and language training to catch up. Introductory classes are offered in agreement with the Education Act, as minority language

students have the right to language training in Norwegian. Still, there are few national guidelines, and substantial regional variations in terms of how these classes are organised.

I paid regular visits to the schools from autumn 2013 to spring 2014. At both schools, newly arrived students were ranked into skills levels: basic and advanced at one school, and basic, intermediate and advanced at the other. This is different from ordinary classes, which are organised segmentarily (equal classes). In all, I observed 48 school hours at all levels and in all subjects except physical education. I focused on the utterances, actions and contextual issues that I saw as relevant for inclusion and exclusion processes.

I also conducted several field conversations about newly arrived students and introductory classes in general, as well as inclusion and exclusion processes specifically, with the school administration, minority advisor², teachers and students. I also participated at one parents meeting and one teachers meeting. I made careful records of observations and field conversations, and field and observation notes constituted important material for analyses.

The findings in this article build primarily on the interviews, which were conducted at the end of the observation study. The interviews can be characterised as semi-structured, prepared with separate and adjusted interview guides for teachers and students (Kvale, 1996). The guides indicated themes with examples of questions designed to gain information about inclusion- and exclusion processes at the schools. All the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed afterwards. All informants signed a declaration of informed consent.

Informants among the teachers were selected directly when observing the classes. In all, twelve teachers were asked to participate, and nine of them volunteered. The participants were class teachers or taught introductory classes to a substantial degree. Most of the teachers had taught these classes for some years, and had previously taught ordinary classes. Still, one of the informants had taught introductory classes since the seventies, and one of them had recently started her teaching career. All except one had university degrees at graduate level and taught English (1), Norwegian and social science (5) and mathematics and science (3).³

The informants among the students were recruited indirectly through the teachers, but were purposely selected to mirror the academic, linguistic and cultural diversity of newly arrived students. The reason for this was that I wanted the interviews to mirror the complexity of this group, as it was my impression that the category of newly arrived minority students entails an over-simplification of a very diverse group. Twelve students were selected, six from each school. The students were between 16 and 25 years old, and had very diverse educational backgrounds, with regard to both amount as well as the quality of the schooling. They had earlier attended schools in Somalia/Kenya (1), Ecuador (1), Philippines (1), Eritrea (2),

Uganda (1), Iraq (1), Afghanistan/Iran (1), Poland (1), Romania (1) and Lithuania (2). Six were boys and six were girls. I selected informants from all levels: five from basic, five from advanced, and two from intermediate level. All students accepted the request and participated in the study.⁴

I have previous experience from this field as teacher, researcher and advisor in integration and settlement for the Norwegian Government. These experiences were both a resource and a challenge when conducting fieldwork, and I had to be constantly aware of how I positioned myself in the field. For instance, it became crucial to take into consideration the unequal distribution of power between the informants and me. Still, these experiences were also a rich source for reflections and knowledge about governmental and administrative structures, school matters and immigration processes. This has probably made it easier for me to grasp the complexity and multifaceted nature of inclusion and exclusion processes.

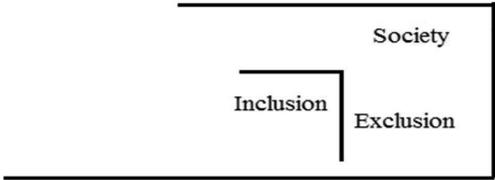
Data analysis

The fieldwork-material is analysed as educational semantics. The concept of semantics indicates that themes of communication are not created *de novo* in each communicative event. Rather, all systems produce stabilised supplies of possible concepts, ideas, and symbols that are at one's disposal for communicative selections (Luhmann, 1995). A semantic analysis thus implies analysing a system's reservoir of forms and concepts: the condensed and generalised expectations actualised by a system (Andersen, 2014).

A systems-theory semantic analysis distinguishes between first- and second order observations. A second order analysis provides re-descriptions of something that has already been described on a first order level, but from a more abstract perspective (Luhmann, 2006; Hilt, 2015). The guiding research question was: What characterises the processes of inclusion and exclusion for newly arrived students? In general, observations consist of forms of meaning that are binary schemes constituted by a marked and an unmarked side. The leading distinction in the data-analysis was accordingly inclusion/exclusion, where inclusion was operationalised as being addressed in the form of condensed role expectations and exclusion as the failure to meet these expectations. The form of inclusion is illustrated in figure 1 at the next page.

Both first and second order observations observe through binary schemes, but at the first order level, only the marked side of the distinction is visible. For example, the educational system, through organisations, can decide the educational expectations that should be recognised. In this process, forms of inclusion are constructed, but only the *expectations* are

visible for the system. The unmarked side and the excluding consequences, the failure to meet these expectations, is invisible. Nevertheless, they follow one another, like figure and shadow. A second-order observation, however, because of its level of abstraction, may reflect the contingency of the first order observation by observing blind spots and relativize taken-for-granted notions (Luhmann, 1998). The outside also become visible. This does not, however, entail that one reserves truth claims to the second order perspective, but it provides better opportunities for reflection.



The Form Inclusion

Figure 1: This is the form of inclusion (Hilt, 2015; Jønhill, 2012) consisting of a marked side (inclusion) and an unmarked side (exclusion). The inside and outside of the form are separated by a distinction, symbolised by an angle. The distinction can be duplicated or re-entered, resulting in internal differentiations, for example including exclusion. Society is, as illustrated, the observational frame for every form of meaning, since society consists of all possible communication (Luhmann, 2013).

In the data analysis, the qualitative data analysis program Nvivo was used to code the fieldwork-material according to the analytical focus on expectations towards student- and teacher roles. In the teacher-interviews, I coded descriptions of the characteristics of newly arrived students, including utterances about what distinguishes newly arrived students from mainstream students. In the student-interviews, I coded descriptions of the students’ encounters between educational expectations in respectively Norwegian schools and their home or transit countries.

The analytical framework made it possible to go beyond an understanding of exclusion as non-access, and also identify *internal* exclusions by focusing on descriptions of deviances from expectations. The main research-question was further divided into two sub-questions, addressed in the two following sections of the article. After presenting the findings for these questions, the article will add a layer to the analysis by providing context from a recent OECD (2012) document, *Better Skills, Better Jobs, Better Lives*, and show similarities with educational expectations embodied in the 21st century skills.

The teachers' semantics of educational expectations

Introductory classes are segregated classes that offer language training (Norwegian and English) and academic catch-up in different subjects in order to prepare newly arrived students for upper secondary school. The teachers, however, also saw these classes as an important forum in which to re-socialise newly arrived students according to a set of expectations. This section will address the sub-question: What characterise the role expectations for teachers and students constructed in the interviews with the teachers, and how are newly arrived students positioned in terms of these expectations?

One of the teachers emphasised that ‘the aim of introductory classes is to give the opportunity to start upper secondary education (...) they have to learn the language. But it is also about meta-learning, to learn what it means to go to school.’ As newly arrived students had attended elementary school of varying quality and duration in their home- or transit countries and were accordingly qualified for upper secondary school, this teacher obviously did not mean that the students merely needed to learn what it means to go to school *per se*. The students had to learn the expectations that characterise schools similar to Norwegian ones, valuing particularly generic skills such as meta-learning and ‘learning to learn’, skills that are necessary to obtain in order to be a self-managing learner. However, newly arrived students were perceived as generally *lacking* these aptitudes, and their learning strategies were thus in need of remediation.

One of the teachers said the following when asked if the aim of moving on to upper secondary within a year was realistic:

‘Turid’: Uhm, only for those students who know what it means to be a student (...), know the student role, are independent.(...) take responsibility....know what it means to be responsible for your own learning.⁵

Responsibility and independence were thus seen as crucial traits for educational success. At both schools, many teachers regarded having these traits as tantamount to mastering the student role, but according to this teacher, only a minority had them. To master the student role were thus understood as equal to being a self-managing learner. When I asked the same teacher what, on the other hand, characterised the majority, she answered:

They are just like Norwegian students, but they do not know what it means to be a student. (...) They do not understand that if they are going to learn anything, they also have to work in order to learn it. (...) That it is not the teacher who is responsible for their grades; they are themselves [responsible]. (...) The teacher is supposed to guide, try to motivate, and teach them what they need. But if they do not do anything with this [teaching] themselves, (...) we cannot move them forward.

Accordingly, newly arrived students have to understand and master these role expectations in order to move forward to upper secondary school. The responsibility for educational success is highly individualised and ascribed to the students themselves. The students are supposed to become learners that can manage their own learning processes. Newly arrived students, are considered to be in lack of the individual attributions that are perceived essential for educational success. According to the teachers, they are not independent and self-managing. On the contrary, they expect to be managed by their environments. The descriptions of eastern European students were, however, different in most of the interviews. *Their* previous school experiences were perceived as more adequate in terms of meta-learning, and they were to a larger degree seen as able to manage their own learning processes.

Crucially, the role expectation of being responsible for one's own learning is also connected to the expectation that teachers are to be the facilitators of this process. As expressed in the excerpt, the teacher is supposed to guide, motivate and select information, but eventually it is up to the students themselves to act upon what is being taught. If newly arrived students fail to internalise the necessary aptitudes during their year of remedial education, they face the risk of retention in introductory class or school dropout.

Consequently, the teacher is *not* considered the most important epistemic source, and the aim of education is not transfer of knowledge rendered important by the teachers. Teachers are instead expected to facilitate individual learning processes for students in the best possible manner. They are supposed to enable the students to become self-managing learners. Despite this semantic, however, the teachers' ways of organising educational interaction in the classroom were not always in accordance with these conceptions, and the expectation of students becoming self-managing learners was thus also a question of

tactfulness and timing. Education was often traditionally organised, with the teacher instructing at the blackboard and the students listening and working according to instructions. Nevertheless, when the students were writing texts or working with projects, they were expected to communicate experiences and manage their own learning processes. The expectations were thus actualised in some settings, but not in others, and the students had to learn to adjust themselves to different educational situations.

Most of the teachers thought that newly arrived students were uneasy with the individualised expectations as well as with the more symmetrical relationships between students and teachers. While some teachers expressed that they considered adjusting their expectations to take into account the students' previous experiences, others saw it as crucial to teach the students the expectations that would benefit their further education in the Norwegian system. Some of the teachers expressed hesitation about this situation, and oscillated back and forth between these two positions. Here, two teachers reflect on the differences:

'Mette': Most of them are used to teachers who make the decisions in the classroom, where it is the teacher who tells them what to learn and a great, great deal of them wants pat-answers. (...) they are not at all used to our way of using ourselves and our experiences as point of reference. (...) They are used to facts, facts, facts, right?

'Ingunn': Some of them may come from schools where there is a lot of reproduction (...), and our school-system is, at least partially, moving away from that. (...) You are supposed to be independent and creative, and...Maybe that is a bit confusing? (...) I see it when they write texts: They often replicate (...) the examples.

Accordingly, newly arrived students are perceived as being more accustomed to replicating and reproducing facts, a practice that Norwegian schools are beginning to abandon. Newly arrived students' previous educational experiences were understood as being in accordance with 'old' or more 'traditional' expectations. One of the teachers called this phenomenon 'parrot-education', indicating that the students were previously supposed to merely repeat the teachers' utterances. Their insufficient educational background allegedly made them unable to rely on their own experiences as point of reference and to be self-initiating, self-managing learners. Consequently, they deviated from important expectations in Norwegian schools.

The perceived differences in student and teacher roles also had consequences for the assessment of students' conduct. Bad student behaviour was often ascribed to past education

in different countries. Yet, the teachers also ascribed extraordinarily respectful and well-behaved conduct to the students' previous education:

'Beate': (...) they are not used to the way teachers relate to them. Here in Norway we are sort of at the same level. (...) You feel sort of on equal footing, you are supposed to treat them with respect. (...) And they are probably not used to that. (...) They insist on calling you 'teacher' (...) and not 'Beate'. (...) I find it a bit strange, but it is probably a way of showing respect.

While the relationship between teachers and students in Norwegian schools is more symmetrical, newly arrived students are supposedly more used to an asymmetrical relationship. This had a number of consequences for interactions in the schools, not only in terms of respectful conduct as expressed in the quote, but also in terms of disciplinary problems. Many teachers were concerned that their lack of disciplinary sanctions, including corporal punishment, would lead to behavioural problems for students accustomed to more 'traditional' forms of discipline.

The teachers did not have an arsenal of disciplinary sanctions, but they could give reprimands, write remarks, and make students leave the classroom if they caused a disturbance. Eventually, their most important disciplinary technique was the means of communication and *internalisation* of expectations. If the students failed to understand the requirements of being responsible for their own learning, the teachers made intensified communicative efforts to explain these expectations, obviously with the best intentions. The dialogue was thus used as a disciplinary technique:

'Ingunn': We have talked about it, about what we are supposed to do to get them to understand the Norwegian system, [about the fact] that you have to be responsible for your own learning. (...) It works, more or less. We invite them to have a conversation if it becomes a pattern. (...) Then they promise to improve. Still... it does not work with all of them.

Those students who, despite efforts through dialogue, still did not 'improve' and did not assume responsibility were often considered depressed, homesick and/or lacking in motivation. In these cases, health services and therapeutic measures might be provided. The available disciplinary techniques were accordingly less visible and more difficult to grasp than the ones newly arrived students allegedly were used to. The invisibility of power relations, obscured in addition by a smokescreen of good intentions, made it difficult for newly arrived students to realise if they were actually on a path towards exclusion from

education. In the worst case, the students did not adjust to the subtle warnings and faced the risk of retention in introductory class or dropout. These failures to meet expectations were often ascribed to a conflict between Norwegian schools and past educational experiences:

‘Ingunn’: One of them said to me: ‘In my home country I worked a lot in school, I always did my homework and I always prepared for tests. But here, I do not.’ (...) He did not have a very good explanation, but I think it has to do with us being...not an easier school, but...a different kind of school.

According to the teachers’, ideal students have well developed generic skills; they are creative, responsible, independent, self-initiating and self-managing, and they position themselves in symmetrical relationships with the teachers. The ideal teachers are accordingly non-authoritarian and facilitate and guide the students’ individual learning processes. Newly arrived students, however, are positioned in opposition to these expectations: They are allegedly not self-managing and do not take responsibility for their own learning. Rather, they expect to be managed from the outside, to replicate exemplary structures, receiving pat-answers and facts. They are purportedly not used to taking themselves and their own experiences as a point of departure. Rather, they expect the teacher to be an authoritarian possessor of knowledge, and subordinate themselves in relationships with teachers. Clearly, these findings suggest that newly arrived students are positioned in a space of exclusion with regard to the educational expectations set forth by the schools. They are expected *not* to fulfil the expectations deemed important for educational success in Norwegian schools, a situation ascribed to the students’ previous education under a regime of ‘traditional’ and insufficient educational expectations.

The newly arrived students’ semantics of educational expectations

Overall, there were substantial overlaps between the semantics expressed in the interviews with the teachers and the newly arrived students. Regardless of where the students had attended school earlier, most of them were seemingly puzzled about the role expectations in Norwegian schools. This section will address the sub-question: What characterises the role expectations towards students and teachers that newly arrived students ascribe to respectively Norwegian schools and schools in their home or transit countries, and how do they position themselves with regard to these expectations?

In general, most newly arrived students experienced a drop in educational expectations in Norway. However, many of them also realised that the expectations in

Norway were different rather than non-existent, for example ‘Naod’ who compares with schools in Eritrea:

In my home country, the teacher is the one who tries to teach you everything – what he knows. (...) But here, (...) it is a bit different, because it is the student who is supposed to learn everything! The teachers say something, but it is your responsibility to be (...) learning.

‘Naod’ accordingly supports the teachers’ semantics about diverging student- and teacher roles in different national school systems. In his home country, the emphasis was on the teachers’ authoritative knowledge, while in Norway it is on the students’ learning processes. He also expresses that the responsibility for this process is delegated to the individual student in Norway, while in Eritrea the teachers hold the main responsibility.

All the students, regardless of educational background, considered Norwegian teachers as less strict, kinder, and more attentive, communicative, and helpful than teachers from previous experiences. Many of them experienced school in Norway as less stressful, sometimes easier, and were bemused about the many recesses between educational sessions. As explained by ‘Julio’:

Interviewer: But how were they different? How were the teachers in Ecuador for instance?

Julio: Work, work, work! (...) And when you were finished working, okay, more work.

Interviewer: But how are they here then?

Julio: Here, okay, work, take a recess, uhm, have some water or something, a little more work, talk about something. Not like work, work, work.

Most students felt that the teachers in Norway were more considerate towards their needs and that they guided and helped them more. ‘Anna’ and ‘Elena’ reflects on these differences:

Anna: There [in Lithuanian school] the teacher does not treat you with respect. (...) They are very, like, stricter (...). And here, teachers are friendly and want to communicate with you and understand what you want. (...) There, they just say that you have to! They do not care if you can’t, you must!

Elena: Yeah it is different; this is different, because here they are helping you. (...) When it is not good they say: ‘It is not good, but it is okay, you can read it again or do it differently’. And in Poland: ‘This is not good!’ [Imitates a strict voice]

These two girls regarded the relationships with teachers in Norway as quite distinct from schools in Lithuania and Poland respectively. The Norwegian teachers guided them by giving

them important information, and suggested new ways of solving problems if they failed to perform. In their home countries, the teachers were authoritarian and sanctioned the students more easily. 'Freweini', had similar experiences: 'It is *totally* different. The teachers there [Eritrea]... you do not get the kind of information that you get here [Norway]. The teacher is a bit strict (...) and then we have to write everything they say from the blackboard.'

Even though many newly arrived students had positive impressions of Norwegian schools, some also described initial struggles with individualised expectations. The expectation that one is to become self-managing was an often-discussed topic in the interviews, here expressed by 'Meskerem':

Yes, ah, here you need self-control. (...). But there [Uganda]... You might have self-control... but you know, if you do anything wrong, the teacher comes along and strikes you (...) So, there you have guidance, but here you have to guide yourself.

In the excerpt, 'Meskerem' addresses the issue of exterior versus interior control. In the school she attended in Uganda, she experienced 'guidance' in the form of sanctions, even corporal punishment. In contrast to this, teachers in Norway are not empowered to use such sanctions; students are instead expected to have self-control. 'Naod' explains in the following statement that, contrary to Eritrea where students are suspended for wrongdoing, the teachers in Norway provide communicative support for students, enabling them "to improve themselves":

Here, in school, we have health-services (...). But in my home country it is different. If you do anything wrong, (...) they can decide that you have to stay at home instead of going to school. (...) they do not give you a second chance to get better. (...) Here [Norway] the teacher tries to discuss with you if you have a problem, then he or she tries to find a solution (...) for the problem that you have got. (...) And it helps; it helps these students (...) to improve themselves.

'Naod' mentions the function of health services in the excerpt. If you have learning problems, they can be diagnosed and help can be provided. Obviously, 'Naod' sees this as a civilised measure of Norwegian schools. However, if we compare the exterior control in the form of sanctions with these technologies of care, the invisibility of the latter power strategy makes it more difficult for students to realise that they are on a path towards exclusion from education.

In many excerpts cited here, the students employ concepts from the same semantic reservoir as the teachers. They often consider themselves deviant with regard to educational

expectations in Norwegian schools and use the same binary opposites as the teachers: the learner who is guided from the inside vs. the learner who is guided from the outside, the facilitating teacher vs. the authoritarian teacher. They are thus not only positioned in spaces of exclusions by the teachers, but position themselves as deviants. Many of them are accordingly already aware that they have to change their way of relating to themselves and their environments in order to be successful in education in Norway.

Nevertheless, we need to consider the observation study to provide a more nuanced account of exclusion processes. During the observations, different kinds of conduct that can be interpreted as resistance towards the system emerged. Some students refused to speak Norwegian in class, some communicated consistently with students who shared the same mother tongue, at the expense of other possible interactions. There were also expressions of apathy and resignation, and there were students who preferred to communicate on social media instead of interacting in class. Moreover, what the teachers described as motivation problems, homesickness or depression can be understood as unwillingness to meet the system's expectations. There were also cases of clearly expressed resistance, such as interruptions, loud talk and disturbances.

These expressions were of great concern for the teachers. The students obviously did not accept the educational expectations and were unable to 'improve' accordingly, but were instead on a path towards exclusion from education. To understand the conduct of these students, one has to take into account that the seemingly divergent educational expectations, along with their current position in the space of exclusion, are additional barriers they have to manage in order to be included in mainstream education and succeed in their educational careers. In addition, they also have to learn to master new languages, subject content, and the general references deemed important in Norwegian schools.

The traditional asymmetrical relationship between teachers and students, where the teacher is the epistemic authority, and the students are docile subjects executing the teachers' instructions, is an *unacceptable* form of inclusion in Norwegian schools. These are considered 'old' and 'traditional' expectations of which remnants allegedly are still present in the home and transit countries of newly arrived students. According to these semantic descriptions, educational conflicts may arise when students migrate to Norway, at least if they fail to re-orient themselves and become self-managing learners. The cases in this section show that some of the newly arrived students are at risk of eventually being excluded *from* education, as a consequence of the obstacle of finding themselves positioned in a space of exclusion *within* education.

The OECD and the immigrant student as the outside of the knowledge economy

The notion of students' *own responsibility for learning* became influential during what Telhaug et al. (2006) calls 'the era of globalisation and neo-liberalism' in Norwegian educational policy. More precisely, it was introduced in the educational reform of 1994 and has since been prominent at all levels of the school system. The political aims of the conception are to produce self-managing individuals that can take responsibility for their lives, their learning processes and their social environments (Meland, 2011). As has been shown in the previous sections, newly arrived students are positioned as deviants in terms of these educational expectations. The aspiration to make students self-managing learners, however, is not a phenomenon confined to national contexts.

The Norwegian school system has made several adjustments in the wake of OECD policy reforms (Hovdenak and Stray, 2015: 55), and the findings in this article will therefore be discussed by providing a context from some recent developments coming out of this organisation. It is well known that the OECD is concerned with human capital formation, where the main idea is that national economies have to develop the skills and competencies of the population in order to compete in the global knowledge economy (Robertson, 2005). Against the backdrop of the financial crisis, the OECD has now called for a major redesign of education curricula answering new demands for human capital. According to the OECD (2012: 3), 'Skills have become the global currency of the 21st century', and these so-called 21st century skills are the ones that will produce effective learners, workers and citizens in future society.

In their redesign of curricula, the OECD (2012) operates with a binary distinction on the one hand between old and traditional curricula that are inappropriate for the reality of the modern society and, on the other hand, new and modern forms of educational expectations, suitable for the needs of society in the 21st century. A *traditional* curriculum is overburdened with content and is thus an obstacle to acquiring skills. In contrast, the appropriate, global and modern curricula focus on the necessary attributes for the future work force, namely *generic* skills, that is, skills that are transferable across subject structures. It is therefore argued that a global shift in educational focus is necessary from the teaching of subject knowledge to the teaching of character traits. To mention a few: *adaptability, persistence, resilience, ability to learn to learn, interdisciplinarity, self-management* and *meta-cognition* (OECD 2012).

The same tendency can be traced in the PISA-questions. PISA collects information not only about student performances in subject domains, but also about *motivation, self-beliefs* and *learning strategies*. This information will enable the OECD to find out about the students'

potential for lifelong learning (OECD, 2014b). The new skills of the 21st century are supposed to establish lifelong learning habits and produce self-managing learners that are prepared for the future society, understood as their economic life.

The skills that are deemed valuable by the OECD overlap substantially with the individualised expectations in the Norwegian schools. Especially so called generic, meta-cognitive or higher order cognitive skills are deemed important as educational expectations for the 21st century, aptitudes that newly arrived students in the Norwegian schools were considered to lack. As Muller (1998) has pointed out, such outcome-based educational expectations converge around the empowerment of learners to seize responsibility for their learning and societal destiny, and are in a binary opposition to traditional education with emphasis on subject knowledge.

This reflects the Norwegian teachers' understanding of the educational expectations ascribed to newly arrived students' home- or transit countries as something we are 'moving away from.' Thus, in both cases, the semantics are structured by a distinction between *old* and *new*, *traditional* and *modern* structures, where only the new and modern ones are considered acceptable. Additionally, however, the OECD explicitly understands the modern society as a global knowledge society. The educational expectations that are considered appropriately attuned to society in OECD's terms are therefore the globalised expectations, as opposed to the specific local ones.

Moreover, OECD (2012) realises that the global trend of skills policies with emphasis on generic and meta-cognitive skills coincides with increased migration, and thus the inclusion of what they characterise as *immigrant youths* in school systems worldwide. Immigrant students, especially those who arrive late in their educational careers, are considered to be a group with poor foundation skills and greater risks of experiencing economic disadvantage, unemployment and dependency on social benefits. This classification is strengthened by the fact that immigrant students underperform in PISA, which has resulted in a performance gap between them and non-immigrant students (OECD, 2012).

Consequently, and in alignment with the semantics in Norwegian schools, immigrant students are considered deviant from the educational expectations deemed important for modern society. The ideal student is addressed as the self-managing learner with evolved generic and meta-cognitive skills and individualised dispositions for educational success in the global society of the 21st century. The Norwegian teachers considered newly arrived students' dispositions to be in accordance with 'old' or 'traditional' educational expectations, emphasising replication, obedience and reproduction. Correspondingly, immigrant youths are

considered by the OECD to lack the skills that are important for educational success in the future society.

In both the interviews and the OECD document, the failure to succeed in education is ascribed to the individual students and their insufficient past education. The point of reference is thus the educational expectations, the inclusion-side, and not what is inevitably excluded because of the conditions set by the system. The semantics of the OECD as well as the ones that are prevalent in the Norwegian schools are embedded in a first-order perspective, operating blindly with respect to the exclusions that result from their systemic expectations. In the next section a discussion from a second order perspective will bring to light the complexity and paradoxes of these semantics of inclusion by considering the other side of the coin.

Second order reflections

According to OECD (2014a), the proposed skills, also addressed in the PISA-questions, are the ones that are necessary for full participation in modern society. Thus, one can say that the ideal of the self-managing learner and the related abilities are *forms of inclusion*. The analysis in this article has however shown that although the aim of these semantic constructions is inclusion, they paradoxically also *produce* deviances and exclusions as side effects. If we observe the reconstructed distinctions from a second order perspective, the logic appears as illustrated in figure 2 at the next page.

The inside of the form inclusion is the expectations that are considered valuable by the OECD: the new, modern and global structures. What is not seen, but is nevertheless a logical necessity, is the outside of these semantic expectations. What is excluded from global skills policies, are the local, old and traditional educational expectations, the contemporary remnants of which are considered doomed to perish. As Stäheli (2003) points out, such distinctions constitute a temporal logic related to social epistemology: only the *new* perspective is attuned to the *reality* of modern society. As illustrated in the above figure, the OECD is an organisation that works primarily in the context of the function of economy, and the reality of the modern society according to the OECD is therefore equal to an economic society, more precisely the knowledge-economy.

As both the teachers and OECD make their contributions to a global educational semantic, however, the *unacceptable* traditional, old and local educational expectations are re-entered into the global communication and become an *internal* exclusion-side. After all, the expectations are addressed, and are therefore a part of the systems semantics, but they

constitute the necessary, disapproved backdrop for the new and modern expectations. Local and traditional educational forms are therefore no longer local and traditional *per se*. New diversities and exclusions are produced by communication, by differentiation and re-entries of the distinctions inclusion/exclusion, old/new, global/local and global/traditional on the inside of the system.

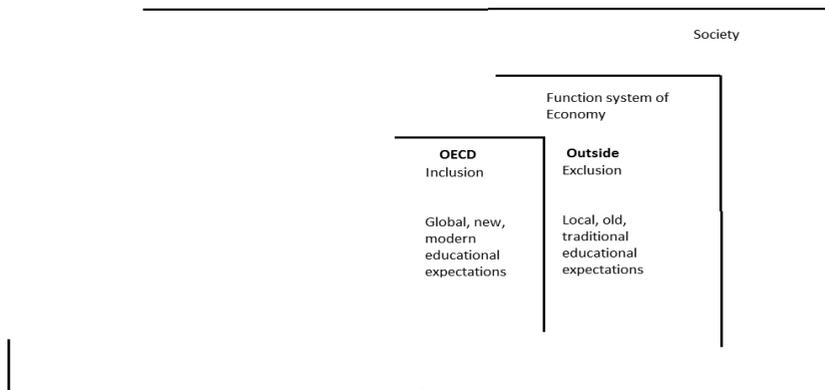


Figure 2: Educational expectations actualised by the OECD: here observed through the distinction between inclusion (inside) and exclusion (outside). The economic system is the functional context for this observation.

The semantic constructions represented by the teachers as well as OECD therefore *produce* new diversity by the means of expectations. Consequently, we cannot assume that either simply mirrors a local or regional diversity that exists *a priori* among newly arrived/immigrant students. The semantic constructions of local and traditional expectations can be seen as a requisite internal outside of the globalised expectations towards being a self-managing learner. The same applies to the distinction between inclusion and exclusion. Obviously, as newly arrived students/immigrant youths are being addressed by educational expectations, they cannot be seen as excluded in the sense of non-access. Rather, they are being addressed and included by the system, but labelled as being deviant from the ideal student – they are paradoxically included and excluded at the same time.

Systems-theory problematizes the totalising notion of globalisation, neo-liberalism and new, modern educational structures as a teleological process towards an all-inclusive stance.

Globalisation according to Luhmann is not understood as homogenisation where new structures cumulatively replace old structures (Stichweh, 2000), but rather one of contemporary society's self-descriptions (Guy, 2009) where old and new structures are reproduced and co-exist *within* global semantic complexes (Stichweh, 2007). Re-entries (duplications) of binary distinctions such as global/local, modern/traditional, inclusion/exclusion constitute several paradoxes *within* function systems. Diversity is therefore no longer merely the same as local variety, and exclusion is no longer merely equal to non-access. Instead, the global educational system produces its own (internal) diversity and exclusions. As Stichweh (2007: 147) points out, the structures of world society can therefore be seen as 'production machines of nonlocal diversity'.

Concluding comments

As a consequence of the binary constitution of educational expectations, structures of inclusion also produce exclusions and new diversity. In earlier societies, an individual was either fully included in or fully excluded from a multifunctional household, placed in a societal stratum (Braeckman, 2006). The modern functionally differentiated society, however, entails that function systems address and include persons according to the systems' own conditions. An individual is no longer fully included in one system, but are addressed in different manners by different systems, for instance as citizen, family-member, student or employee (Luhmann, 2002). However, since functional systems exclude those who do not meet their conditions – and this can happen independently of, but structurally coupled to other functional domains, – exclusion has become one of the greatest problems created by modern society (Luhmann 1997, 2002). Those who do not meet the expectations of being a self-managing learner are excluded in, and face the risk of eventually being excluded from, education. As education enables inclusion in other systems as well, educational exclusion may be the start of a domino effect entailing a cascade of exclusions (Hilt, 2015). As Luhmann (1982: 134) expressed it:

Small differences in the beginning – be it in credit, in educational prospects (...) – become large differences in the end, because functional subsystems utilize differences, employ differences in pursuing their specific functions, and there no longer exist a superior mechanism such as stratification which controls and limits this process. The whole society, therefore, tends to proceed in the direction of increasing inequality (...).

The implications may be manifold and severe. Firstly, although formal access to education is guaranteed, educational inequalities and exclusions are produced internally by the educational

system. For the newly arrived students, these internal exclusions may have crucial consequences for their educational careers. Poor educational resources may further endanger their access to other functional domains and thereby their future social prospects.

Globalisation, functional expectation structures and its side effect of exclusions is realised because there no longer exists a superior mechanism to limit this process. This lack of equilibrium between differentiation and integration (Kerwer, 2004) makes it difficult to provide valid and overreaching solutions for the problems of exclusion by the means of normative communication.

The list of educational expectations for the 21st century hold a domain-independent and cognitivist quality that creates an aura of universalism, as if these dispositions were (at least potentially) innate in all students. As Vasallo (2013, 2014) has pointed out, however, there are clear alignments between the discourse of self-regulated learning and the ideology of neoliberalism.⁶ This is also in line with Foucault's (2008) notion of *homo economicus* and Rose's (1998) conception of *the enterprising individual*. The expectation structures of the self-managing learner are economically biased, and therefore in many respect a reductionist conception of education.

In systems-theory terms, the self-managing learner can be seen as a semantic construction that entails a structural coupling between the systems of economy and education, represented by organisations such as the OECD. Both the OECD and certain globalisation theories understand society as a primarily economic society. Given such a reductionist notion of society it is not surprising that qualification and socialisation as preparation for future work life are understood to be the chief purposes of education. Given Luhmann's notion of the 'Unitas Multiplex', however, one avoids such reductionist descriptions of society, and the theory can encompass several observational positions and functional domains. The consequence is that education can be considered a system on its own terms, and not only a vehicle for political and economic progress. Although the educational system obviously also fulfils the previously mentioned purposes, one must not forget that the function of the system is also *to make human beings into persons* (Luhmann 2006), and that decisions on how to comply with this purpose should not be left to political and economic interests alone. At best, the findings in this article can provide sufficient systemic irritations to initiate processes of reflection in relevant systems, especially in the educational system.

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Notes

¹ Students with a mother tongue other than Norwegian or Sami are labelled minority language pupils in Norwegian educational policy and in the School Act. The category includes students who have a different mother tongue than Norwegian and Sami. This accounts for both students who have immigrated to Norway and those who are descendants of immigrants. The category of newly arrived minority language student makes the distinction between those minority language students who have resided in Norway for a relatively brief time and the rest. For the sake of simplicity, these students will be referred to as newly arrived students.

² The Norwegian Government hires minority advisors at selected upper secondary schools with a multicultural student body to work on issues of integration, especially the prevention of forced marriages among minority youths.

³ The topics for the interviews with the teachers were: use of languages (Norwegian, English, mother tongue), communication, mediation, learning and understanding, role expectations, differences between the students as well as organisational challenges.

⁴ The topics for the interviews with the students were: educational background, communication, learning and understanding, comparisons of Norwegian schools and schools in home or transit country, role expectations towards teachers and students, social contentment and inclusion in school community.

⁵ All quotes are translated from Norwegian to English by the author.

⁶ The concepts self-regulation and self-management mainly often refer to the same abilities. See for example Madsen (2014) for elaboration.

Appendix 1

Samtykkeerklæring for intervju

Mitt navn er Line T. Hilt, og jeg er stipendiat ved Institutt for Pedagogikk ved Psykologisk Fakultet, Universitetet i Bergen. Som en del av mitt doktorgradsarbeid holder jeg på med et forskningsprosjekt knyttet til innføringsklasser for minoritetsspråklige. Jeg skal i den forbindelse gjøre et feltarbeid ved to videregående skoler i Hordaland som har et slikt tilbud. Feltarbeidet inkluderer blant annet observasjoner i klasserommet og intervjuer med lærere og elever. Fokus i undersøkelsen er på kommunikasjon og inklusjon- og eksklusjonsprosesser, både på interaksjonsnivå og i skoleorganisasjonen.

Dette er en forespørsel til deg om å delta i undersøkelsen gjennom intervju. Notatene for intervjuene vil bli anonymisert. Det vil si at informasjonen som gis i intervjuet, vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og vil ikke kunne tilbakeføres til deg. Prosjektsslutt er satt til 2016. Prosjektet er meldt inn til, og fått godkjennelse av Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD – Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelige Datatjeneste.

Deltakelse i denne undersøkelsen er frivillig. Du kan når som helst og uten grunn trekke deg fra studien. Det vil si at selv om du samtykker til å delta i undersøkelsen på dette tidspunkt, vil du kunne trekke samtykket tilbake på et senere tidspunkt.

Jeg ber deg signere denne samtykkeerklæringen, og med det gi ditt samtykke til å delta i undersøkelsen.

Dersom du har spørsmål til undersøkelsen, kan du når som helst kontakte meg. Mailadressen er Line.Hilt@psyip.uib.no

Med vennlig hilsen

Line T. Hilt

Jeg har lest og forstått informasjonen over, og gir mitt samtykke til å delta.

Sted og dato _____

Signatur: _____

Appendix 2

TEMA FORSKNINGSINTERVJU – ELEVER

ELEVENS BAKGRUNN

Er det første eller andre år i innføringsklasse?

Hvilken gruppe eller nivå hører du til?

Hvor lenge har du bodd i Norge?

Hvor kommer du fra, og hva heter morsmålet ditt?

Har du hatt undervisning i Norge før du kom i innføringsklasse? For eksempel ungdomsskole (Nygård?), norskkurs, introduksjonsordning el.?

Hvor mye norsk kunne du da du startet i innføringsklassen? Hvor mye engelsk?

KOMMUNIKASJON/LÆRING/FORSTÅELSE

Hvilket fag synes du er spennende? Lettest? Vanskeligst? Hvorfor?

Er det noen spesielle emner i det faget som du synes er spesielt vanskelig? Hvorfor?

Hva synes du om undervisningen i norsk, engelsk, (naturfag), matte?

Hender det noen ganger at du ikke forstår hva læreren sier? Hvor ofte? Hvilke situasjoner?

Hva gjør du da?

Er det noen lærere som er vanskeligere å forstå enn andre? Hvorfor? Hva gjør de lærerne som er enkle å forstå?

Forstår du det de andre elevene sier?

Har det vært en endring fra når du begynte i klassen og til nå? Har du lært mye? Synes du norsken din er blitt bedre? Hva med de andre fagene?

MORSMÅL

Er det andre i klassen som snakker samme morsmål som deg?

Snakker dere mye sammen? I friminuttene? I timene?

Har dere lov til å snakke sammen på morsmål i timene? Hva synes du om det?

Får du brukt morsmålet ditt i undervisningen? Hjelper det på å forstå? Er det noen lærere som bruker morsmålet? Noen som ikke gjør det?

Hvordan er det å lære seg et nytt språk uten å bruke morsmålet?

SKOLEBAKGRUNN/FORSKJELLER MELLOM

UTDANNINGSSYSTEM/LÆRERROLLE/ELEVROLLE

Gikk du på skole før du kom til Norge? Hvor mange år? Hvor mange dager i uken?

Er det forskjell på skolen i hjemlandet/oppholdslandet og skolen i Norge?

Hva synes du er de største forskjellene?

Hvordan er lærerne i Norge, sammenlignet med lærerne i hjemland/oppholdsland?

Hva syntes du var vanskelig å lære i hjemlandet/oppholdslandet?

Hva syntes du er vanskelig å lære i Norge? Er det det samme?

Hvordan er det å være elev i Norge sammenlignet med i hjemlandet/oppholdslandet?

FORVENTNINGER

Hva tror du lærerne forventer av deg på skolen? Hva tror du lærerne forventer av dere i innføringsklassen? Hva synes du om det?

Tror du lærerne forventer det samme av dere som av andre elever på skolen? Hva er forskjellen?

Tror du lærerne i hjemlandet ditt hadde de samme forventningene til deg som her?

Hva forventer foreldrene av deg når det gjelder skolen?

Hva forventer du selv? Hvordan tror du det kommer til å gå etter innføringsåret? Hva ønsker du å gjøre videre?

TRIVSEL/ «SOSIAL INKLUDERING»

Hva synes du om det å gå i innføringsklasse? Trives du?

Hva synes du er positivt med miljøet på skolen og i klassen? Hva er ikke så bra?

Har du venner i klassen? Har du venner eller bekjente ellers på skolen? Hvilket språk snakker de? Er du mest med dem som snakker samme morsmål, eller har du venner fra andre språkgrupper? Har du venner som snakker norsk?

Synes du at innføringenselevne blir behandlet som de andre elevene på skolen?

Er du med på noen aktiviteter på skolen utenom undervisningen?

Er det noe skolen kunne gjort bedre for at dere skulle bli en del av miljøet på skolen?

Appendix 3

TEMA FORSKNINGSINTERVJU - LÆRERE

BAKGRUNN

Kan du fortelle om bakgrunnen din som lærer? Hvor lenge har du jobbet med innførings elever? Har du noe relevant utdanning på feltet?

Bakgrunn/motivasjon for å jobbe med innførings elever?

KOMMUNIKASJON

Hva vil du si kjennetegner kommunikasjon i innføringsklasser?

Hvordan skiller kommunikasjon i innføringsklasser seg fra andre klasser?

Hva er spesielt for kommunikasjon og undervisning i denne gruppen?

Noen spesielle utfordringer knyttet til kommunikasjon?

SPRÅK

Hvilke retningslinjer gjelder bruk av elevenes morsmål?

Har dere regler for bruk av morsmål?

Brukes morsmål i undervisningen?

Har dere problemer med snakk på morsmål i timene?

Hvordan er bruken av støttespråk? I engelsktimene? I norsktimene?

Hvordan gjør du det når en elev hverken kan norsk eller engelsk?

ELEVENE/ELEVFORSKJELLER

Er det store forskjeller faglig sett blant elevene i de enkelte gruppene?

Hvor stor er forskjellene faglig sett på tvers av gruppene?

Hva tror du disse forskjellene skyldes?

Er det store forskjeller språklig sett?

Hva kan man forvente av de ulike elevene?

Er det noen elever som er på et spesielt lavt faglig nivå? Sammenfall mellom faglig nivå og språklig nivå?

Hva oppfatter du er målet med innføringsklasser, og hvordan står det faglige nivået på elevene i forhold til dette målet? Er innføringstilbudet tilstrekkelig?

FORSTÅELSE

Hvilke utfordringer fører forskjellene blant elevene med seg (faglig, språklig)?

Hvilke indikasjoner får du på om elevene har forstått det som sies eller ikke?

Gjør du noe spesielt for at alle elevene skal forstå?

Hva gjør du hvis du merker at noen ikke forstår? Hvordan oppdager du at de ikke forstår?

I hvilke situasjoner eller sammenhenger får du inntrykk av at elevene ikke forstår?

Hva er det elevene ikke forstår? Hvilke fag/ deler av fagstoffet er spesielt vanskelig å formidle?

MEDIERING

Hvilke teknikker/strategier/fremgangsmåter/verktøy bruker du for å få eleven til å forstå?

Hvilke tekniske hjelpemidler har du til rådighet?

Hvilke språklige hjelpemidler har elevene? Er det noen utfordringer knyttet til bruken av disse? Hvordan er det med bruken av oversettelsesverktøy? Utfordringer?

UTFORDRINGER MED ORGANISERINGEN

Er det noen spesielle utfordringer knyttet til å undervise i innføringsklasser?

Er det noen spesielle utfordringer knyttet til å organisere elever i innføringsklasser?

Finnes det bedre måter å gjøre dette på, tror du?

ELEVROLLE/LÆRER-ROLLE

Hvilke forventninger er knyttet til å være elev generelt og i innføringsklasser?

Hvordan fungerer innføringselevne i elev-rollen?

Gjør elevene som de skal, jobber de selvstendig? Tar de ansvar for egen læring?

Hvilken skolegang har elevene fra før? Opplever dere diskrepans mellom den rollen de har hatt i utdanningssystem i hjemlandet og den de har i det norske skolesystem? Noen utfordringer?

Hvordan er det å være lærer i innføringsklassen? Forskjeller til andre type klasser? Spesielle utfordringer?

Hvordan inkluderes elevene i klassene? Hvordan inkluderes elevene i skoleorganisasjonen? Blant de andre elevene? Har de norske venner/bekjentskaper?

Doctoral Theses at The Faculty of Psychology,
University of Bergen

1980	Allen, H.M., Dr. philos.	Parent-offspring interactions in willow grouse (<i>Lagopus L. Lagopus</i>).
1981	Myhrer, T., Dr. philos.	Behavioral Studies after selective disruption of hippocampal inputs in albino rats.
1982	Svebak, S., Dr. philos.	The significance of motivation for task-induced tonic physiological changes.
1983	Myhre, G., Dr. philos.	The Biopsychology of behavior in captive Willow ptarmigan.
	Eide, R., Dr. philos.	PSYCHOSOCIAL FACTORS AND INDICES OF HEALTH RISKS. The relationship of psychosocial conditions to subjective complaints, arterial blood pressure, serum cholesterol, serum triglycerides and urinary catecholamines in middle aged populations in Western Norway.
	Værnes, R.J., Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological effects of diving.
1984	Kolstad, A., Dr. philos.	Til diskusjonen om sammenhengen mellom sosiale forhold og psykiske strukturer. En epidemiologisk undersøkelse blant barn og unge.
	Løberg, T., Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological assessment in alcohol dependence.
1985	Hellesnes, T., Dr. philos.	Læring og problemløsning. En studie av den perseptuelle analysens betydning for verbal læring.
	Håland, W., Dr. philos.	Psykoterapi: relasjon, utviklingsprosess og effekt.
1986	Hagtvet, K.A., Dr. philos.	The construct of test anxiety: Conceptual and methodological issues.
	Jellestad, F.K., Dr. philos.	Effects of neuron specific amygdala lesions on fear-motivated behavior in rats.
1987	Aarø, L.E., Dr. philos.	Health behaviour and socioeconomic Status. A survey among the adult population in Norway.
	Underlid, K., Dr. philos.	Arbeidsløse i psykososialt perspektiv.
	Laberg, J.C., Dr. philos.	Expectancy and classical conditioning in alcoholics' craving.
	Vollmer, F.C., Dr. philos.	Essays on explanation in psychology.
	Ellertsen, B., Dr. philos.	Migraine and tension headache: Psychophysiology, personality and therapy.
1988	Kaufmann, A., Dr. philos.	Antisocial atferd hos ungdom. En studie av psykologiske determinanter.

	Mykletun, R.J., Dr. philos.	Teacher stress: personality, work-load and health.
	Havik, O.E., Dr. philos.	After the myocardial infarction: A medical and psychological study with special emphasis on perceived illness.
1989	Bråten, S., Dr. philos.	Menneskedyaden. En teoretisk tese om sinnets dialogiske natur med informasjons- og utviklingspsykologiske implikasjoner sammenholdt med utvalgte spedbarnsstudier.
	Wold, B., Dr. psychol.	Lifestyles and physical activity. A theoretical and empirical analysis of socialization among children and adolescents.
1990	Flaten, M.A., Dr. psychol.	The role of habituation and learning in reflex modification.
1991	Alsaker, F.D., Dr. philos.	Global negative self-evaluations in early adolescence.
	Kraft, P., Dr. philos.	AIDS prevention in Norway. Empirical studies on diffusion of knowledge, public opinion, and sexual behaviour.
	Endresen, I.M., Dr. philos.	Psychoimmunological stress markers in working life.
	Faleide, A.O., Dr. philos.	Asthma and allergy in childhood. Psychosocial and psychotherapeutic problems.
1992	Dalen, K., Dr. philos.	Hemispheric asymmetry and the Dual-Task Paradigm: An experimental approach.
	Bø, I.B., Dr. philos.	Ungdoms sosiale økologi. En undersøkelse av 14-16 åringers sosiale nettverk.
	Nivison, M.E., Dr. philos.	The relationship between noise as an experimental and environmental stressor, physiological changes and psychological factors.
	Torgersen, A.M., Dr. philos.	Genetic and environmental influence on temperamental behaviour. A longitudinal study of twins from infancy to adolescence.
1993	Larsen, S., Dr. philos.	Cultural background and problem drinking.
	Nordhus, I.H., Dr. philos.	Family caregiving. A community psychological study with special emphasis on clinical interventions.
	Thuen, F., Dr. psychol.	Accident-related behaviour among children and young adolescents: Prediction and prevention.
	Solheim, R., Dr. philos.	Spesifikke lærevansker. Diskrepanskriteriet anvendt i seleksjonsmetodikk.
	Johnsen, B.H., Dr. psychol.	Brain asymmetry and facial emotional expressions: Conditioning experiments.
1994	Tønnessen, F.E., Dr. philos.	The etiology of Dyslexia.
	Kvale, G., Dr. psychol.	Psychological factors in anticipatory nausea and vomiting in cancer chemotherapy.

	Asbjørnsen, A.E., Dr. psychol.	Structural and dynamic factors in dichotic listening: An interactional model.
	Bru, E., Dr. philos.	The role of psychological factors in neck, shoulder and low back pain among female hospitale staff.
	Braathen, E.T., Dr. psychol.	Prediction of exellence and discontinuation in different types of sport: The significance of motivation and EMG.
	Johannessen, B.F., Dr. philos.	Det flytende kjønnnet. Om lederskap, politikk og identitet.
1995	Sam, D.L., Dr. psychol.	Acculturation of young immigrants in Norway: A psychological and socio-cultural adaptation.
	Bjaalid, I.-K., Dr. philos	Component processes in word recognition.
	Martinsen, Ø., Dr. philos.	Cognitive style and insight.
	Nordby, H., Dr. philos.	Processing of auditory deviant events: Mismatch negativity of event-related brain potentials.
	Raaheim, A., Dr. philos.	Health perception and health behaviour, theoretical considerations, empirical studies, and practical implications.
	Seltzer, W.J., Dr.philos.	Studies of Psychocultural Approach to Families in Therapy.
	Brun, W., Dr.philos.	Subjective conceptions of uncertainty and risk.
	Aas, H.N., Dr. psychol.	Alcohol expectancies and socialization: Adolescents learning to drink.
	Bjørkly, S., Dr. psychol.	Diagnosis and prediction of intra-institutional aggressive behaviour in psychotic patients
1996	Anderssen, N., Dr. psychol.	Physical activity of young people in a health perspective: Stability, change and social influences.
	Sandal, Gro Mjeldheim, Dr. psychol.	Coping in extreme environments: The role of personality.
	Strumse, Einar, Dr. philos.	The psychology of aesthetics: explaining visual preferences for agrarian landscapes in Western Norway.
	Hestad, Knut, Dr. philos.	Neuropsychological deficits in HIV-1 infection.
	Lugoe, L.Wycliffe, Dr. philos.	Prediction of Tanzanian students' HIV risk and preventive behaviours
	Sandvik, B. Gunnhild, Dr. philos.	Fra distriktsjordmor til institusjonsjordmor. Fremveksten av en profesjon og en profesjonsutdanning
	Lie, Gro Therese, Dr. psychol.	The disease that dares not speak its name: Studies on factors of importance for coping with HIV/AIDS in Northern Tanzania
	Øygaard, Lisbet, Dr. philos.	Health behaviors among young adults. A psychological and sociological approach
	Stormark, Kjell Morten, Dr. psychol.	Emotional modulation of selective attention: Experimental and clinical evidence.

	Einarsen, Ståle, Dr. psychol.	Bullying and harassment at work: epidemiological and psychosocial aspects.
1997	Knivsberg, Ann-Mari, Dr. philos.	Behavioural abnormalities and childhood psychopathology: Urinary peptide patterns as a potential tool in diagnosis and remediation.
	Eide, Arne H., Dr. philos.	Adolescent drug use in Zimbabwe. Cultural orientation in a global-local perspective and use of psychoactive substances among secondary school students.
	Sørensen, Marit, Dr. philos.	The psychology of initiating and maintaining exercise and diet behaviour.
	Skjæveland, Oddvar, Dr. psychol.	Relationships between spatial-physical neighborhood attributes and social relations among neighbors.
	Zewdie, Tekla, Dr. philos.	Mother-child relational patterns in Ethiopia. Issues of developmental theories and intervention programs.
	Wilhelmsen, Britt Unni, Dr. philos.	Development and evaluation of two educational programmes designed to prevent alcohol use among adolescents.
	Manger, Terje, Dr. philos.	Gender differences in mathematical achievement among Norwegian elementary school students.
1998		
V	Lindstrøm, Torill Christine, Dr. philos.	«Good Grief»: Adapting to Bereavement.
	Skogstad, Anders, Dr. philos.	Effects of leadership behaviour on job satisfaction, health and efficiency.
	Haldorsen, Ellen M. Håland, Dr. psychol.	Return to work in low back pain patients.
	Besemer, Susan P., Dr. philos.	Creative Product Analysis: The Search for a Valid Model for Understanding Creativity in Products.
H	Winje, Dagfinn, Dr. psychol.	Psychological adjustment after severe trauma. A longitudinal study of adults' and children's posttraumatic reactions and coping after the bus accident in Måbødalen, Norway 1988.
	Vosburg, Suzanne K., Dr. philos.	The effects of mood on creative problem solving.
	Eriksen, Hege R., Dr. philos.	Stress and coping: Does it really matter for subjective health complaints?
	Jakobsen, Reidar, Dr. psychol.	Empiriske studier av kunnskap og holdninger om hiv/aids og den normative seksuelle utvikling i ungdomsårene.
1999		
V	Mikkelsen, Aslaug, Dr. philos.	Effects of learning opportunities and learning climate on occupational health.
	Samdal, Oddrun, Dr. philos.	The school environment as a risk or resource for students' health-related behaviours and subjective well-being.
	Friestad, Christine, Dr. philos.	Social psychological approaches to smoking.

	Ekeland, Tor-Johan, Dr. philos.	Meining som medisin. Ein analyse av placebofenomenet og implikasjoner for terapi og terapeutiske teoriar.
H	Saban, Sara, Dr. psychol.	Brain Asymmetry and Attention: Classical Conditioning Experiments.
	Carlsten, Carl Thomas, Dr. philos.	God lesing – God læring. En aksjonsrettet studie av undervisning i fagtekstlesing.
	Dundas, Ingrid, Dr. psychol.	Functional and dysfunctional closeness. Family interaction and children's adjustment.
	Engen, Liv, Dr. philos.	Kartlegging av leseferdighet på småskoletrinnet og vurdering av faktorer som kan være av betydning for optimal leseutvikling.
2000		
V	Hovland, Ole Johan, Dr. philos.	Transforming a self-preserving "alarm" reaction into a self-defeating emotional response: Toward an integrative approach to anxiety as a human phenomenon.
	Lillejord, Sølvi, Dr. philos.	Handlingsrasjonalitet og spesialundervisning. En analyse av aktørperspektiver.
	Sandell, Ove, Dr. philos.	Den varme kunnskapen.
	Oftedal, Marit Petersen, Dr. philos.	Diagnostisering av ordavkodingsvansker: En prosessanalytisk tilnæringsmåte.
H	Sandbak, Tone, Dr. psychol.	Alcohol consumption and preference in the rat: The significance of individual differences and relationships to stress pathology
	Eid, Jarle, Dr. psychol.	Early predictors of PTSD symptom reporting; The significance of contextual and individual factors.
2001		
V	Skinstad, Anne Helene, Dr. philos.	Substance dependence and borderline personality disorders.
	Binder, Per-Einar, Dr. psychol.	Individet og den meningsbærende andre. En teoretisk undersøkelse av de mellommenneskelige forutsetningene for psykisk liv og utvikling med utgangspunkt i Donald Winnicotts teori.
	Roald, Ingvild K., Dr. philos.	Building of concepts. A study of Physics concepts of Norwegian deaf students.
H	Fekadu, Zelalem W., Dr. philos.	Predicting contraceptive use and intention among a sample of adolescent girls. An application of the theory of planned behaviour in Ethiopian context.
	Melesse, Fantu, Dr. philos.	The more intelligent and sensitive child (MISC) mediational intervention in an Ethiopian context: An evaluation study.
	Råheim, Målfrid, Dr. philos.	Kvinnerens kroppserfaring og livssammenheng. En fenomenologisk – hermeneutisk studie av friske kvinner og kvinner med kroniske muskelsmerter.
	Engelsen, Birthe Kari, Dr. psychol.	Measurement of the eating problem construct.
	Lau, Bjørn, Dr. philos.	Weight and eating concerns in adolescence.

2002

- V Ihlebæk, Camilla, Dr. philos. Epidemiological studies of subjective health complaints.
- Rosén, Gunnar O. R., Dr. philos. The phantom limb experience. Models for understanding and treatment of pain with hypnosis.
- Høines, Marit Johnsen, Dr. philos. Fleksible språkrrom. Matematikk læring som tekstutvikling.
- Anthun, Roald Andor, Dr. philos. School psychology service quality. Consumer appraisal, quality dimensions, and collaborative improvement potential
- Pallesen, Ståle, Dr. psychol. Insomnia in the elderly. Epidemiology, psychological characteristics and treatment.
- Midthassel, Unni Vere, Dr. philos. Teacher involvement in school development activity. A study of teachers in Norwegian compulsory schools
- Kallestad, Jan Helge, Dr. philos. Teachers, schools and implementation of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program.
- H Ofte, Sonja Helgesen, Dr. psychol. Right-left discrimination in adults and children.
- Netland, Marit, Dr. psychol. Exposure to political violence. The need to estimate our estimations.
- Diseth, Åge, Dr. psychol. Approaches to learning: Validity and prediction of academic performance.
- Bjuland, Raymond, Dr. philos. Problem solving in geometry. Reasoning processes of student teachers working in small groups: A dialogical approach.
- 2003**
- V Arefjord, Kjersti, Dr. psychol. After the myocardial infarction – the wives' view. Short- and long-term adjustment in wives of myocardial infarction patients.
- Ingjaldsson, Jón Þorvaldur, Dr. psychol. Unconscious Processes and Vagal Activity in Alcohol Dependency.
- Holden, Børge, Dr. philos. Følger av atferdsanalytiske forklaringer for atferdsanalysens tilnærming til utforming av behandling.
- Holsen, Ingrid, Dr. philos. Depressed mood from adolescence to 'emerging adulthood'. Course and longitudinal influences of body image and parent-adolescent relationship.
- Hammar, Åsa Karin, Dr. psychol. Major depression and cognitive dysfunction- An experimental study of the cognitive effort hypothesis.
- Sprugevica, Ieva, Dr. philos. The impact of enabling skills on early reading acquisition.
- Gabrielsen, Egil, Dr. philos. LESE FOR LIVET. Lesekompetansen i den norske voksenbefolkningen sett i lys av visjonen om en enhetsskole.
- H Hansen, Anita Lill, Dr. psychol. The influence of heart rate variability in the regulation of attentional and memory processes.
- Dyregrov, Kari, Dr. philos. The loss of child by suicide, SIDS, and accidents: Consequences, needs and provisions of help.

2004	V	Torsheim, Torbjørn, Dr. psychol.	Student role strain and subjective health complaints: Individual, contextual, and longitudinal perspectives.
		Haugland, Bente Storm Mowatt Dr. psychol.	Parental alcohol abuse. Family functioning and child adjustment.
		Milde, Anne Marita, Dr. psychol.	Ulcerative colitis and the role of stress. Animal studies of psychobiological factors in relationship to experimentally induced colitis.
		Stornes, Tor, Dr. philos.	Socio-moral behaviour in sport. An investigation of perceptions of sportpersonship in handball related to important factors of socio-moral influence.
		Mæhle, Magne, Dr. philos.	Re-inventing the child in family therapy: An investigation of the relevance and applicability of theory and research in child development for family therapy involving children.
		Kobbeltvedt, Therese, Dr. psychol.	Risk and feelings: A field approach.
2004	H	Thomsen, Tormod, Dr. psychol.	Localization of attention in the brain.
		Løberg, Else-Marie, Dr. psychol.	Functional laterality and attention modulation in schizophrenia: Effects of clinical variables.
		Kyrkjebø, Jane Mikkelsen, Dr. philos.	Learning to improve: Integrating continuous quality improvement learning into nursing education.
		Laumann, Karin, Dr. psychol.	Restorative and stress-reducing effects of natural environments: Experiential, behavioural and cardiovascular indices.
		Holgersen, Helge, PhD	Mellom oss - Essay i relasjonell psykoanalyse.
2005	V	Hetland, Hilde, Dr. psychol.	Leading to the extraordinary? Antecedents and outcomes of transformational leadership.
		Iversen, Anette Christine, Dr. philos.	Social differences in health behaviour: the motivational role of perceived control and coping.
2005	H	Mathisen, Gro Ellen, PhD	Climates for creativity and innovation: Definitions, measurement, predictors and consequences.
		Sævi, Tone, Dr. philos.	Seeing disability pedagogically – The lived experience of disability in the pedagogical encounter.
		Wiiium, Nora, PhD	Intrapersonal factors, family and school norms: combined and interactive influence on adolescent smoking behaviour.
		Kanagaratnam, Pushpa, PhD	Subjective and objective correlates of Posttraumatic Stress in immigrants/refugees exposed to political violence.
		Larsen, Torill M. B. , PhD	Evaluating principals` and teachers` implementation of Second Step. A case study of four Norwegian primary schools.
		Bancila, Delia, PhD	Psychosocial stress and distress among Romanian adolescents and adults.

2006

V

- Hillestad, Torgeir Martin, Dr. philos. Normalitet og avvik. Forutsetninger for et objektivt psykopatologisk avviksbegrep. En psykologisk, sosial, erkjennelsesteoretisk og teorihistorisk framstilling.
- Nordanger, Dag Øystein, Dr. psychol. Psychosocial discourses and responses to political violence in post-war Tigray, Ethiopia.
- Rimol, Lars Morten, PhD Behavioral and fMRI studies of auditory laterality and speech sound processing.
- Krumsvik, Rune Johan, Dr. philos. ICT in the school. ICT-initiated school development in lower secondary school.
- Norman, Elisabeth, Dr. psychol. Gut feelings and unconscious thought: An exploration of fringe consciousness in implicit cognition.
- Israel, K Pravin, Dr. psychol. Parent involvement in the mental health care of children and adolescents. Empirical studies from clinical care setting.
- Glasø, Lars, PhD Affects and emotional regulation in leader-subordinate relationships.
- Knutsen, Ketil, Dr. philos. HISTORIER UNGDOM LEVER – En studie av hvordan ungdommer bruker historie for å gjøre livet meningsfullt.
- Matthiesen, Stig Berge, PhD Bullying at work. Antecedents and outcomes.

2006

H

- Gramstad, Arne, PhD Neuropsychological assessment of cognitive and emotional functioning in patients with epilepsy.
- Bendixen, Mons, PhD Antisocial behaviour in early adolescence: Methodological and substantive issues.
- Mrumbi, Khalifa Maulid, PhD Parental illness and loss to HIV/AIDS as experienced by AIDS orphans aged between 12-17 years from Temeke District, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: A study of the children's psychosocial health and coping responses.
- Hetland, Jørn, Dr. psychol. The nature of subjective health complaints in adolescence: Dimensionality, stability, and psychosocial predictors
- Kakoko, Deodatus Conatus Vitalis, PhD Voluntary HIV counselling and testing service uptake among primary school teachers in Mwanza, Tanzania: assessment of socio-demographic, psychosocial and socio-cognitive aspects
- Mykletun, Arnstein, Dr. psychol. Mortality and work-related disability as long-term consequences of anxiety and depression: Historical cohort designs based on the HUNT-2 study
- Sivertsen, Børge, PhD Insomnia in older adults. Consequences, assessment and treatment.

2007

V

- Singhammer, John, Dr. philos. Social conditions from before birth to early adulthood – the influence on health and health behaviour
- Janvin, Carmen Ani Cristea, PhD Cognitive impairment in patients with Parkinson's disease: profiles and implications for prognosis

	Braarud, Hanne Cecilie, Dr.psychol.	Infant regulation of distress: A longitudinal study of transactions between mothers and infants
	Tveito, Torill Helene, PhD	Sick Leave and Subjective Health Complaints
	Magnussen, Liv Heide, PhD	Returning disability pensioners with back pain to work
	Thuen, Elin Marie, Dr.philos.	Learning environment, students' coping styles and emotional and behavioural problems. A study of Norwegian secondary school students.
	Solberg, Ole Asbjørn, PhD	Peacekeeping warriors – A longitudinal study of Norwegian peacekeepers in Kosovo
2007		
H	Søreide, Gunn Elisabeth, Dr.philos.	Narrative construction of teacher identity
	Svensen, Erling, PhD	WORK & HEALTH. Cognitive Activation Theory of Stress applied in an organisational setting.
	Øverland, Simon Nygaard, PhD	Mental health and impairment in disability benefits. Studies applying linkages between health surveys and administrative registries.
	Eichele, Tom, PhD	Electrophysiological and Hemodynamic Correlates of Expectancy in Target Processing
	Børhaug, Kjetil, Dr.philos.	Oppseding til demokrati. Ein studie av politisk oppseding i norsk skule.
	Eikeland, Thorleif, Dr.philos.	Om å vokse opp på barnehjem og på sykehus. En undersøkelse av barnehjemsbarns opplevelser på barnehjem sammenholdt med sanatoriebarns beskrivelse av langvarige sykehusopphold – og et forsøk på forklaring.
	Wadel, Carl Cato, Dr.philos.	Medarbeidersamhandling og medarbeiderledelse i en lagbasert organisasjon
	Vinje, Hege Forbech, PhD	Thriving despite adversity: Job engagement and self-care among community nurses
	Noort, Maurits van den, PhD	Working memory capacity and foreign language acquisition
2008		
V	Breivik, Kyrre, Dr.psychol.	The Adjustment of Children and Adolescents in Different Post-Divorce Family Structures. A Norwegian Study of Risks and Mechanisms.
	Johnsen, Grethe E., PhD	Memory impairment in patients with posttraumatic stress disorder
	Sætrevik, Bjørn, PhD	Cognitive Control in Auditory Processing
	Carvalho, Susana Fonseca, PhD	Prevention of bullying in schools: an ecological model
2008		
H	Brønnick, Kolbjørn Selvåg	Attentional dysfunction in dementia associated with Parkinson's disease.

	Posserud, Maj-Britt Rocio	Epidemiology of autism spectrum disorders
	Haug, Ellen	Multilevel correlates of physical activity in the school setting
	Skjerve, Arvid	Assessing mild dementia – a study of brief cognitive tests.
	Kjønniksen, Lise	The association between adolescent experiences in physical activity and leisure time physical activity in adulthood: a ten year longitudinal study
	Gundersen, Hilde	The effects of alcohol and expectancy on brain function
	Omvik, Siri	Insomnia – a night and day problem
2009		
V	Molde, Helge	Pathological gambling: prevalence, mechanisms and treatment outcome.
	Foss, Else	Den omsorgsfulle væremåte. En studie av voksnes væremåte i forhold til barn i barnehagen.
	Westrheim, Kariane	Education in a Political Context: A study of Knowledge Processes and Learning Sites in the PKK.
	Wehling, Eike	Cognitive and olfactory changes in aging
	Wangberg, Silje C.	Internet based interventions to support health behaviours: The role of self-efficacy.
	Nielsen, Morten B.	Methodological issues in research on workplace bullying. Operationalisations, measurements and samples.
	Sandu, Anca Larisa	MRI measures of brain volume and cortical complexity in clinical groups and during development.
	Guribye, Eugene	Refugees and mental health interventions
	Sørensen, Lin	Emotional problems in inattentive children – effects on cognitive control functions.
	Tjomsland, Hege E.	Health promotion with teachers. Evaluation of the Norwegian Network of Health Promoting Schools: Quantitative and qualitative analyses of predisposing, reinforcing and enabling conditions related to teacher participation and program sustainability.
	Helleve, Ingrid	Productive interactions in ICT supported communities of learners
2009		
H	Skorpen, Aina Øye, Christine	Dagliglivet i en psykiatrisk institusjon: En analyse av miljøterapeutiske praksiser
	Andreassen, Cecilie Schou	WORKAHOLISM – Antecedents and Outcomes
	Stang, Ingun	Being in the same boat: An empowerment intervention in breast cancer self-help groups
	Sequeira, Sarah Dorothee Dos Santos	The effects of background noise on asymmetrical speech perception

	Kleiven, Jo, dr.philos.	The Lillehammer scales: Measuring common motives for vacation and leisure behavior
	Jónsdóttir, Guðrún	Dubito ergo sum? Ni jenter møter naturfaglig kunnskap.
	Hove, Oddbjørn	Mental health disorders in adults with intellectual disabilities - Methods of assessment and prevalence of mental health disorders and problem behaviour
	Wageningen, Heidi Karin van	The role of glutamate on brain function
	Bjørkvik, Jofrid	God nok? Selvaktelse og interpersonlig fungering hos pasienter innen psykisk helsevern: Forholdet til diagnoser, symptomer og behandlingsutbytte
	Andersson, Martin	A study of attention control in children and elderly using a forced-attention dichotic listening paradigm
	Almås, Aslaug Grov	Teachers in the Digital Network Society: Visions and Realities. A study of teachers' experiences with the use of ICT in teaching and learning.
	Ulvik, Marit	Lærerutdanning som dannning? Tre stemmer i diskusjonen
2010		
V	Skår, Randi	Læringsprosesser i sykepleieres profesjonsutøvelse. En studie av sykepleieres læringserfaringer.
	Roald, Knut	Kvalitetsvurdering som organisasjonslæring mellom skole og skoleeigar
	Lunde, Linn-Heidi	Chronic pain in older adults. Consequences, assessment and treatment.
	Danielsen, Anne Grete	Perceived psychosocial support, students' self-reported academic initiative and perceived life satisfaction
	Hysing, Mari	Mental health in children with chronic illness
	Olsen, Olav Kjellevold	Are good leaders moral leaders? The relationship between effective military operational leadership and morals
	Riese, Hanne	Friendship and learning. Entrepreneurship education through mini-enterprises.
	Holthe, Asle	Evaluating the implementation of the Norwegian guidelines for healthy school meals: A case study involving three secondary schools
H	Hauge, Lars Johan	Environmental antecedents of workplace bullying: A multi-design approach
	Bjørkelo, Brita	Whistleblowing at work: Antecedents and consequences
	Reme, Silje Endresen	Common Complaints – Common Cure? Psychiatric comorbidity and predictors of treatment outcome in low back pain and irritable bowel syndrome
	Helland, Wenche Andersen	Communication difficulties in children identified with psychiatric problems

Beneventi, Harald	Neuronal correlates of working memory in dyslexia
Thygesen, Elin	Subjective health and coping in care-dependent old persons living at home
Aanes, Mette Marthinussen	Poor social relationships as a threat to belongingness needs. Interpersonal stress and subjective health complaints: Mediating and moderating factors.
Anker, Morten Gustav	Client directed outcome informed couple therapy
Bull, Torill	Combining employment and child care: The subjective well-being of single women in Scandinavia and in Southern Europe
Viig, Nina Grieg	Tilrettelegging for læreres deltakelse i helsefremmende arbeid. En kvalitativ og kvantitativ analyse av sammenhengen mellom organisatoriske forhold og læreres deltakelse i utvikling og implementering av Europeisk Nettverk av Helsefremmende Skoler i Norge
Wolff, Katharina	To know or not to know? Attitudes towards receiving genetic information among patients and the general public.
Ogden, Terje, dr.philos.	Familiebasert behandling av alvorlige atferdsproblemer blant barn og ungdom. Evaluering og implementering av evidensbaserte behandlingsprogrammer i Norge.
Solberg, Mona Elin	Self-reported bullying and victimisation at school: Prevalence, overlap and psychosocial adjustment.
2011	
V	
Bye, Hege Høivik	Self-presentation in job interviews. Individual and cultural differences in applicant self-presentation during job interviews and hiring managers' evaluation
Notelaers, Guy	Workplace bullying. A risk control perspective.
Moltu, Christian	Being a therapist in difficult therapeutic impasses. A hermeneutic phenomenological analysis of skilled psychotherapists' experiences, needs, and strategies in difficult therapies ending well.
Myrseth, Helga	Pathological Gambling - Treatment and Personality Factors
Schanche, Elisabeth	From self-criticism to self-compassion. An empirical investigation of hypothesized change processes in the Affect Phobia Treatment Model of short-term dynamic psychotherapy for patients with Cluster C personality disorders.
Våpenstad, Eystein Victor, dr.philos.	Det tempererte nærvær. En teoretisk undersøkelse av psykoterapeutens subjektivitet i psykoanalyse og psykoanalytisk psykoterapi.
Haukebø, Kristin	Cognitive, behavioral and neural correlates of dental and intra-oral injection phobia. Results from one treatment and one fMRI study of randomized, controlled design.
Harris, Anette	Adaptation and health in extreme and isolated environments. From 78°N to 75°S.

	Bjørknes, Ragnhild	Parent Management Training-Oregon Model: intervention effects on maternal practice and child behavior in ethnic minority families
	Mamen, Asgeir	Aspects of using physical training in patients with substance dependence and additional mental distress
	Espevik, Roar	Expert teams: Do shared mental models of team members make a difference
	Haara, Frode Olav	Unveiling teachers' reasons for choosing practical activities in mathematics teaching
2011		
H	Hauge, Hans Abraham	How can employee empowerment be made conducive to both employee health and organisation performance? An empirical investigation of a tailor-made approach to organisation learning in a municipal public service organisation.
	Melkevik, Ole Rogstad	Screen-based sedentary behaviours: pastimes for the poor, inactive and overweight? A cross-national survey of children and adolescents in 39 countries.
	Vøllestad, Jon	Mindfulness-based treatment for anxiety disorders. A quantitative review of the evidence, results from a randomized controlled trial, and a qualitative exploration of patient experiences.
	Tolo, Astrid	Hvordan blir lærerkompetanse konstruert? En kvalitativ studie av PPU-studenters kunnskapsutvikling.
	Saus, Evelyn-Rose	Training effectiveness: Situation awareness training in simulators
	Nordgreen, Tine	Internet-based self-help for social anxiety disorder and panic disorder. Factors associated with effect and use of self-help.
	Munkvold, Linda Helen	Oppositional Defiant Disorder: Informant discrepancies, gender differences, co-occurring mental health problems and neurocognitive function.
	Christiansen, Øivin	Når barn plasseres utenfor hjemmet: beslutninger, forløp og relasjoner. Under barnevernets (ved)tak.
	Brunborg, Geir Scott	Conditionability and Reinforcement Sensitivity in Gambling Behaviour
	Hystad, Sigurd William	Measuring Psychological Resiliency: Validation of an Adapted Norwegian Hardiness Scale
2012		
V	Roness, Dag	Hvorfor bli lærer? Motivasjon for utdanning og utøving.
	Fjermestad, Krister Westlye	The therapeutic alliance in cognitive behavioural therapy for youth anxiety disorders
	Jenssen, Eirik Sørnes	Tilpasset opplæring i norsk skole: politikeres, skolelederes og læreres handlingsvalg
	Saksvik-Lehouillier, Ingvild	Shift work tolerance and adaptation to shift work among offshore workers and nurses

	Johansen, Venke Frederike	Når det intime blir offentlig. Om kvinners åpenhet om brystkreft og om markedsføring av brystkreftsaken.
	Herheim, Rune	Pupils collaborating in pairs at a computer in mathematics learning: investigating verbal communication patterns and qualities
	Vie, Tina Løkke	Cognitive appraisal, emotions and subjective health complaints among victims of workplace bullying: A stress-theoretical approach
	Jones, Lise Øen	Effects of reading skills, spelling skills and accompanying efficacy beliefs on participation in education. A study in Norwegian prisons.
2012		
H	Danielsen, Yngvild Sørebo	Childhood obesity – characteristics and treatment. Psychological perspectives.
	Horverak, Jøri Gytre	Sense or sensibility in hiring processes. Interviewee and interviewer characteristics as antecedents of immigrant applicants' employment probabilities. An experimental approach.
	Jøsendal, Ola	Development and evaluation of BE smokeFREE, a school-based smoking prevention program
	Osnes, Berge	Temporal and Posterior Frontal Involvement in Auditory Speech Perception
	Drageset, Sigrunn	Psychological distress, coping and social support in the diagnostic and preoperative phase of breast cancer
	Aasland, Merethe Schanke	Destructive leadership: Conceptualization, measurement, prevalence and outcomes
	Bakibinga, Pauline	The experience of job engagement and self-care among Ugandan nurses and midwives
	Skogen, Jens Christoffer	Foetal and early origins of old age health. Linkage between birth records and the old age cohort of the Hordaland Health Study (HUSK)
	Leveresen, Ingrid	Adolescents' leisure activity participation and their life satisfaction: The role of demographic characteristics and psychological processes
	Hanss, Daniel	Explaining sustainable consumption: Findings from cross-sectional and intervention approaches
	Rød, Per Arne	Barn i klem mellom foreldrekonflikter og samfunnsmessig beskyttelse
2013		
V	Mentzoni, Rune Aune	Structural Characteristics in Gambling
	Knudsen, Ann Kristin	Long-term sickness absence and disability pension award as consequences of common mental disorders. Epidemiological studies using a population-based health survey and official ill health benefit registries.
	Strand, Mari	Emotional information processing in recurrent MDD

	Veseth, Marius	Recovery in bipolar disorder. A reflexive-collaborative exploration of the lived experiences of healing and growth when battling a severe mental illness
	Mæland, Silje	Sick leave for patients with severe subjective health complaints. Challenges in general practice.
	Mjaaland, Thera	At the frontiers of change? Women and girls' pursuit of education in north-western Tigray, Ethiopia
	Odéen, Magnus	Coping at work. The role of knowledge and coping expectancies in health and sick leave.
	Hynninen, Kia Minna Johanna	Anxiety, depression and sleep disturbance in chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). Associations, prevalence and effect of psychological treatment.
	Flo, Elisabeth	Sleep and health in shift working nurses
	Aasen, Elin Margrethe	From paternalism to patient participation? The older patients undergoing hemodialysis, their next of kin and the nurses: a discursive perspective on perception of patient participation in dialysis units
	Ekorås, Belinda	Emotional and Behavioural Problems in Children: Self-perception, peer relationships, and motor abilities
	Corbin, J. Hope	North-South Partnerships for Health: Key Factors for Partnership Success from the Perspective of the KIWAKKUKI
	Birkeland, Marianne Skogbrott	Development of global self-esteem: The transition from adolescence to adulthood
2013	Gianella-Malca, Camila	Challenges in Implementing the Colombian Constitutional Court's Health-Care System Ruling of 2008
H	Hovland, Anders	Panic disorder – Treatment outcomes and psychophysiological concomitants
	Mortensen, Øystein	The transition to parenthood – Couple relationships put to the test
	Årdal, Guro	Major Depressive Disorder – a Ten Year Follow-up Study. Inhibition, Information Processing and Health Related Quality of Life
	Johansen, Rino Bandlitz	The impact of military identity on performance in the Norwegian armed forces
	Bøe, Tormod	Socioeconomic Status and Mental Health in Children and Adolescents
2014	Nordmo, Ivar	Gjennom nåløyet – studenters læringserfaringer i psykologutdanningen
V	Dovran, Anders	Childhood Trauma and Mental Health Problems in Adult Life
	Hegelstad, Wenche ten Velden	Early Detection and Intervention in Psychosis: A Long-Term Perspective
	Urheim, Ragnar	Forståelse av pasientagresjon og forklaringer på nedgang i voldsrate ved Regional sikkerhetsavdeling, Sandviken sykehus

	Kinn, Liv Grethe	Round-Trips to Work. Qualitative studies of how persons with severe mental illness experience work integration.
	Rød, Anne Marie Kinn	Consequences of social defeat stress for behaviour and sleep. Short-term and long-term assessments in rats.
	Nygård, Merethe	Schizophrenia – Cognitive Function, Brain Abnormalities, and Cannabis Use
	Tjora, Tore	Smoking from adolescence through adulthood: the role of family, friends, depression and socioeconomic status. Predictors of smoking from age 13 to 30 in the “The Norwegian Longitudinal Health Behaviour Study” (NLHB)
	Vangsnes, Vigdis	The Dramaturgy and Didactics of Computer Gaming. A Study of a Medium in the Educational Context of Kindergartens.
	Nordahl, Kristin Berg	Early Father-Child Interaction in a Father-Friendly Context: Gender Differences, Child Outcomes, and Protective Factors related to Fathers’ Parenting Behaviors with One-year-olds
2014 H	Sandvik, Asle Makoto	Psychopathy – the heterogeneity of the construct
	Skotheim, Siv	Maternal emotional distress and early mother-infant interaction: Psychological, social and nutritional contributions
	Halleland, Helene Barone	Executive Functioning in adult Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). From basic mechanisms to functional outcome.
	Halvorsen, Kirsti Vindal	Partnerskap i lærerutdanning, sett fra et økologisk perspektiv
	Solbue, Vibeke	Dialogen som visker ut kategorier. En studie av hvilke erfaringer innvandererungdommer og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre har med videregående skole. Hva forteller ungdommenes erfaringer om videregående skoles håndtering av etniske ulikheter?
	Kvalevaag, Anne Lise	Fathers’ mental health and child development. The predictive value of fathers’ psychological distress during pregnancy for the social, emotional and behavioural development of their children
	Sandal, Ann Karin	Ungdom og utdanningsval. Om elevar sine opplevingar av val og overgangsprosessar.
	Haug, Thomas	Predictors and moderators of treatment outcome from high- and low-intensity cognitive behavioral therapy for anxiety disorders. Association between patient and process factors, and the outcome from guided self-help, stepped care, and face-to-face cognitive behavioral therapy.
	Sjølie, Hege	Experiences of Members of a Crisis Resolution Home Treatment Team. Personal history, professional role and emotional support in a CRHT team.
	Falkenberg, Liv Eggset	Neuronal underpinnings of healthy and dysfunctional cognitive control

	Mrdalj, Jelena	The early life condition. Importance for sleep, circadian rhythmicity, behaviour and response to later life challenges
	Hesjedal, Elisabeth	Tverrprofjonelt samarbeid mellom skule og barnevern: Kva kan støtte utsette barn og unge?
2015	Hauken, May Aasebø	« <i>The cancer treatment was only half the work!</i> » A Mixed-Method Study of Rehabilitation among Young Adult Cancer Survivors
V	Ryland, Hilde Katrin	Social functioning and mental health in children: the influence of chronic illness and intellectual function
	Rønsen, Anne Kristin	Vurdering som profesjonskompetanse. Refleksjonsbasert utvikling av læreres kompetanse i formativ vurdering
	Hoff, Helge Andreas	Thinking about Symptoms of Psychopathy in Norway: Content Validation of the Comprehensive Assessment of Psychopathic Personality (CAPP) Model in a Norwegian Setting
	Schmid, Marit Therese	Executive Functioning in recurrent- and first episode Major Depressive Disorder. Longitudinal studies
	Sand, Liv	Body Image Distortion and Eating Disturbances in Children and Adolescents
	Matanda, Dennis Juma	Child physical growth and care practices in Kenya: Evidence from Demographic and Health Surveys
	Amugsi, Dickson Abanimi	Child care practices, resources for care, and nutritional outcomes in Ghana: Findings from Demographic and Health Surveys
	Jakobsen, Hilde	The good beating: Social norms supporting men's partner violence in Tanzania
	Sagoe, Dominic	Nonmedical anabolic-androgenic steroid use: Prevalence, attitudes, and social perception
	Eide, Helene Marie Kjærgård	Narrating the relationship between leadership and learning outcomes. A study of public narratives in the Norwegian educational sector.
2015	Wubs, Annegreet Gera	Intimate partner violence among adolescents in South Africa and Tanzania
H	Hjelmervik, Helene Susanne	Sex and sex-hormonal effects on brain organization of fronto-parietal networks
	Dahl, Berit Misund	The meaning of professional identity in public health nursing
	Røykenes, Kari	Testangst hos sykepleierstudenter: «Alternativ behandling»
	Bless, Josef Johann	The smartphone as a research tool in psychology. Assessment of language lateralization and training of auditory attention.
	Løvvik, Camilla Margrethe Sigvaldsen	Common mental disorders and work participation – the role of return-to-work expectations

	Lehmann, Stine	Mental Disorders in Foster Children: A Study of Prevalence, Comorbidity, and Risk Factors
	Knapstad, Marit	Psychological factors in long-term sickness absence: the role of shame and social support. Epidemiological studies based on the Health Assets Project.
2016	Kvestad, Ingrid	Biological risks and neurodevelopment in young North Indian children
V	Sælør, Knut Tore	Hinderløyper, halmstrå og hengende snører. En kvalitativ studie av håp innenfor psykisk helse- og rusfeltet.
	Mellingen, Sonja	Alkoholbruk, partilfredshet og samlivsstatus. Før, inn i, og etter svangerskapet – korrelater eller konsekvenser?