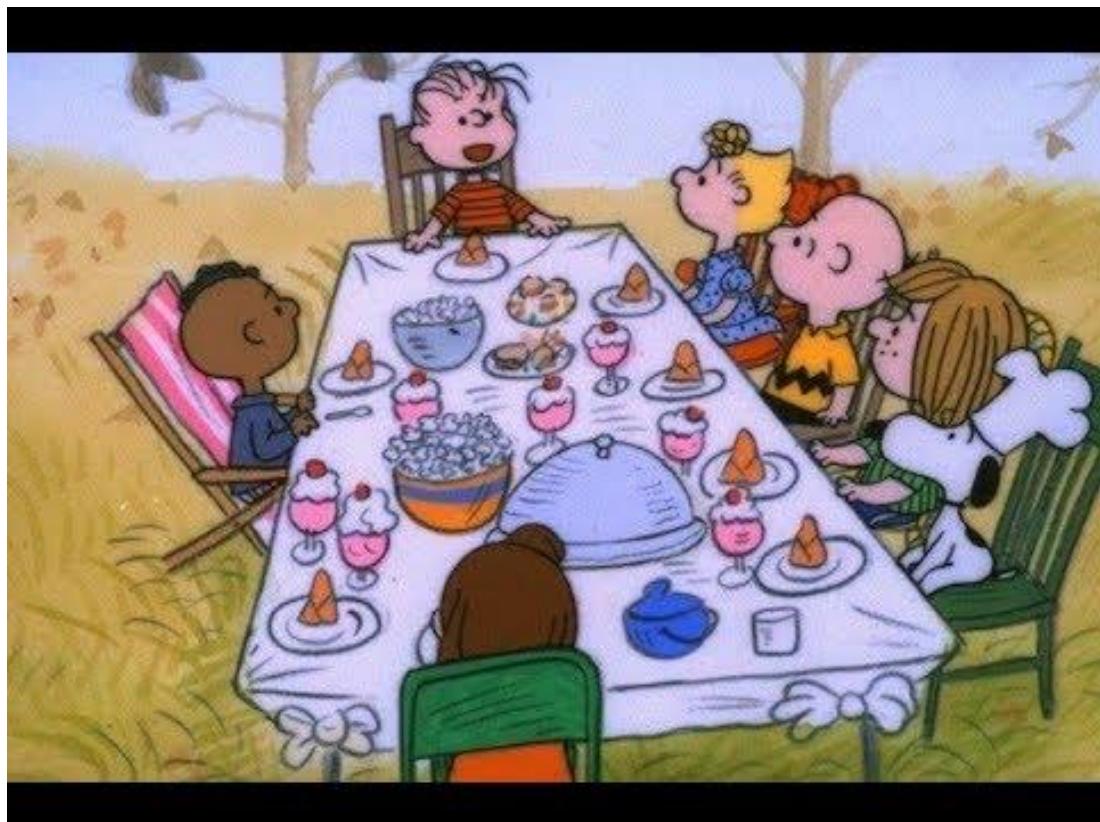


Constructing Danish membership: A critical analysis of social representations of culture and deviance in the multilingual classroom



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Sara Saaby Bach, 2013-6369

Supervisor: Ignacio Brescó de Luna

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Abstract

Across many European countries, the debate concerning national identity and the restrictive politics in the foreign- and integration field is dominating the public discourse; Denmark is no exception to this tendency. A large number of migrants and descendants express in national surveys, that they do not consider themselves to be Danish members. The societal issues of this are evident by the segregation in parallel societies, the lacking participation in the democratic elections and the emergence of home-grown terrorism.

This study illuminates the elementary school as a setting for integration through the construction of national identity and membership. For this study, this is investigated through the teachers' conceptualizations of culture and cultural deviance in the multicultural classroom. The study is conducted within a meta-theoretical framework of cultural psychology and critical discourse analysis, that considers the institutional practice of the schools as both constructed by and constructing of social structures of knowledge and social identities. The social constructions of knowledge and social identities are considered to be naturalized through processes of objectification and anchoring in the institutional settings, where the constructions are no longer questioned by the agents. The thesis is based on a qualitative case-study of 4 Danish elementary school teachers, who through semi-structured interviews are interviewed as institutional agents, who are acting within a social frame of political discourses and demands – both academic and social. The analysis is a deconstruction of the objectified and anchored knowledge by the teachers as they meet the demands of both policy-makers and bilingual children in the classroom. The findings of the analysis are then discussed from the theoretical perspectives of Social Representation Theory and Cultural-Historical Activity Theory.

The findings of the study suggest, that the teachers of the Danish elementary school represent culture as an explanatory factor of behavior, perceptions and feelings of the individual child. Culture becomes represented as a rigid container of individuals, who are perceived (and problematized) through these static explanations. The consequence of this conceptualization of culture is argued to be exclusion of bilingual

children from the Danish national/cultural group. The school hereby becomes a setting that does not promote the membership of bilingual children, but instead force an assimilation and an (unintended) exclusion of the children. The problems of integration are obviously not solved with this conclusion, but the study suggests a theoretically informed conceptualization of culture in the educational system could be a step in the direction of integration.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The current state of the world is dominated by political turmoil, states of war, hunger and persecution of various religious and political groups, which has led to an all-time high number of refugees and migrants crossing the borders of Europe. The population of Denmark is currently made up by 12,9 % immigrants and descendants (National Statistics, 2017) and the changed demands that have followed the increased immigration and multiculturalization of Danish society have caused great debate – both in the mass media and at the political scene. A failing integration and the characteristics of being Danish have been highly debated topics in the past nearly three decades; these debates of integration and ‘Danishness’ touches upon both (Danish) linguistic skills, national/western knowledge of democracy and equality, religious practices and the physical location of specific groups of the population.

The Danish Government has with the largest party of the opposition implemented more and more restrictive politics in the field of integration and foreign affairs. It has been made more difficult for refugees to seek asylum, but it has also been made more difficult for especially the Muslim population to practice their religion and ways of living unrestricted and included; burka and niqab have been banned from the public space, Muslim private schools are losing government support and – as a more symbolic gesture – pork has been voted the Danish national dish. It appears as though, it has become more and more difficult to be accepted as a Danish national member as the demands are increasing and excluding a large part of the Danish population.

Danes with a different national background than Danish are problematized across various scenes; but why are we problematizing the diversity and integration of new-Danes in contemporary society? The public debate and political actions point in the direction of issues concerning parallel-societies, radicalization in the Muslim population of Denmark and an unwillingness (and impossibility) of non-western integration (Information, 2016). The terrorist attacks that have been carried out in several major cities across Europe have been conducted by offenders born and living in the country they attacked - the so-called *homegrown terrorism* as we experienced in the Copenhagen attacks in 2015. In the most recent citizenship report by the Department of

foreign affairs and integration, only 24 % of descendants stated they felt like Danes (Department of Foreign Affairs and Integration, 2018). Furthermore, in Denmark, the voting percentage is markedly lower for descendants of a non-western background than both ethnic Danes and first-generation immigrants/refugees (Bhatti, Dahlgaard, Hansen, & Hansen, 2016). Less than half the population of descendants with non-western background voted at the Government election in 2015 opposed to the 87 % of ethnic Danes (*ibid.*, p. 19). But why do people born and raised in Denmark not feel included in the Danish community? Why does a man attack his own (?) society and nation? How come one grouping of the population not partake in the democratic society to the same degree as the other when they have been through the exact same(?) institutional system? This thesis seeks to illuminate this societal issue of segregation by exploring the Danish elementary school and the construction of Danish identity and membership taking place therein.

1.1. Context of research

The increased multiculturalization of Denmark has also left its mark on the Danish elementary school. The demands on policy makers and teachers in the educational system have changed as the diversity among the children has increased. This means, that both the educational policies and practice of education now must be including of a higher variation of linguistic, social, economic and religious backgrounds and practices. However, for children with a different national background than Danish, the equality and recognition of membership appear to be restricted by the current political actions and educational policies (Horst & Gitz-Johansen, 2010); the educational policies are found to be homogenizing and thus excluding and marginalizing the children who do not fit in.

The setting of the school is a starting point into Danish society as members of that society, and the policies surrounding and the practice and interaction taking place in the multicultural classroom are thus a significant place of research in an increasingly globalized and multicultural world. I am for the thesis appropriating a cultural psychological and discursive approach. By doing this, the social context of the issue raised is highly relevant for understanding the current situation and the historical, contextual and social conditions for its development. In terms of integration and edu-

cation(al practice), the context is characterized by two developments; 1) the racialized turn in Danish politics and policies and 2) the restructuring and reformation of the Danish elementary school – both in general and in bilingual education specifically. These two developments affecting the field of bilingual education and integration are in the following being outlined and put in relation to the issue raised in this thesis.

1.1.1. The Danish welfare system: racialized turn in politics

The political scene and discourse is in a democratic society highly relevant as the formal or explicit structuring of society occurs through legislation and reformation by elected politicians. Further, as politicians and policy-makers draw up the legal and formal framework of society, the implicit structuring of a normative structure is outlined (Fairclough, 2013). This means, that political actions not only function through the formality and explicit nature of the law, but also by the naturalized representation, implicitly, underlying the laws and policies. That is, the normative nature of public opinion and formal nature of politics cannot be separated as they mutually influence one another (Tollefson, 2015).

As I describe the development in Danish politics as a *racialized* turn, the term requires a clarification; a racialized turn refers to society or policies, that increasingly use race or ethnicity as a social differentiation marker (Winston & Winston, 2012, p. 567). At a more extreme, the racist society legislates against and lawfully discriminate against specific racial groups (*ibid.*) as it was the case during Apartheid. Without going into further discussion of these distinctions, I will refer to Danish politics as increasingly racialized as the law still explicitly prevents discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity and religion, but ethnicity is more and more becoming a mark of differentiation – this contemplation will be elaborated on in the following.

The Scandinavian welfare system has long been a proud characteristic of Danish society. The welfare system of Denmark ensures that all citizens have the right and opportunity to have a living wage, hospital care and education (Pedersen, 2011). Different circumstances have put a pressure on this welfare system – for instance, the financial crisis in 2007 and the high number of Bosnian refugees in 1992 and again

of Syrian refugees in 2014. Traditionally, the political scene has been characterized by the (social) democratic and liberal poles, but currently the Danish political scene is becoming increasingly polarized and diverse. The Danish political scene has across several parties turned towards a more racialized line, and there has been implemented more and more discriminatory politics. More and more nationalistic parties have emerged and gained popularity in the broader population – most recently “*New Liberal*¹” has been accepted for the next parliament election. They are proclaiming a very restrictive line in integration- and foreign affairs, where “*citizenship should not be given to immigrants and descendants from countries, that rest upon an Islamic culture and at the same time are overrepresented in the criminal statistics*” (Ny Borgerlige, 2018)². More dominantly, “*Danish people party*³” has been highly influential in Danish politics since 1995 where the party was founded, but they have gained increasing support and is today the third largest party in Denmark. Their official line is founded on a nationalistic view and the party has since the change of government in 2015 contributed to carrying out 85 restrictive actions in the “foreign” field (Dansk Folkeparti, 2018)⁴. These restrictions have both made it more difficult for refugees to cross the Danish border to seek asylum, but they also involve restrictions in the acquisition of Danish citizenship for descendants, personal freedom (e.g. to practice religion) and economic benefits for immigrants and descendants living in Denmark. These restrictions have for a large part been supported by the largest party of the opposition, *the social democrats*. This means, that the three largest parties of the Danish parliament currently are supporting increasingly restrictive politics in the field of integration.

More specifically, the field of educational politics has over the past years turned towards a racialized line of policy (Horst & Gitz-Johansen, 2010), and The Danish (public) elementary school appears to become an arena where the political battle of values takes place. The following section will outline the changed policies in the educational field.

¹ Translation: *Ny Borgerlige*

² <https://nyeborgerlige.dk/politik/udlaendingepolitik/>, 17/4-2018

³ Translation: *Dansk Folkeparti*

⁴ <https://danskfolkeparti.dk/politik/stramninger-paa-udlaendingepolitikken/>, 30.4.-2018

1.1.2. The Danish elementary school: a change of policy

The Danish school system has since the implementation of a new school reform in 2010 undergone a change of both policy and practice as well as purpose and outcome. The (elementary) school of western society – including Denmark – has long been characterized as an institution of *bildung*; that is, the purpose of school has previously gone beyond the educational or academic aims and achievements and instead been primarily focusing on “building” mentalities (or identitites, if you will) that ‘conform’ to and take part of a joined society, founded on mutual values and traditions (Biesta, 2002, pp. 345-346). The Danish elementary school has long had it as a primary task to *create a mutual individuality through disciplining, bildung and education* (Pedersen, 2011, p. 170). That is, the elementary school has been a place for diversity and tolerance in its construction of a coherent and mutual identity for the members of society.

However, the restructuring of the school system has brought with it a new agenda – and consequences. The restructuring of the school can be seen as both a product and a producer of the neo-liberal turn in Danish society (Pedersen, 2011). The neo-liberal society is characterized by the individual focus – both in terms of rights and responsibilities – and the work-fare perspective of labor as the primary aim – opposed to welfare and the social aims thereof (Pedersen, 2011). The neo-liberal perspective can also be traced to the new structuring of the school.

Firstly, the new school reform entails children spending more time in the schools, which has shifted the primary socialization from the institution of the family to the institution of school (Szulevicz & Tanggaard, 2014, pp. 41-42); this makes the setting of the school more influential in the development of children and their sense of belonging. Secondly, children and teachers alike are subjected to increasingly standardized methods and aims (Szulevicz, Eckerdal, Marsico, & Valsiner, 2016, p. 451); this standardization leaves little room for individuality as all children and teachers must follow same protocols and measures. Thirdly, the purpose of the elementary school has become increasingly centered around academic achievements and labour preparation (Pedersen, 2011); this has subsided the focus on social *bildung* that has previously characterized the Danish elementary school and children

are now prepared more for the (liberal) labour market than the (social) society. Fourthly, and finally, teachers have in practice been devaluated as competent professionals and have become means for the achievement of pre-defined goals through these standardized methods of teaching in order to reach the stardardized goals (Szulevicz, Eckerdal, Marsico, & Valsiner, 2016, p. 452); thus, the professional and individual assesment of the teacher have been subsided for the goal-oriented, quantitative assesment of the politicians.

The reformation in 2010 included a restructuring of the entire school system that have affected not only the institution of school, but as the institution of school has changed, the change reflects and affects the societal order. Furthermore, the most recent change of policy has been directed exclusively at the bilingual field of education – albeit, the restructuring of the bilingual programs in consequence is affecting the ordinary practice of education. The former policy on bilingual education involved special reception classes, that would consist of mother-tongue education and an introduction to Danish language and cultural practices. Children attending reception classes would then be transferred into the ordinary classes when they had obtained sufficient (Danish) linguistic skills. Despite the both academic, linguistic and social gains of receptions classes (Duarte, 2011), these classes are currently shut down. The change of policy in the bilingual field, that is currently or is going to be implemented in the Danish municipalities, entails even newly arrived children being enrolled directly into the ordinary classes within their district. The purpose of the restructuring of bilingual education is – among others – to ensure a more equal distribution of bilingual children (and families) to avoid ghettoization (Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 2) and the restructuring of bilingual education is thus not just an educational move, but an integrational move as well; the new policy is a part of an overall attempt to improve integration by enforcing integration in the school system. However, the restructuring of bilingual education has brought with it a need for investigation; at a practical level, by restructuring the organization of bilingual education from reception classes to ordinary classes, the practice of bilingual education has shifted from a special-needs discipline towards an inclusive discipline; an inclusive practice that could be restricted by the standardized methods and measures outlined by the current school reform. At a more ideological level, as the primary task of the elementary school has shifted from social building to academic achievement and as the schools

are facing an increasing diversity, a question arises of how the general *bildung* is construed and constructed in the elementary school today. For this study, I investigate this *bildung* through the conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance in relation to national identity and membership as it is discursively constructed by the teachers.

As the above has illustrated, the political landscape of integration and (bilingual) education has changed and entails a shift in expected practice from teachers in the school system – and representation of the children therein. The political discourse and frame for bilingual education thus are an ideal starting point in the illumination of how Danish identity and membership is constructed through conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance in the Danish elementary school. The following section will provide an overview of the findings from the preliminary study, that investigated the educational policies for bilingual children.

1.1.3. Preliminary study: macro-analysis of municipal policy

This thesis finds its starting point in a preliminary study, that illuminated and critically examined the educational policy of Aalborg Municipality (2017) and the government regulated politics regarding bilingual education (Department of Education, 2017). The study was conducted at a macro level of analysis (see figure 2, p. 19) that focused on the political and societal framing of bilingual educational practice. The study was conducted through both the theoretical and analytical scope of *critical discourse analysis* (Fairclough, 2013; 2008). The study was thus based on the assumption, that the political discourses and representations are in a interconnected relationship with both institutional practice and individual development (Hedegaard, 2012). By conducting a critical discourse analysis, I was able to deconstruct the common sense and naturalized nature of discourses. This made me able to illuminate how a common knowledge of bilingual children and culture was constructed in the educational policies, thus constructing the social identities of bilingual children and positioning them in the social order.

Similar studies investigating the educational policies and their framing for membership of bilingual children have been conducted in Switzerland (Dubois-Shaik, 2014),

Greece (Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2011) and Austria (Wodak, 2013). These studies found a discriminatory and excluding definition of national identity and membership present in the educational policies. The findings of my critical discourse analysis – that investigated the Danish case – support the findings from similar studies in the field of bilingual education; I found that the Danish policies in their use of language were generalizing and marginalizing the children, thus contributing to the distinction and segregation of ‘us’ and ‘them’. I further found, that this distinction was founded on the representation of culture present within the policies; Danish culture appeared to be a box to fit into – a box defined by the ‘others’, making integration a difficult task. This is suggested by four major findings in the analysis;

Firstly, *bilingual children are discursively represented as ‘others’ in the policies*. The policies appeared to have an explicit aim of promoting equality and integration; however, through the study, I found that the more implicit or underlying assumptions of the policies were founded on representations of bilingual children as being both academically, linguistically and socially (or culturally) disabled or ‘behind’. This was found to discursively maintain the position of bilingual children as being ‘others’ in the Danish elementary school. Secondly, *bilingual children are discursively being represented as one generalized, homogenous group*. An explicit point of deviance is in the policies found to be language as the children in question are defined as bilingual. This definition of bilingualism in the policies is extremely wide and it covers all children speaking a different language than Danish – including children, who are fluent in Danish. The policies explicitly promote individualization and tolerance, but the representation of bilingualism is generalized as a character trait, dividing monolingual children from bilingual. This leaves bilingual children without the same opportunity – or right – for diversity and individuality. Thirdly, *culture is represented as the point of deviance, not language*. The division based on language (bilingual) appears to rather be a matter of culture as the restructuring of bilingual education appears to put a larger focus on cultural knowledge, opposed to linguistic or academic knowledge. The findings suggested that culture and not language was the point of deviance, thus leaving language as a symbol of culture and not just a medium of communication. This was made evident by the targeting of *culturally* diverse children as opposed to the *linguistically* diverse children; the policies did not appear to be targeted the e.g. Danish-German children near the German Border, but the chil-

dren needing cultural cultivation. Fourthly, *the definition of culture is discursively represented as a static container*. Culture is in the policies put forth as a box, that bilingual children are going to assimilate into. This narrow definition of culture is through this conceptualization making the integration of cultures impossible, because the definition of the one is founded on the distancing from the other.

The conclusion of the study raised an issue of the conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance; teachers are within the policies expected to “*be able to avoid categorizations and prejudices and meet the individual human as an individual and not a representative of culture*” (Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 2). However, as I found in the preliminary study, the frame for teachers practicing inclusive education, that promote national membership, are limited by the legal and official guidelines provided by both government and municipality. But how do teachers within the school, in the classroom, conceptualize and act upon culture and deviance? And how do they within this frame construct the defintion of Danish identity and membership? These questions were not possible to investigate within the framework of the critical discourse analysis, and they are thus being the center of investigation in this thesis.

1.1.4. State of the art

As cultural diversity and multiculturalism have increased in the schools, teachers in the multilingual/multicultural classrooms and the institution of school itself have been center for much research over the past years. Much research – including the preliminary study for this thesis – have studied educational policies across both Europe and the U.S., and the findings have been that the educational policies of bilingual children are marginalizing and excluding bilingual children (Dubois-Shaik, 2014; Wodak, 2013; Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2011; Dubetz & Jong, 2011). The previous sections have outlined the context of this study and pointed to an increasingly discriminatory discourse and course of action at a societal level, which have led me to a narrower focus on the institutional practice of the teachers. This section will chart and clarify the current knowledge in the field of bilingual education and inclusive education in a multicultural classroom in order to place this thesis in the stream of research, focusing on the practice and institutional role of the teacher in a multi-

cultural classroom. The overview will clarify the need for further research in the field and point out the gaps and missing perspectives in the current research.

The field of bilingual education has been approached by a variety of scientific branches – political science, sociology, educational science, psychology, etc. – and it touches upon a number of aspects involved in education and integration as it takes place in the setting of the school. Teachers have been a focal point in research regarding the education and integration of bilingual children and their role as educators have been found to entail various aspects and tasks. The overview will be organized by a thematic structuring in relation to how the discipline of bilingual education has been viewed and how the teachers thus are being considered or positioned in the process of education and integration of bilingual children.

1.1.4.1. Bilingual education: a special-needs practice

Bilingual children and bilingual education have in practice and research long been considered a special-needs discipline due to the previous structuring of the schools. Much research in the field of bilingual education has thus focused on the special bilingual programs children enter, when they do not have the necessary linguistic skills, that are required for entering the ordinary classes.

Teachers in bilingual education are on the one hand agents of the government and municipality *and* on the other hand advocates of the children (Hanna, 2013); that is, they must follow the demands and goals set from municipal and/or government side, while at the same time, advocating children, who are left powerless by the social structure. Thus, teachers in bilingual programs have been found to perform a special-needs practice, where they through their practice must uneven the social injustice and discrimination towards bilingual children (Dubetz & Jong, 2011). However, in order to not simply reproduce the unequal power relations of society, that marginalize and exclude bilingual children, teacher must be aware of the power mechanisms and representations involved in bilingual education; and teachers in bilingual education tend to perform a homogenizing practice, that renders bilingual children unrecognized and unaccepted (Keddie, 2012).

When considering bilingual education, a special-needs practice, the role of the teacher is that of a supporting entity that should help bilingual children reach the same level both linguistically, academically and socially. Children are thus explicitly represented as disabled in the educational system, which essentially differentiates them from the rest of the group.

1.1.4.2. Bilingual education: an inclusive practice

The practice and purpose of education have changed with the more diverse group of children in the classroom, caused by both an increasing number of bilingual children in general and by the restructuring of bilingual education; bilingual education has thus become an inclusive practice. Inclusive education entails viewing the classroom as an entity and not exclude or marginalize pupils on the basis of ethnic, linguistic or socioeconomic background (Florian, 2012).

Teachers in a multicultural classroom are bound to follow the curriculum for the elementary school, that is dedicated all children – both mono- and bilingual; the teachers' interpretation and appropriation of school curriculum are thus found to be significant in the construction of social identities in the classroom (Wortham, 2003). As bilingual children are part of the ordinary classes, bilingualism is still found to be categorized as abnormal by the teachers (Dooly, 2007). That is, although it is explicitly tolerated or even perceived as a positive factor, bilingual children are still facing a categorization of being othered by the teachers. Similarly, the children in a multicultural classroom experience being perceived in relation to – or in opposition of – the ruling, monolingual standards of teacher practice (Stille, 2015); in effect, they are not being included or recognized as part of the group. However, teachers have been found to achieve inclusive education by critically opposing systematically racialized discourses, thus both recognizing and empowering minority children in the classroom (Lopéz, 2008). Dooly (2007) supports the importance of raising awareness and addressing issues related to cultural diversity, but further stress the importance of teachers being aware of the basis of their categorizations, standards of "normal" or "correct" and (sometimes) even prejudices. This further highlights the importance of an open classroom practice as a premise for an equal identity negotiation between teacher and child (Fielding, 2016). However, in a study by Vass (2013), teachers were found to tend to ignore the question of linguistic or cultural differences when

facing a racial issue or discourse in the classroom, which leads to teachers help maintaining an unequal power distribution.

The research in the field of bilingual education has primarily viewed the discipline as a special-needs practice. As the structuring of the school system has changed, the discipline of bilingual education must rather be viewed as an inclusive practice. However, albeit the structure has changed, the inclusive practice of education appears to still be founded on the perception of bilingual children as being a specific (other) group, that stands in opposition to the monolingual group of children.

1.1.4.3. Summation of current research: now what?

Current research points out a complex synthesis of teacher practice as it unfolds in education in a multicultural classroom; teachers are found to be placed in a cross section between 1) a macro level of societal rules and political actions *and* a micro level of interpersonal interaction and (professional) agency and 2) practicing (bilingual) education as both an inclusive discipline *and* a special-needs discipline; this intersection is illustrated by Figure 1 below:

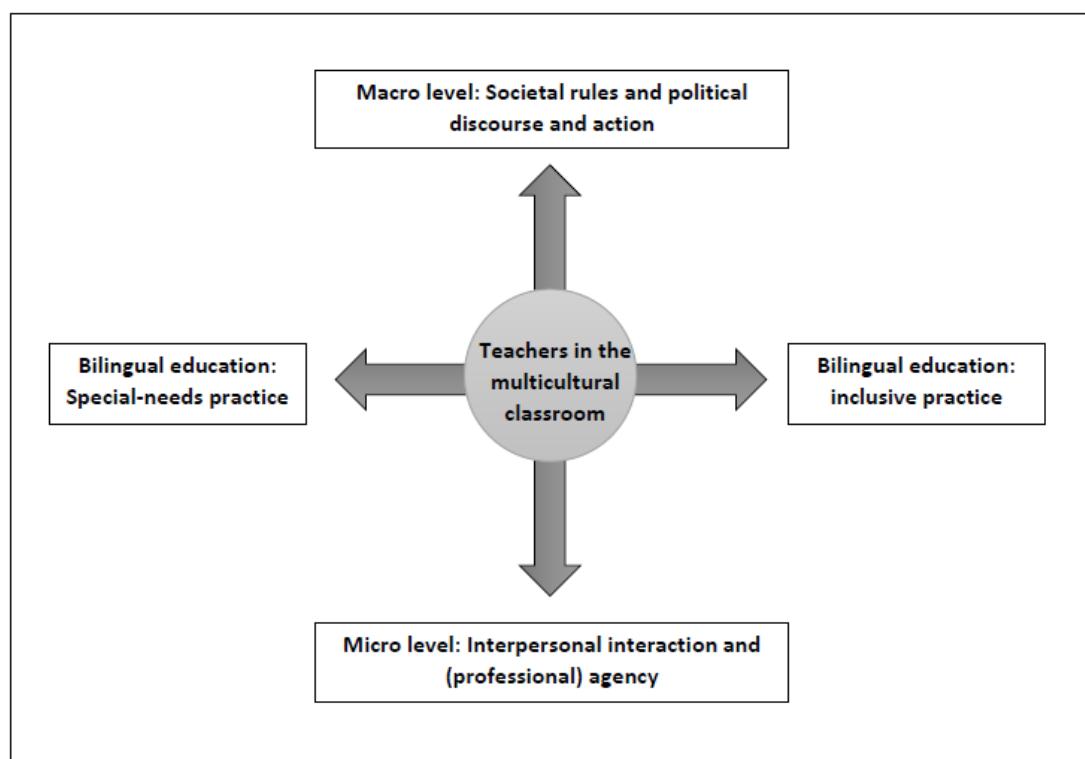


Figure 1: Illustration of teachers position in the multicultural classroom

The studies, I have highlighted in this review, have for a large part been placed within a post-structural paradigm, focusing on discursive practice and identity construction within the frame of this. However, this perspective lacks an unfolding of how teachers at an individual level interpret and construct identities and belonging through conceptualization and discursive practice. In order to perform inclusive practice, teachers must be aware of the categorizations of bilingual children, that are drawn from the available discourses. As I do not consider the individual teacher to be a slave of discourse, the interpretation and conceptualization as well as the actions of the teacher needs to be further researched. With the extensive methodological and theoretical framework of this thesis, I provide a cultural psychological perspective on the interconnection between social structures and discourses and individual conceptualization and action. From this perspective, I put forth the concept of culture, that through the preliminary study was found to be a central point of differentiation and exclusion in the educational policies. I hereby aim to illuminate how and which conceptualizations of culture and cultural deviance that are constructed and institutionalized by teachers in a multilingual classroom.

1.2. Problem statement

As I have outlined the context of research and the state of the art in the field of bilingual education, the relevance of this study is clarified by the changed policies in the field of bilingual education and the change of practice necessary in light of the new composition of children within the classroom. Different national, linguistic and religious backgrounds are now gathered in one classroom, and teachers are expected to practice inclusive education that accommodates and tolerates all children – while also performing an integrative task in their education.

As I have outlined in the previous sections, this thesis is a part of a broader research project, that seeks to understand and illuminate the elementary school⁵ as a setting for integration and inclusion of bilingual children – especially children with a non-western background as this ‘group’ of children is highly problematized in the public and political debate. The study conducted prior to this thesis is based on a critical

⁵ The Danish elementary school is mandatory and covers all children in the age of 6-16 years from 0.-9. grade

document analysis of the discourses and representations (re)produced in the educational policies on bilingual children in the field of education. This thesis will follow the findings of the preliminary macro-analysis; these findings suggested that the conceptualization of culture within the educational policies entailed an othering and differentiation of bilingual children, that could prevent the children from developing a sense of membership as Danish citizens. However, the successful (or failing) implementation of policies rely on the interpretations and actions of the agents within the school (Bridwell-Mitchell, 2015, p. 142) – for this study, the teachers are investigated as the institutional agents of the school.

Following the preliminary study, this thesis will go down a step through the level of analysis and seek to answer the problem statement as follows:

How do teachers in a multilingual classroom interpret and act upon the conceptualizations of culture and cultural deviance? And how does this conceptualization frame and facilitate Danish membership for bilingual children?

With this problem statement, I will for the thesis analyze how teachers construct a meaningful conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance and how bilingual children are being categorized in light of this. I will further analyze how the conceptualizations of culture and cultural deviance are applied and externalized in their practice and how these concepts affect the actions of the teachers in the classroom. I will finally discuss the analytical findings in relation to the discursive representation of bilingual children and their possibility for developing a sense of national membership in Danish school and society.

1.2.1. Research questions:

- How do the teachers relate to, interact within and appropriate the municipal and governmental guidelines and goals?
- Which characteristics of national/Danish membership do the teachers produce and/or promote in the classroom?
- How do teachers interpret and handle issues related to cultural/religious differences in the school setting?

The aim of the thesis is to illuminate how teachers practice inclusive and integrative education in a multicultural classroom within the frame of societal and political discourses and legal regulations and how they interpret and internalize the available discourses in their practice. This study is thus a step towards illuminating the construction of Danish identity within the school system and how this frame the possibility for developing Danish membership for bilingual children.

1.2.2. Delimitation and clarification of problem statement

For this study, the issue of integration and Danish membership is limited to the arena of the elementary school. As I do this, I still recognize the importance of other institutional settings – mainly the family, but I highlight the setting of the school as relevant and important to investigate in terms of construction of national membership of bilingual children as the school is the primary setting for the children being identified as bilingual (Fielding, 2016, p. 152), and furthermore, the school is currently the institution that children spent most of their waking hours – this makes the school an essential setting for the development of (social) identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Being in a classroom – or any other social group – involves taking part in a social structure; this entails being positioned both within the group and in relation to other groups. As outlined by the state of the art, bilingual children are difficult to place in the educational system – they are both defined as a special-needs group *and* a group that should be included and not be differentiated from the rest of the class. Thus, the practice of the elementary school teachers is currently difficult to define respectively in the school setting. This is due to the restructuring of the school, that is still very new and the institutionalized practices (and representations) of the former structure are neither easily nor quickly changed (Bridwell-Mitchell, 2015). The issues of bilingualism and inclusion through national membership, as it is raised for this thesis, need further clarification. Therefore, before continuing to present the research design of the thesis, there are a few terminological clarifications that need to be made; these are *culture and cultural deviance, integration, national (Danish) membership, identity* and *bilingualism*. These terms will be outlined in accordance to their use in the thesis and thus clarify the aim and perspective of the study.

Firstly, culture is for this study understood within the frame of cultural psychology as a practice or tool for the organization of the (social) world – and the individual(s) living therein (Valsiner, 2012, p. 6). As culture is practiced in the construction and organization of the (social) world, and as the cultural practices are institutionalized, the “culture” in which we live appear fixed and objectively ‘there’ (Berger & Luckman, 1966 (2013)). Thus, cultural deviance is understood as the not-fitting in within the ‘frame’ of a culture. The notions of culture and cultural deviance are therefore used in the illumination of Danish identity and membership. The dichotomy of culture as a container and culture as a practice is highly relevant when investigating cultural deviance and it is rooted in a theoretical distinction. It thus requires a theoretical elaboration, which will follow in chapter 2. *Secondly*, the term ‘integration’ needs to be clarified for its application in this thesis. Integration entails many aspects; the restructuring of bilingual education is for instance an attempt to *physically* integrate bilingual children (and their families) and monolingual children (and their families). As I for this thesis use integration, I refer to a more ‘mental’ aspect of integration; that is, I refer to integration as the recognition and consideration of one self and each other as equal members of Denmark. Successful integration thus becomes complete, when there is no dividing line between “us” and “them” (Cilingir, 2010). *Thirdly*, identity is a term or phenomenon, that holds many definitions and aspects. I assume for this project, that there is not one, true identity of a person, but on the other hand, every individual has – as they part-take in different social contexts – multiple social identities (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). As such for this study, (social) identity is narrowed down to Danish identity. The notion of ‘identity’ is a central point for this thesis, and identity is a term that requires a clarification as it is an extremely wide term, that holds various interpretations, definitions and facets. For this study, I apply the notion of identity at two levels; 1) a macro level that entails the national identity of a national group and 2) a micro level that considers social identity of the individual (in or outside a group). As these aspects of identity are central for the study, the notion of identity will be elaborated in the theoretical section, highlighting a discursive perspective on national and social identity. As it will be made clear in the theoretical section, the relationship between national identity (at a societal level) and social identity (at an individual level) is interconnected. *Fourthly*, Danish membership is – in extension of the former – understood as the (both socially and individually) accepted identity of an individual as being Danish.

That is, membership is not used as the formal/legal definition of a citizenship or Danish passport, but as the normative configuration of Danish membership. *Fifth, and finally*, the definition of the children central to the study – bilingual children – is aligned with the political and official definition; bilingual children are thus defined as “*children who have another mother tongue than Danish, and who first are taught Danish by contact with the surrounding society, for example through school education [...] this definition [bilingual] covers all children, who in their up-bringing have a need for and meet two or more languages regardless of the current mastering of these languages. The term thus covers both children, who only speaks one other mother-tongue language than Danish, and children, who master multiple language, including Danish*” (Department of Education, 2017, p. 5). That is, the definition of bilingual does not only cover newly arrived, non-Danish speakers, but the definition also involves Danish-born, Danish-speaking children. I am aware that I by using the definition of bilingual, I risk contributing to a categorization and generalization of a varied and diverse group of children, but I align with the official terminology as I with a discursive/linguistic perspective not wish to change the expression of the official guidelines and policies. Further, as I interview the teachers of the elementary school, I use the terminology that teachers are subjected to in their practice of education.

With this thesis, I thus aim to illuminate how the institution of school is a setting for integration of bilingual children through the institutional construction of Danish identity and membership. The representations of culture and cultural deviance are here understood as the conceptual tools for constructing national identity; these representations are assumed historically, culturally and institutionally anchored, and the thesis thus has a structural focus. I hereby leave out aspects of the teacher conceptualizations and practices that involve more individually founded motives and perceptions; these aspects could be covered by exploring the issue from – for instance – a phenomenological or narrative-oriented approach. By leaving out these aspects from the study, I do not deny the importance of the phenomenological aspects or the individual narrative, but do to both time and space constraints, it is for this study not possible to include all aspects. The issues in the field of integration have been approached by many researchers, and the “solution” will – obviously – not appear with this or any other study. The issues of integration can and should not be reduced to

one sphere or one scientific approach; thus, this study will only illuminate one aspect of a large and global issue, but it will contribute to a new understanding of how we construct representations of culture and national identity in the setting of the Danish elementary school.

1.3. Research design

Within the meta-theoretical framework, the relation between macro-, meso- and micro level is interconnected and mutually influential (Bronfenbrenner, 1977); the levels must therefore be analyzed as such. Firstly, the macro level is here characterized as the overall structural frame of social and political systems of institutions, knowledge, norms and discourses. Secondly, the meso level is characterized as the institutional manifestation (and producer) of macro level structures, that are institutionalized through practice and representations. Thirdly, the micro level is characterized as the individual development as the individual interact with the social environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Hedegaard, 2008).

The model below (figure 2) illustrates the research design of this study as it descends from a previous research project. To investigate an issue such as educational practice and national identity would be inadequate, if a macro or micro level was researched isolated from the other (Wortham, 2012). Within this research design, the macro level of discursive possibilities, constraints and demands is accounted for as a frame for the institutional practice of the teachers.

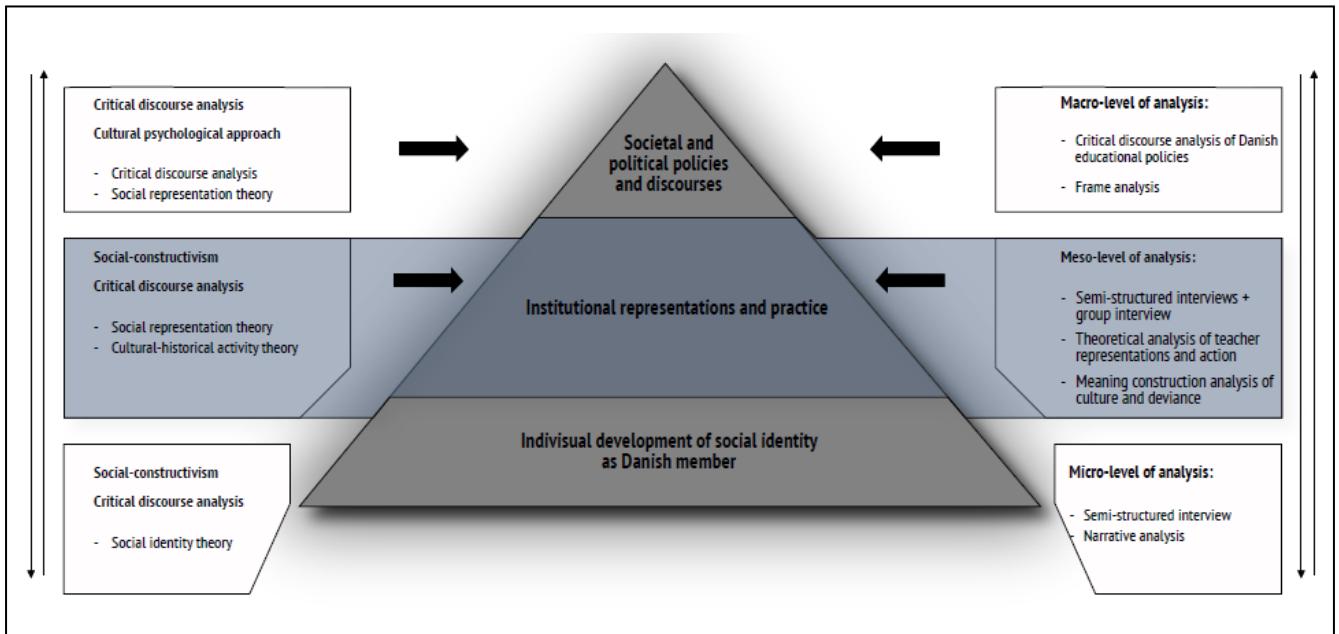


Figure 2: Synthesis of research design

The model illustrates, how this study – highlighted in the middle-section – is thus a continuance of the critical discourse analysis of political policies. This study is therefore conducted at a meso-level of analysis, that seeks to investigate teacher conceptualizations and practice in a cross-section between a macro level of educational policies and a micro level of bilingual children's development of Danish membership. Teachers are thus investigated as institutional agents; institutions only exist and function through the individuals upholding it; this means, that when researching an institutional practice and the institutional construction of national membership, the teachers of the school are thus an access to the knowledge and social identities, that constitute the institution of school. This level is investigated from the theoretical scope of cultural psychology (Vygotsky, 1978; Cole, 1998; Valsiner, 2012) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2008; Wodak, 2013). The data is collected through semi-structured interviews with teachers of the elementary school, that seeks to capture the meaning and knowledge constructions and constructioning in the school system.

1.3.1. Disposition

I have now presented the context of research, problem statement and analytical focus for this thesis and following this, I will now briefly outline the disposition of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

In chapter 2, the (meta)theoretical framework is outlined. The first section introduced is a presentation of the cultural psychological approach as it is outlined by Lev Vygotsky, Jaan Valsiner and Michael Cole, that is describing the contextual perspective on meaning, truth and representation construction. This approach is followed by the supplementing perspective of a discursive approach, that for this study is primarily represented by Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak. With the discursive focus of the thesis, the discursive approach is elaborated in terms of institutional practice and development. The chapter ends with a discursive approach to identity construction – both at a macro level; national identity as a discursive product, and at a micro level; social identity as the internalization of discourses of national belonging.

In chapter 3, the methodical approach is outlined. The chapter will lead with the epistemological premises and implications of a qualitative case study. Following the methodology, the method of a semi-structured interview is presented. For this study, both individual and group interviews are applied and both varieties are outlined in this section. Next follows a presentation of the data collection; the selection of the four informants is followed by a presentation, that highlights the main variables of the teachers. Finally, the ethical considerations of the study are described.

In chapter 4, the theoretical tools for analysis are introduced; these are outlined by 1) social representation theory presented by Sergei Moscovici and Irina Markova, and 2) cultural-historical activity theory, that are primarily being presented by Yrjö Engeström and Mariane Hedegaard. These theories are introduced as the tools for analytical discussion in chapter 6.

In chapter 5, the analysis is presented. The analysis is formed as a description of the different representations and categories, the teachers are constructing and appropriating in the educational practice. First, the social frame of political demands and goals in (multicultural) education is analyzed through the descriptions of the teachers. Secondly, the teachers' conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance is analyzed through a deconstruction of the statements. Thirdly, the categorization and construc-

tion of Danish identity in the classroom is analyzed through the descriptions of the teachers.

In chapter 6, the discussion will be unfolded. Firstly, the findings of the analysis will be discussed in relation to the analytical tools of social representation theory and cultural-historical activity theory. Secondly, the findings of the study will be discussed in relation to the societal relevance and impact. Thirdly, the epistemological and methodical limitations of the study is discussed in relation to the findings and the need for further research in the field.

In chapter 7, the conclusion will be the final chapter of the thesis. The conclusion will sum up the findings of the analysis and discussion in light of the methodological and methodical choices of the study.

Chapter 2: (Meta)theoretical framework

For this study, I investigate the phenomenon of *Danish identity and membership constructed through institutional discourse and practice of the teachers in the elementary school*. I study Danish identity through the concept of culture and the exclusion from the national identity through cultural deviance.

The thesis is placed within a social constructivist paradigm, that contribute to an understanding of (social) reality as socially constructed, maintained and changed (Berger & Luckman, 1966 (2013)). To unfold this, the meta-theoretical perspective for this study is inspired by 1) cultural-historical psychology (Vygotsky, 1978; Cole, 1998; Valsiner, 2012), that places the development, perception and experience of the individual in a culturally situated and historical context, and further considers human beings as actively meaning-making creatures, who intersubjectively construct meaning and social reality through mediating tools, and 2) a discursive approach (Fairclough, 2008; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999), that highlights the linguistic aspects of the meaning construction and thus unfolds discourses as the mediating tools in the construction of meaning and social reality. This perspective allows me to critically examine the construction of meaning, knowledge and (social) identities as it unfolds in the discursive practice of the teachers. In the following subsections, the discursive-cultural psychological perspective will be elaborated in relation to how the institutional setting of the school and the teachers as institutional agents construct Danish identity and the categorial demands for Danish membership through discursive practice. That is, how national identity and membership is constructed through the discursive practice of the teachers; thus, the theoretical interconnection of discourses, institutionalized/naturalized knowledge and national (and social) identity is a central focus in the theoretical framework.

When I for this study apply an approach, that illuminate the discursive and cultural-historical aspects of human meaning construction, the social and structural *conditions* and *effects* are of both theoretical and analytical importance. This means, that when raising an issue of integration in terms of bilingual children's development of Danish membership in the school system, it must be considered within the frame of a sur-

rounding society – a society, that is a product of the historical development and human construction *and* a condition for experience, practice and identity for the individuals living therein (Vygotsky, 1978; Bruner, 1990). The construction of national identity within the elementary school is therefore not limited to this setting; the situated identity construction in the school is embedded in and contributing to the social structure of national identity and membership at a societal level.

One might raise a critical (and justified) inquiry of how a discursive approach considers and places the individual agency in the discursive and structural web of knowledge and social identities; this is best answered by defining discourses not as deterministic or determining for the agency of the individual, but as a frame for the actions and possible ways of meaning making for the individual. That is, the relationship between the individual agency and action *and* the discursive structure is not causal, but dialectic (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999); individual agents do (socially) construct the reality within the frame of an already-existing reality. Agency is thus considered to be the individual intentionality of people, and the ability to actively interact with and construct both other agents and the social environment (Bandura, 2006, p. 164). The teachers are thus considered to be active agents, who intentionally interpret and actively appropriate the available discourses and knowledge, that is afforded by the structural web of discourses. The construction of knowledge by the teachers is therefore not assumed to be directly determined by societal discourses, but it is assumed to be interconnected with them. For the purpose of this study, I only focus on the *institutional agency* (Bridwell-Mitchell, 2015) of the teachers. Teachers as institutional agents are through their actions and conceptual understandings shaping, maintaining or potentially changing the institution of school (Bridwell-Mitchell, 2015, p. 141). That is, I do not focus on the individual agency as it is shaped across various settings and other institutions, but as the agency of the teacher is shaped, unfolded and expressed exclusively in the setting of the school.

As I have clarified how the individual and the agency of the individual is considered in this structural/discursive perspective, I will proceed with the theoretical framework of cultural psychology and the discursive aspect of meaning and identity construction.

2.1. Cultural psychology: a contextual perspective

To talk of culture and thus a possibility of cultural deviance, first a more elaborated theoretical unfolding of cultural psychology as a discipline and the theoretical assumptions therein are required, as I have promised in the previous chapter. The discipline of cultural psychology is a discipline that puts culture in the center of human experience, action and development (Bruner, 1990). This means, that the individual cannot be isolated from the social context, but nor can the individual be reduced to it; from a cultural psychological perspective, culture is not a determining frame within which the individual passively develops, but a practice or tool with which we construct ourselves, others and society (Vygotsky, 1978; Valsiner, 2012) This means, that when trying to understand individual or group developments, social tendencies or direct problematizations, culture is not explanatory, but rather culture is (or should be) the object of investigation. Both the public and political debate are currently pointing towards ‘culture’ as the point of differentiation in Danish society between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and a cultural psychological perspective allows for a critical illumination of the naturalized and rigid definition of culture, that are currently present in the discursive practice.

2.1.1. The individual in culture

“We are always moving toward the unknown future, using the experiences of the past to make the not-yet-familiar into the known, the remembered, and – eventually – forgotten” (Valsiner, 2014, p. 6).

Before continuing to the more structural and normative aspects of culture, the *individual* in culture must be accounted for. The quote above illustrates the future-oriented, context-bound and meaning-making nature of the individual in a socially, culturally and historically anchored world. As briefly stated in the previous section, a cultural psychological perspective opposes the notion of humans being passive on-lookers to and recipients of their own and society’s development and being. Humans are considered to be meaning making creatures, that construct meaning through the social interaction with both other people and the social environment (Bruner, 1990). That is, within cultural psychology, all higher psychological and individual functions are socially routed and originated (Vygotsky, 1978); that is, the individual meaning,

attitude or even self-reflection originate from the social interaction with other social actors. This does not mean, that knowledge, meaning and social identities simply ‘float’ in a social sphere, external to the individuals; the socially constituted meaning of both ourselves, others and the (social) environment are internalized by the social actors as they interact (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2015; Mead, 1934). This means, that a cultural psychological perspective does not deny the existence of agency of the individual; the individual is not a medium of culture and discourses, but as these are internalized, the individual agency is shaped. The process of internalization entails three transformations of social influence; 1) external processes are made internal, 2) interpersonal relations are made intrapersonal and 3) a reconstruction of the mind, that follows the internalization of social interaction (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2015, p. 478; Vygotsky, 1978). That is, the process of internalization constitutes the interconnected relationship between the individual and the historical and cultural context of society. As discourses are internalized, they are transformed from something generally, objectively out-there to something individually and subjectively experienced and thought. The agency of the individual thus lies in the transformation of discourses from the objective to the subjective (Lawrence & Valsiner, 2003).

The following section will elaborate further on the mutually constituting relationship between individual and society.

2.1.2. Culture and cultural deviance

Culture has long been approached in the scientific field, and the definition of culture is today still up for discussion; the two main poles are 1) the cross-cultural definition of culture as a rigid container *within* which we live and 2) the cultural psychological definition of culture as a dynamic practice *through* which we live (Valsiner, 2012, p. 6). Culture has thus in the previous section been described as a mediating tool with which we structure and give meaning to our (social) worlds (Valsiner, 2012); as such, culture is *practiced* (inter)subjectively. However, when culture is understood or defined to be a practice through which we construct ourselves and society, how can we then speak of cultural deviance? To illustrate this, I will refer to Michael Cole (1998), as he describes, that culture is for the humans, like the water surrounding the fish; we do not think about or question it, “because it is the medium through which

"we exist" (p. 8) To further elaborate on the apparent objectivity and naturality of culture, I draw upon Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966 (2013)) as they describe and unfold the appearance of an objective reality as it originates from a subjective (or intersubjective) construction and experience.

The argument, I put forth is, that the dualistic division of culture as dynamic practice >< culture as static a container is not sufficient, but rather the two qualities of culture is constituting one another in a dialectic relation between culture as dynamic practice ↔ culture as an (apparent) static container. The important dynamics in this dialectic relation is the internalization and externalization of the individuals (Berger & Luckman, 1966 (2013)), who are simultaneously living in *and* through culture.

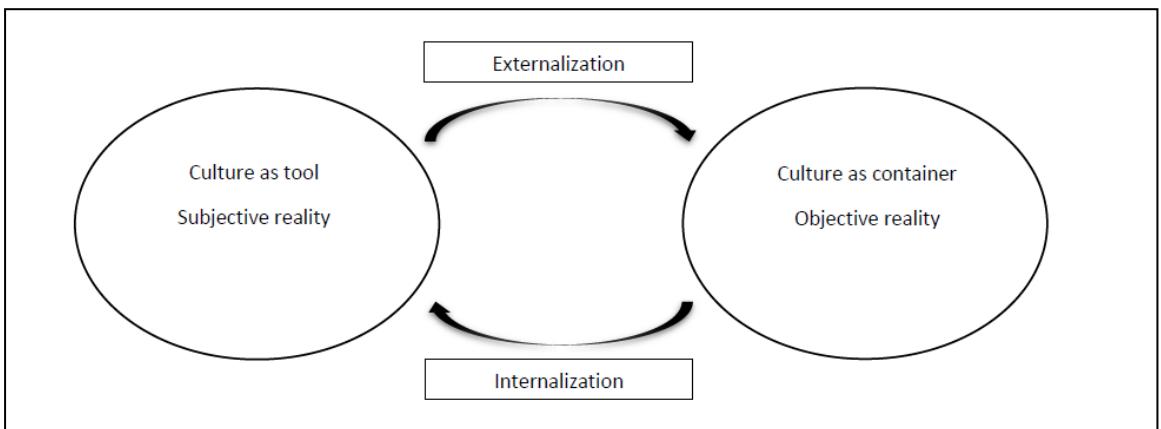


Figure 3: The dialectic relation of culture as tool and container

The figure above illustrates the ongoing process of the (mutual) construction of an objective reality by the individuals (culture as container) and the construction of subjective reality through the practice of culture (culture as tool).

We construct a reality by appropriating cultural tools in the process of externalization. As we internalize the (constructed) cultural practices, knowledge and social order – including our own and others position therein – of an already-existing social reality (or culture), we experience the world through the lens of what is socially constructed (Berger & Luckman, 1966 (2013)). That is, culture appears objectively ‘out-there’, because the social world, which we created through history, is internalized (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2015).

Institutions play a crucial role in the naturalization and objectification of (in-ter)subjectively constructed knowledge, meaning and social identities as these originally strictly normative formations become anchored in the institutional settings (Berger & Luckman, 1966 (2013)). As a final remark, it would be a misunderstanding to conceptualize culture as a container, but it is important to understand, how culture can appear as a fixed entity through processes of internalization, externalization and institutionalization.

For summation, the perspective of cultural psychology contributes to an understanding of the cultural and historical construction of society; a society, that once it is constructed appears to the people living therein as an objective reality of *a* culture. As such, the fixed and objective appearance of culture come to set the norms, knowledge and social identities for the people living in society. Culture thus becomes an entity, that individuals or groups can deviate from.

2.2. The discursive approach: a linguistic perspective

Cultural psychology is a discipline, that emphasizes the development of both the individual and society as a dynamic process, that is mediated by cultural tools and practices. A significant mediating tool is *language* (van der Veer, 2012, p. 59); language and discourse thus are key components in the construction of social identities. Without reducing neither individual experience and development nor social structures to discourses and discursive practices, this study has a discursive focus that illuminate the linguistic aspects of cultural meanings and culture as a normative formation in the social construction of national identity. The discursive approach allows for a critical examination and illumination of the naturalized knowledge and social identities constructed in (discursive) practice (Fairclough, 2008; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). By doing this, I leave out more individual aspects that could have been illuminated by a phenomenological approach, but by applying a discursive approach, I gain insight into the social and linguistic construction of knowledge, meaning and social identities. As linguistic communication is a way of making the individual social - and *vice-versa* - (Moscovici, 1988, p. 219), the interconnected relation between individual and society is best explained through the discursive practice of the individuals.

First, a terminological clarification of the term, *discourse*. The term discourse holds two definitions; 1) discourse as a special form of social practice and 2) discourse as a ‘fixed’ system of linguistic meaning (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). Therefore, discourses are – like culture – both constructed by and constituting for the social reality as discourses are practiced by the people living therein. From a discursive perspective, the social reality of a society is *conceptually mediated* (Fairclough, 2013, p. 178); that is, the reality of the (social) world is constructed by the representations and conceptions, we socially and linguistically define and share as a group, society or nation. As such, discourses have three constructive functions; 1) they construct social identities and subject positions, 2) they construct interpersonal relationships and 3) they construct knowledge- and meaning systems (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). It is thus through discursive practice, that individuals organize the social world by constructing the meaning, we ascribe ourselves, others and the world as a whole. In turn, the social structure and order constructed by discursive practice, constitutes the frame within thinking, interaction and development is possible (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 8). As such, the dialectic relation between individual and society is founded on discourses as both constructed and constructing.

As I have outlined the constructive qualities of discourses, I will next elaborate on 1) the impact of discourses and discursive practice in the setting of the school and 2) the discursive practice of social identity construction.

2.2.1. School and institutional practice: a normative field

All individuals take part in a large variety of different institutions – family, school, after-school activities, religious houses, etc. – and all of these institutions are founded on a specific knowledge on how to be, think and (inter)act within that institution (Zittoun, 2016), and the social actors are further obligated to act according to social norms within the institution (Harré, 2012). This further means, that as individuals take part of an institutional setting, there are different positions and social identities embedded in the institutional structure, that the individuals are subjected to as they

enter. As I focus on the institution of the school, I do so, because I assume for this study, that the school is an essential point of socialization for all children.

The institution of school is deeply anchored in Western societies, and Denmark is no exception. The institution of school is constituted both by 1) the material composition – schools are deeply rooted in society due to the material anchoring of the buildings, 2) the semiotic construction – the practice within the school is shaped by written policies and textbooks in the field of education and 3) the communicational constructs – the school is constituted by the normative formations of social representations (Zittoun, 2016, p. 2). For this study, I focus on the latter aspect of the constitution of the school as a normative field. As such, the school is an institution that is founded on pre-existing knowledge of learning, (correct) socialization and social identities. The educational field is thus formed on the basis of assumptions of right/wrong, good/bad and normal/abnormal (Christensen, 2010, p. 74); this constitutes the institution of school as a setting for normalization and differentiation (Bourdieu, 1979; Christensen, 2010). As these assumptions become institutionalized through practice, the knowledge of social identities of society becomes manifested in the institutions. Institutional discourse and practice is both a manifestation and producer of social structure *and* social identities; the institutional norms are thus being (re)produced by the agents in the school, as they frame the possibilities for both perception and action within the institution (Zittoun, 2016). The institution of school hereby reproduces the social structures of inequality and – to some degree – oppression of the less powerful in society (Bourdieu, 1979), because the structure and discourses in the school system go unquestioned.

2.2.2. Identity as a discursive product of negotiation

The notion of identity is a central point as the aim of the thesis is to illuminate 1) how Danish identity is constructed and to discuss 2) how this facilitate the development of (positive) social identity of Danish membership for bilingual children as they attend the elementary school. But first, I will introduce an overall description of identity from a discursive perspective, that will illuminate identity as the discursive product of social negotiation.

Identity is a term that holds many definitions and aspects, and it would be nearly impossible to outline the vast amount of takes on the term in this thesis. For the aim of this thesis, identity is conceptualized and understood as the internalization of societal (and institutional) discourses and social positions (Brinkmann, 2008, p. 33). This conception highlights the social constitution and origin of identity, as I for this study aim to illuminate the social (discursive) *conditions* for identity construction and not the narrative identity as it has been constructed and told by the individual.

From a discursive perspective, identity is a *relational* construction (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 22); that is, as individuals interact and share a social reality, they will position themselves (and be positioned) in relation to others in a social order. This positioning and construction of identity occurs at a communicational and linguistic level. As such, individuals (or groups) are through discursive practice constructing different social identities and group categorizations (Cummins, Hu, Markus & Montero, 2015; Fielding, 2016); a negotiation of identity thus involves constructing and defining sameness through the differentiation from ‘the other’.

Because identity is relational, it is therefore a point for negotiation between the relational social actors. Social identities are negotiated and constructed in the discursive practice of agents within societies, institutions and groups (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 8). However, a discursive identity negotiation is not free of power relations; the power to define the social identities of oneself and others are limited by the position in the social order. An essential point from a discursive perspective is, that there is not an equal access to the discursive practice within the social structure; through the construction of social identities, the individuals (or groups) are positioned in a social order that gives rank to specific groups or subject positions (Harré, 2012). This means, that specific positions in the social order do not have the power to influence the discursive practice and they are therefore subjected to the definitions of others (Jensen, 2011, p. 64). As identity is constructed in the school, the power imbalance of society is brought into the negotiation in the interactions in the school (Cummins, Hu, Markus, & Montero, 2015, p. 562).

2.2.2.1. Social identity

As social beings, humans in a (modern) society have a need to be validated as members of a social group in order to uphold a positive self-image. Turning towards the individual experience and knowledge of membership, I draw upon *social identity theory* (Tajfel, 1982; 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity is here “*defined as that part of the individuals’ self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social groups (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance of that membership*” (Tajfel, 1982, p. 24).

In the construction of social groups and social identity, there are two processes leading to this; social categorization and social differentiation. Firstly, in order to organize the social world, humans use ***social categorization*** to construct social groups, which are joined by the perception of mutual characteristics and shared value- and meaning systems. The categorization both serves as a organizer of the social environment, but it also guides the individual by positioning him/her in the social structure (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). Secondly, and in extension of the previously described relational nature of identity, social identity lies in the relation between the in-group and out-group: “*The in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-group*” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). That is, in the construction of social groups, there must be a ***social comparison*** between the in-group and the out-group – and between members and non-members. Through comparison, we also make evaluations and distinctions between groups – and as Tajfel & Turner (1986) found, we tend to evaluate the in-group favorably to the out-group. The belonging to a group thus entails a certain prejudice towards the out-group (Blumer, 1958). The dominant group – the in-group – base the prejudice on evaluations of 1) superiority, 2) othering of the out-group, 3) claims to social benefits and 4) fear of the out-group (Blumer, 1958, p. 4).

To draw a line between social identity theory and the cultural-discursive perspective previously outlined, the knowledge of belonging is constructed by and embedded in the social structure and order of both societies, institutions and interpersonal relations among individuals. That is, the knowledge of who, that are defined as valid members of a group, is constructed through the discursive practice and the categorization and

comparison of the social groups. All people are part of several social groups, and for a further specification of group membership, the group in question must be presented; the following section will thus outline the discursive construct of national identity.

2.2.2.2. National identity

To speak of social identity as the knowledge and internalization of group belonging or exclusion, you must first define the group, to which you can belong; as individuals take part of a variety of social groups, the categorizations and characteristics for membership will vary as it depends on the group. For this thesis, the group of which I examine the terms for membership, is the national group of Danes. It should here be stated that national identity – or the in-group relation of being Danish – is not necessarily a negative thing; the national identity provides a common ground for coherence and community in a society, but I will use the concept to illustrate the exclusion mechanism involved in the construction of national identity and membership.

A nation (or country) is physically divided by the border(s) between itself and other countries. However, a national *identity* is not so easily defined; the identity of a nation entails identifying with – in the Danish case – nearly 6 million people of whom most you have never met and will probably ever meet (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart, 1999, p. 21). National identity therefore is a socially shared and agreed upon definition of what it means to be Danish that is located at an abstract and imagined level. As it should have been made clear now, the identification of oneself and/or the group to which you belong, presupposes an ‘other’ (Triandafyllidou, 1998, p. 594) – that is, someone you can differentiate from in order to define yourself. The discursive construct of national identity is thus a (normative) frame constituting a national group within which individuals can either belong or not. National identity is not just a ‘frame’ or definition to validate members; national identity also has the capacity to exclude those who are not members – foreigners or ‘the others’ (Triandafyllidou, 1998, p. 593).

To relate the term nation to that of culture, I here assume that national identity is constructed by culturally and historically anchored representations, that are constructed through discursive practice: “*A national culture is a discourse – a way of*

constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our action and our conceptions of ourselves [...] national cultures construct identities by producing meanings about ‘the nation’ with which we can identify” (Hall, 1996, p. 613 in; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 23). That is, as I speak of nations, I consider them in the sense of cultural nations (*kulturnation*) and not in the sense of state nations (*staatsnation*) (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 19). Where the latter holds a political, legal and formal defintion, the cultural nation is defined by the conceptual and normative constitution of a nation(al identity). As such, the representation of a national identity is constructed through cultural practice, and these representations are constructed, reproduced and transformed in the concrete context of institutional practice (ibid., p. 23). This does however not mean, that the national state and the national culture is to be understood as separate entities; the two are highly intertwined and interconnected as the explicit and formal definition of the national state affects the implicit and normative defintion of the cultural nationality – and *vice-versa*.

To sum up the contributions of a discursive approach, this perspective provides a theoretical framework for understanding the social construction of meaning, knowledge and social identities as a linguistic product of discursive practice. By applying this perspective, I can critically investigate the naturalized and institutionalized common knowledge by examining the use of language by the teachers.

Chapter 3: Methodical approach

The study of this thesis is based on a qualitative case study. This methodical chapter will outline the approach for data collection; this entails both the consideration of what constitutes ‘good’ data, the selection of informants, the subsequent analysis of data and the ethical considerations of the study. This study is based on a theory guided approach – this is known as a *deductive approach* (Bryman, 2004, p. 10); that is, the theory directs the perspective and design of the study, and the data is viewed in light of the theory – instead of letting the data direct the theory; the *inductive approach*. For this study, I have not listed direct theoretical hypotheses, that I aim to ‘test’ through the data, but I have through the theory framed the perspective for analyzing the data.

3.1. Methodological foundation

The methodological framework is a bearing element in the thesis as it outlines the epistemological premises for conducting the study. That is, this section will clarify the assumptions of what constitutes knowledge and how knowledge is best obtained. Within the meta-theoretical framework of this thesis, the ‘truth’ or ‘true’ knowledge is a normative configuration, and thus it is not possible to find or discover universal knowledge. Instead, knowledge is constructed in the social interaction of social actors as it unfolds in specific contexts and situations (Demuth, 2018; Kvæle & Brinkmann, 2008). As such, the epistemological assumption for the thesis is, that individuals simultaneously experience and construct the social reality through use of language. That is, we do not only *experience* the (meaningful) world through language and other symbolic mediators, but we *construct* the (meaningful) world through it as well (Kvæle & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 67).

The epistemology of a qualitative research study thus differs in fundamental logic from quantitative studies; whereas the quantitative, nomothetic sciences search for universal laws of general dynamics, the qualitative, idiographic sciences search for the unique experience of the individual (Salvatore & Valsiner, 2010, p. 818). However, this dualism is not accurate nor adequate for understanding human meaning-making and behavior from a cultural psychological perspective. This will be further elaborated in the following section.

3.1.1. Single case study: to generalize from the individual

The critique of qualitative case studies and their possibility for generalization is based on the application of the logic from natural sciences onto social sciences; the ability to generalize from single cases thus imply a change of logic and procedure (Demuth, 2018, p. 79).

The methodology of this study is based on the assumption that the unique experience of the individual and the general laws or rules of society cannot be separated (Salvatore & Valsiner, 2010); that is, you cannot separate the experience of the individual from the social structure, the individual inevitably is a part of. This also means that the experience of the individual (teacher) will reflect the social structure of societal knowledge and social identities embedded therein. That is, the individual does not contrast the general rules (or ‘laws’) of society; instead, they are both mutually constituting each other, where the individual experience is mediated and conditioned by social norms and cultural practices (Lawrence & Valsiner, 2003). Therefore, in order to understand this structure, we must then look into the experience and construction of the individual in a situated context as it is discursively expressed and unfolded (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 3). As such, this study rest upon single cases of teachers in the Danish elementary school, who through their descriptions give insight to the social reality in which they live and construct through their descriptions.

I assume for the study, that the discursive practice and personal experience of the individual is conditioned by (albeit not determined by) the social structures of society; that is, I am for this study assuming an interconnected relationship between the socially given and the psychologically experienced. However, this perspective can be criticized from other epistemological standpoints of e.g. phenomenological psychology or existential psychology, that gives the experience of the individual a predominantly intrapersonal status without the aim of generalization (Demuth, 2018) or from the standpoint of positivistic guided psychology, that does not value the subjectivity of individual experience through single case studies as a mean for generalization. These critiques are however met by applying both a different logic and a different aim of the study than the critical perspectives would apply.

3.2. Method: The qualitative, semi-structured interview

“Most knowledge is supplied to us by communication which affects our way of thinking and creates new contents” (Moscovici, 1988, p. 215).

This study rest upon a qualitative method of a semi-structured interview. From the methodological considerations, knowledge is assumed to be constructed in the linguistic interaction of social actors. In the situation of an interview, the interviewer and the interviewee co-construct knowledge of the phenomenon at hand – for this study, the conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance. As the quote above illustrates, it is through communication that new knowledge is constructed by transforming the already-known into something new.

The interviews are guided by the theoretical foundation of cultural psychology and critical discourse analysis, and the interview guide were thus designed on the basis of a pre-defined theoretical scope. The semi-structured interview provides a frame for the information given in the interview, but it is designed to gather the information, that are relevant to the informants. With the discursive focus of the thesis, the interview allows me to understand how teachers speak of, understand and thus construct the social world (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 30). The teachers will through their descriptions, given in the interview provide an insight to the experienced social structure to which they are a part of (Salvatore & Valsiner, 2010; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 16).

3.2.1. Individual interview

The interviews conducted in the study are the individual interviews; that is, the interview is only between two people; the interviewer and one informant. The interview with a discursive focus illuminates how the informant through the use of language constructs knowledge, meaning and ‘truth’ (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 176). The individual interview allows for an individual description of how concepts (such as culture) are constructed and how the conceptualizations position individuals in the social order (*ibid.*, p. 172).

3.2.2. Group interview

Another variety of interview used in the study is the *group interview*. A group interview can consist of several informants who are being interviewed at the same time. The group interview is conducted like the individual semi-structured interviews and aim to get descriptions on conceptualizations and practice of the teachers. As the construction of knowledge and meaning is social, communicative and interactive, the group interview is ideal for unfolding discursive practice as the discourses and representations are negotiated between professionals. The professional relationship between teachers is found to be essential in the reflection upon practice in bilingual education (Bonilla, 2017), and the group interview allows for an interactive reflection between the teachers. That is, the group interview would contribute to the study by bringing the professional relation of teachers into play, which would have supplemented the descriptions of the individual interviews.

However, the group interview conducted in this study will not further be considered in the sense of a group interview; the interview was not designed to be a group interview, that could bring discursive negotiation and conflicting discourses into play, and the interview thus became more of an individual interview – only with two informants at the same time. The group interview is henceforth analyzed under the same terms as the individual interviews.

3.3. Data collection:

The data should capture the institutional(ized) conceptualization of and discursive practice towards culture and cultural deviance as the frame for Danish identity and membership constructed in the elementary school. There are several actors in play within an institutional setting such as the school. As such, this study could be conducted by collecting data from different perspectives; the policy-makers within the municipality, the institutional leaders within the school, parents of the children attending the school and – obviously – the children attending the school themselves. These perspectives could have provided a fuller and more elaborate picture of the school as a site for national identity construction and membership. However, due to both time and space constraints, these perspectives are left out – albeit, not unrecognized – and I have chosen to guide the study in the direction of the teachers.

I assume for this study, that teachers and their practice of education are highly constitutional for both the normative construction of social knowledge (Christensen, 2010) and the development of children's social identity in the school (e.g. Fielding, 2016; Stille, 2015). The data should thus capture how the professionals within the school discursively construct the definition of culture and deviance through their function as the teachers.

3.3.1. Selection of informants

The informants for this study have been found through my own network in the region of Northern Jutland. The informants were all contacted via e-mail, where they were informed of the purpose of thesis, the duration of the interview and were guaranteed anonymity. The teachers for this study all work in the region of Northern Jutland in two different municipalities. The policies on bilingual education are municipally determined, and thus, there are different municipal demands and regulations in place for the informants. However, the municipal differences are estimated to not be decisive for the aim of this study; as I for the study have a structural and discursive focus – opposed to a situated and phenomenological focus – the variables in relation to the differences of the municipalities and individual schools are of less importance in relation to investigating the institution of school as a site for integration.

The informants were selected in order to provide an illustrative sample of teachers within the elementary school system, that bilingual children meet as they attend the elementary school – both in the ordinary classes and (possibly) in Danish as Second Language-center (DSA-center). The group of informants consist of 3 men and 1 female, and they vary in years of experience from 8-33 years. The informants were further selected based on the subjects of teaching; all 4 informants are teaching “social” subjects. That is, subjects that have a social relevance in relation to what constitutes Danish society and culture – language, history and social science – opposed to natural sciences as mathematics, chemistry, physics, etc.

Two of the teachers (Teacher B and Teacher L) were selected based on their expertise, specifically in bilingual education, as they are working together in a Danish-as-second-Language center, and they were therefore interviewed in a group-interview.

The two other teachers (Teacher R and Teacher J) are both selected as they are teachers in the “out-schooling⁶”. This age-group is of special interest as the age of developing identity is crucial in the early adolescence (Erikson & Erikson, 1998).

3.3.1.1. Presentation of informants

Teacher	Gender	Subjects of teaching	Grade	Years of experience
Teacher R	Male	Math, geography, social science, history	7 th -9 th grade	10 years
Teacher L	Female	Danish, Danish as Second Language, Home education	4 th -9 th grade and all ages in DSL-center	8 years
Teacher B	Male	Danish as Second Language, (previously Danish, social science, history)	All ages in DSL-center	20 years (practicing 10 years)
Teacher J	Male	Danish, physical education (previously, Danish as Second Language)	7 th -9 th grade	33 years

Teacher R is an educated male elementary school teacher, who has been practicing for 10 years at the same school in a medium sized municipality. The school is placed in a housing area that has a high number of bilingual families and the school thus has a large percentage of bilingual children. Teacher R teaches math, geography, social science and history in the out-schooling.

Teacher L is an educated female teacher, who has been practicing for 8 years. Teacher L has worked a few years at a school in a larger municipality before she transferred to an asylum class, where she was teaching children, who did not have residence permit. Teacher L currently works in a medium sized municipality at a

⁶ 7th-9th grade: children in the age of 13-16 years

middleclass school, where she teaches Danish, Danish as second language (DSL), home education and Christianity. Teacher L is currently teaching the middle step in Danish and home education, and she has 9 classes weekly supporting DSL.

Teacher B is a male teacher, who has been an educated teacher for 20 years. Teacher B worked six years at a school in Northern Jutland, before he took a leave from teaching until 2014. Teacher B was teaching adult asylum seekers for a year before transferring to a reception class, teaching newly arrived children for a year. He has currently worked two years at a DLS-center in a medium sized municipality. Teacher B works exclusively as a DSL teacher, but he also teaches Danish, social science and history.

Teacher J is an educated male elementary school teacher, who has been practicing for 33 years. Teacher J currently works at a school that has a high number of bilingual children in a medium sized municipality. Teacher J teaches Danish and physical education in the out schooling, but he frequently teaches other subjects. Teacher J has previously taught special needs classes and has also been involved with bilingual education, but is currently working in the ordinary classes.

3.3.2. The process of the interviews

The teachers were interviewed as professional agents, and they were therefore interviewed in the setting of their workplace. This made their professional role more apparent and obvious, opposed to conducting the interview in their respective homes. The interviews were thus conducted in private rooms at the schools, in which the interviews could take place undisturbed. The informants were first informed of the project in an open and not too descriptive manner, so that the information of the study would not direct or (mis)lead the statements of the informants. They were given the consent forms to sign, and I explained the form to ensure an *informed consent*. They agreed and signed the form, that allowed me to interview, record and use the data of the interview. The informants and their respective schools were guaranteed full anonymity, before I officially started the interview and tape recorder. The interviews lasted between 45-55 minutes, and the informants were after the interview

debriefed with a more elaborate description of the thesis. They were again informed of their right to withdraw from the study and to contact me with any questions.

3.4. Form of transcription: discourse and meaning

When going from spoken language to written language, it becomes clear how many unfinished words and sentences, that characterize the spoken language. As the spoken words are going to be transcribed, there is a fine line between leaving out too much in the transformation and making a coherent text. There are multiple ways of transcribing interviews and the best way to transcribe depends on the purpose and aim of the study. For this thesis, the analytical focus is a deconstruction of the discursive practice of truth - and meaning construction and the actions guided by these conceptual tools.

When having a discursive focus, the particular aim of a discourse analysis is determining for the form of transcription. Whereas e.g. a conversation analysis or narrative analysis might have a focus on the particular mode of utterances, which would require a more detailed transcription, that will capture the pauses, tone of voice and single-syllable utterances, the details in the mode of utterances in a deconstruction analysis are of less importance (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 253). The transcription will therefore not include the details of single-syllables utterances (mmh, yeah, hmm, etc.), pauses in utterances or tone of voice. It is instead the meaning of the utterances, that are of analytical importance, and the transcriptions are thus written in order to construct a coherent text of meaningful conversation.

3.4.1. Lost in translation?

The informants were all Danish-speaking, and the interviews were therefore conducted in Danish as it would make the communication between me and the informants easier and more fluent. The interview transcripts are attached as appendix 1, 2 and 3; these are all written in Danish. This means, that all material for the study – transcripts and official documents – is in Danish. The material is thus translated from Danish to English as it is used and analyzed in the thesis. In a translation, there is a risk of changing the meaning of the informant's statements, as there are expressions and phrases, that are linguistically reserved the Danish language, and thus cannot be

translated directly into English. As I do so, I risk losing some meaning in the process of translation. I am in regard to the translation focusing on the original (Danish) language, and I will therefore translate as directly as possible.

3.5. Strategy of analysis

The construction of knowledge in a qualitative interview does not end, when the recorder is stopped; the analysis of the data is at least as important in the knowledge construction as the interview itself. How the data is analyzed is thus crucial in the kind of knowledge produced in the study.

3.5.1. Discourse analysis of meaning construction: deconstructing the naturalized

The analytical focus on discourse and meaning construction is carried out by an analytical strategy of deconstruction. A deconstruction of discursive practice entails a critical analysis of the statements and meanings, that are portrayed in the interviews. Knowledge, social identities and meaning have through repetition and institutionalization become deeply anchored and naturalized in both the social structure and the individual; it thus appears as objective and fixed systems. A deconstruction therefore entails ‘going beyond’ what is said and look at the social conditions for the statement in order to construct alternative meanings (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 255). The deconstruction is conducted by critically questioning the statements of the teachers and the social conditions and consequences of the statements. That is, the strategy allows for a de-naturalization of the knowledge and conceptualizations put forth by the teachers in the interview. The concepts, I for this study will analytically deconstruct, are culture and cultural deviance as they relate to the national identity and membership of Danish society.

The discursive approach in the deconstruction is brought forth as the deconstruction will reveal the discursive conflicts, that are omni-present in social practice (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 250; Fairclough, 2008). This further means, that one utterance can draw upon and display several discourses – these can even be directly contradictory. For the analysis, the same utterance can be used more than once to illustrate the discursive conflict in both interpersonal and intra-personal dialogue.

To illustrate this, I will provide an example from the data: “*I think, the most important to me is, that they learn something. That is what is says in our goals of learning and stuff like that, but it also that they learn who they are themselves. It is not just about giving characters – obviously, it is through the process of learning – but is also about constructing a character, so they will have their own personal character*” (Teacher J, 2018). This utterance displays, how the teacher both draw on a neo-liberal discourse of academic achievements *and* inclusive discourse – this will be further unfolded in the analysis, but the example illustrates, how one utterance can draw upon several discourses.

3.5.2. Theoretical analysis:

The deconstruction of naturalized knowledge and social identities is supplemented with a theoretical analysis. A theoretical analysis entails an interpretation of the discursive construction of representations through a theoretical perspective (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 261). This strategy does not follow a structured procedure, but it will instead involve a thorough reading of the transcripts and interpretation of the text from the perspective of the analytical tools (Chapter 4, p. 46). The supplement of a theoretical reading makes it possible to reconstruct a text in a (theoretically) coherent manner; this means, it is through the theoretical analysis, the generalization of the cases is possible as the abstraction of dynamic and situated processes occurs at a theoretical level (Demuth, 2018, p. 81).

This theoretical analysis will follow the findings of the (deconstructive) analysis, and the theoretical analysis will thus be placed in the discussion, where the findings will be discussed through the theoretical scope of Social Representation Theory (Moscovici, 1988) and Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (Engeström, 2001).

3.6. Ethical considerations

There are many ethical considerations that must be made before conducting an interview. Some are general for all interviews, and some are more specific in relation to informants and the issue raised in the study. The more general considerations entail *anonymity, informed consent, consequences for the informant and the role of the interviewer* (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, pp. 89-93). *Anonymity* of the informants were

guaranteed before conducting the interviews. The anonymity is ensured by the confidential storage of the recordings and the signed consent forms; these are further deleted and destroyed, when the thesis has been handed in and the requirement for documentation has expired. The informants and revealed information regarding themselves or their workplace were anonymized in the process of transcription, so that names of the informants, cities, schools or children involved have never been documented. *Informed consent* has been obtained prior to the interviews and the informants have all signed the consent form, that also informed them of their right to – at any time – retract their participation and contribution to the study. The informants were informed of the purpose of the study before the interview, and they were afterwards debriefed in more detail of the thesis. *Consequenses for the informants* have been considered in relation to how the interview could change the informants perception of themselves in relation to their own values and actions. As the questions are designed to investigate the *professional* agency and practice, the questions isolatedly are not at risk of causing harm to the self-perception of the informants nor ‘unravel’ personal issues during the interview. In the process of both transcription and analysis, I interpret the statements and actions of the informants, and unintentionally risk to both misinterpret the statements of the informant and ascribe a meaning to the stament, that the informant is either 1) unaware of or 2) disagree to. This is considered and met with a sensitivity towards the informants and a theoretical perspective, that seeks to understand the social conditions for the individual and not only personal dimensions of statements. In order to provide full disclosure of the findings of the study, all informants are offered to read the final thesis. Finally, *the role of the interviewer*, entails considering several dynamics, that are present in the process of an interview and the later analysis of data. As the interviewer, I hold the power to decide the topics and directions of the interview, and I further have the power to interpret the statements of the informants. The power imbalance in the interview setting is unavoidable; for this study, the (semi-)personal relationship with the informants made it easier to have an equal and comfortable conversation as the informants were familiar and relaxed with me as an interviewer.

For this thesis, I investigate culture, cultural differences and national identity and issues related to minority groups must raise attentiveness: As we conduct research on social issues of injustice and discrimination towards specific groups, we risk repro-

ducing the problematization or stigmatization of the group (Shapiro, 2002). However, in order to better the conditions for minority groups, we must conduct further research in the field (unless you are a believer of the kill-with-silence-approach). It seems hard to circumvent a problematization of the group in order to understand the conditions of the categorization and exclusion of the group, and here the potential benefits of the study compensate for the contributing stigmatization.

Finally, the informants in a critical study of minority groups could risk being portrayed contradictory to their own self-image and as (individually or collectively) guilty of both failing integration and bigotry/racism. With this study I do not wish to blame or ‘single-out’ the teachers of the Danish elementary school; instead, I wish to understand how teachers construct meaning and (inter)act within an already-existing social order and cultural context. It is thus the structural conditions for meaning- and identity construction, that are of interest and under critical illumination, and not the teachers as individuals.

Chapter 4: Analytical tools

This study rest upon a deductive approach, which means, that it is through the theoretical conceptual apparatus the data will be analyzed and interpreted. The analytical tools are provided by two theoretical directions within the discipline of cultural psychology; *social representation theory* (Moscovici, 1988) and *cultural-historical activity theory* (Engeström, 2001; Chaiklin, Hedegaard, & Jensen, 1999). First, social representation theory contributes to an illumination of how knowledge of culture and national identity is constructed through normative formations of cultural and social categorization. Secondly, cultural-historical activity theory provides a tool for illuminating how the conceptual mediators – such as the representation of culture and national identity – is appropriated in the action of the teachers.

These theories will be used to discuss the findings of the analysis in light of the theoretical perspectives.

4.1. Social representation theory:

The notion of social representation was developed by Sergei Moscovici (1988), that with the term gave rise to social representations as dynamic, socially shared systems of meaning, beliefs and ways of thinking, acting and feeling. That is, a social representation is a set of values, convictions and practices shared by a group or a society. Social representations “*arise and are maintained and transformed through interaction and different forms of communication between the established social structures*” (Marková, 2012, p. 489). Social representations are therefore always in the making through the social interaction of individuals or groups; thus, social representation theory becomes a theory of how people construct (social) knowledge and meaning in their everyday activities. As such, social representations are present in the experience, perception and meaning making of the individual, but they are constructed, maintained and dismantled at an interpersonal and social level. We therefore cannot distinguish between individual and collective representation (Moscovici, 1988, p. 218), as the mental representation of the individual cannot be separated from the socially shared representations.

Social representation theory as a theory of knowledge and meaning construction is the center for its application in this thesis, but before proceeding with an elaboration of the constitution of social representations, the theory will briefly be described in relation to the specific representation of social phenomena.

Social representations are always directed at something or someone; as such, representation is directed at an already-existing object. A social representation is therefore a quality or meaning designation of a specific object or social phenomenon (Marková, 2012, p. 490). Through the social representation of – in this case – a specific group of the population, the (out-)group is expected to act, think and feel in a specific way (Watzlawik & de Luna, 2017); further, the social representation of an (out-)group guides the attitudes and actions toward the group (Moscovici, 1988, p. 226; Marková, 2012, p. 493). That is, social representations are action-, thinking- and feeling guiding both for the (out-)group, that are being represented and for the (in-)group, that are representing.

Social representations are not (necessarily) shared by an entire society, and there are thus three different forms of social representations; hegemonic, emancipated and polemic (Moscovici, 1988, p. 221). The *hegemonic* representations are shared by the majority of society and appear “uniform and coercive” (*ibid.*); that is, hegemonic representations hold a great authority in the constitution of common knowledge at large. *Emancipated* representations are the representations shared within the subgroups of society e.g. within minority groups (Moscovici, 1988, p. 221; Watzlawik & de Luna, 2017, p. 249). As such, emancipated representation are alternatives to the hegemonic representations of the majority. The final kind of social representations is *polemic* representations. These representations arise in time of conflict between groups; that is, polemic representations are, when there is a battle of representations (Moscovici, 1988, p. 221). In times of conflict, the hegemonic representation of e.g. Danish identity and thus membership is challenged by the alternative representation of the minority groups, and the naturalized and objective nature of the hegemonic representation is questioned; this opens the door for social change of representations.

With this clarified, I turn towards the construction and social nature of social representation.

4.1.1. Categorization through anchoring and objectification

Social representations are normative formations, that serve the purpose of turning the strange and abstract into the familiar and concrete (Moscovici, 1988, p. 234). As I have previously stated, humans use categorization as a meaning making mechanism that gives social order and meaning to a society. However, we must be aware of the basis for categorization, the institutionalization of the categorizations and finally the consequences of these categorizations.

Social representations arise and are made social through processes of anchoring and objectification. As people meet the unfamiliar, they strive to categorize the new phenomena or social situation into already-existing categories. **Anchoring** entails the process of taking the new and unfamiliar and representing them through already-existing categories. As the strange is turned familiar, and the novelty wears off, the familiar turns trivial and self-upholding; that is, it becomes objectified. **Objectification** thus involves turning the concrete into something general (Moscovici, 1988, p. 235). As an example, when social representations of minority groups are objectified, the individual and contextual variables are neglected, because the individual is framed by the social representation of ‘minority’.

Social representations are communicative or symbolic in their origin; they originate only as discursive acts as social actors organize their (social) world. However, as social representations are repeated through institutionalized practice, they become common knowledge, common sense and naturalized beliefs: “*as these [symbolic exchanges in interaction] are repeated and eventually become routinized, they assume an objective character as institutionalized practices and beliefs*” (Moscovici, 1988, p. 213). Thus, the institutional practice will reflect the already-existing representations and illuminate how they are constructed, maintained or transformed through practice.

This leads to the next section, that will describe how teachers appropriate, internalize and interpret the social representation and social categorization of bilingual children.

4.2. Cultural-historical activity theory:

As I for this study have applied a discursive perspective, one might ask: what about the agency of the individual, and what about action – is it all language and structure? The short answer would be no – a longer answer will be provided in the following section. Discourse and social representations are constructed through the actions and (discursive) practice of agents in a given society or institution. With the theory of cultural-historical activity theory, the individual as agent is given a more prominent role in the construction of meaning, knowledge and social identities.

As agents, people can intentionally and actively act within the frame of the culturally and socially constructed (or “given”). That is, “*agencies refer to the world by acting with reference to the world, by experiencing it (they think, feel perceive, imagine, etc.), by influencing it (actions are genuinely contextual), and by speaking about it*” (Eckensberger, 2012, p. 360). The actions of agents are crucial for meaning construction and discursive practice; there is no action – neither discursive nor non-verbal – without an agent to perform it. That is, the dialectic relation between individual and society presupposes an agent. How the action of the individual is embedded in a contextual and cultural setting will in the following section be elaborated through the concept of activity systems.

4.2.1. The activity system

The action of the individual is not intra-personally driven; people act within a complex structure of both internal and external components. This structure is called an *activity system*. The activity system consists of 1) the subject, 2) the community, 3) rules, 4) the division of labor, 5) mediating tools, 6) an object and finally, 7) the outcome of action (Hancock & Miller, 2017, p. 4). This web of components in the activity system was developed by Engeström (2001) and is illustrated below:

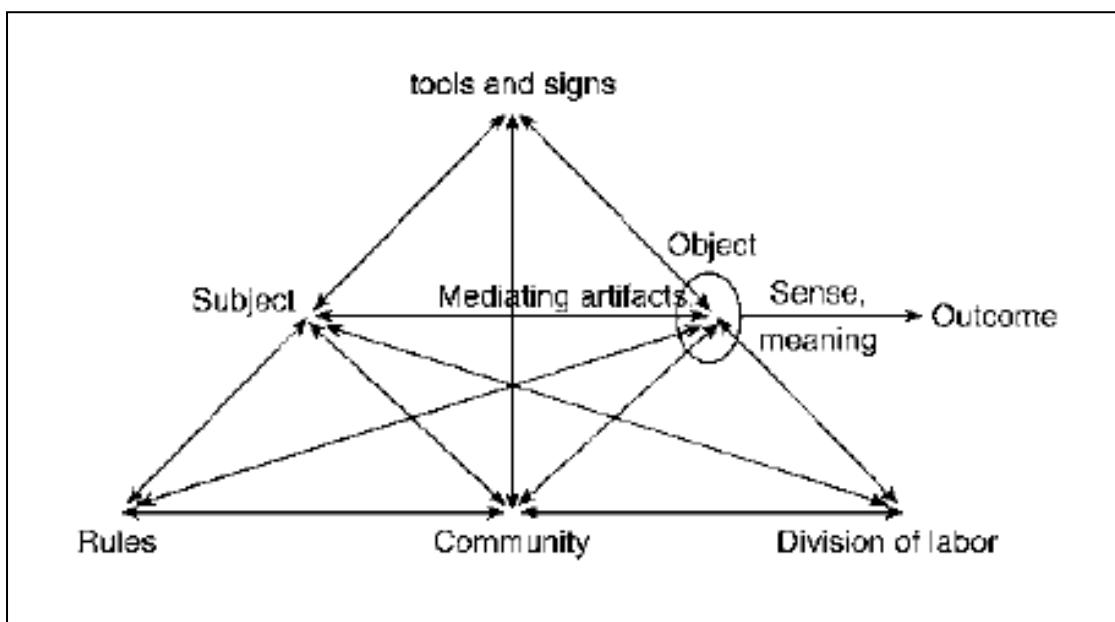


Figure 4: The activity system by Engeström (2001, p. 135)

That is, actions are oriented towards a desired goal for the future, but as such, the desired outcome and action toward it is influenced by the context of action. Action thus lies in the intersection between the individual and the cultural context (Eckensberger, 2012, p. 367). For this study, I will focus on the relation between the components of the subject, mediating tools and rules, and these will therefore be further elaborated.

It can fairly quickly be stated, that the *subject* for this study is the teacher of the Danish elementary school. However, the mediating tools and rules in the activity system need to be clarified in relation to this study. *Mediating tools* can be both material and conceptual, and they serve as enforcers of action and knowledge construction (Hancock & Miller, 2017, p. 4). For this study, I focus further on the conceptual

tools; here understood as the social representations, the teachers draw upon in their actions toward bilingual children in the classroom. That is, how teachers construct and appropriate the social representations and conceptualizations of culture and deviance. **Rules** refer to the both explicit and implicit discourses that guide and frame the (inter)action, taking place in the classroom (Hancock & Miller, 2017, p. 4). For this study, the rules are considered as the (explicit) rules of educational policies and the (implicit) rules of social norms embedded in discourses.

By applying cultural-historical activity theory as an analytical tool, I will be able to illuminate the (meaningful) action of the teachers as it unfolds between societal rules and conceptual tools of social representation. This will allow me to uncover how the conceptual tools are appropriated by the teachers, thus guiding their action.

Chapter 5: Analysis

The theoretical framework, methodical approach and analytical focus have now been presented and before introducing the analysis, I will once more state the problem statement, that will be guiding the analysis. The problem statement sounds as follows: “*How do teachers in a multilingual classroom interpret and act upon the conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance? And how does this conceptualization frame and facilitate Danish membership for bilingual children?*”. This is the question, I aim to address by giving a descriptive picture of the teacher’s conceptualizations as they unfold in their discursive practice.

The analysis will take a descriptive form, that illuminates **5.1.)** how teachers interpret and have internalized the social frame of political discourses and municipal/governmental guidelines and demands for education in the multicultural classroom, **5.2.)** how teachers construct cultural categories connected to bilingualism and multiculturalism and **5.3.)** how teachers discursively express and construct Danish identity through social categorization.

5.1. Social frame: interpreting political discourse

Within the meta-theoretical framework previously outlined, this study is based on the assumption that social actors think and act from and within a social frame of available discourses and possibilities for action. Therefore, the first step in the analysis will be how the teachers interpret and act within the educational policies, that are established by both the government and the respective municipalities of the schools. The analysis will illuminate the interpretation of the established discourses in the educational policies; firstly, a neoliberal discourse of academic focus and individuality, and secondly, an inclusive discourse of social focus and sociality. Finally, the frame of political regulations and laws are described in relation to teacher action.

5.1.1. Academic goals: the neoliberal discourse

The reformation of the Danish school system in 2010 was a turning point in both the structure and the focus in the Danish elementary school, that shifted from a social

agenda of bildung to a systematized and standardized measurement of academic achievements (Pedersen, 2011). This has for this study been described through the neo-liberal turn of discourse in Danish society. Teachers have therefore been subjected to a new form of practice, and they have since the reformation been obligated to follow more specified practices and the outcomes of practice are to a higher degree being measured and evaluated. The teachers all express the academic and outcome-based focus in the education – both in general and specifically in relation to bilingual children.

In general, the teachers find the academic achievements and academic outcome to be the most important aspect of schooling: “*Primarily, I think it* (the elementary school) *must give academic abilities to the pupils. Next, there are many other things that I think is really, really important, and that is among others a term like bildung*” (Teacher R, 2018). This is supported by teacher J, who states: “*Well, I think the most important to me is that they learn something. That is what is says in our goals of learning and stuff like that, but it also that they learn who they are themselves. It is not just about giving characters – obviously, it is through the process of learning – but is also about constructing a character, so they will have their own personal character*” (Teacher J, 2018). The teachers here agree, that academic learning is the primary purpose of the elementary school, and secondary is the common bildung of social character. As Teacher J further explains, the academic learning is the only formal measure by which teachers can direct their teaching practice; “*But there is made a national survey of well-being once every year, that gives you an overview [...] But there are no goals of learning for that*” (Teacher J, 2018). Whereas academic goals are met and measured, the social goals of well-being are not to the same degree formalized and standardized. That is, the governmental and municipal aim of academic achievement becomes fundamental for how teachers can and will view their task as there has been established certain goals of learning, that teachers in their practice must accomplish. The focus on social development has thus been pushed into the background – not left out – of the elementary school as the evaluation of the teachers and their education is based formally on academic achievements.

More specifically in terms of bilingual children and education, as bilingual children have been integrated in the ordinary classes, the primary aim for the teachers at the

DSA-center is on the linguistic and academic abilities to part-take in the class. When asked, which goals to meet from municipal side in relation to bilingual children, Teacher L answered: “*I guess, that it is to have them as well integrated in the Danish school system, and by that it is meant, that they can follow the classes, and that they can try to reach the same level as the children in the Danish classes*” (Teacher L, 2018). Teacher B supports and supplements this statement by saying; “*For us, the end-goal must be, that they all have their final exam, because if they have an exam, they have the opportunity to move forward in the educational system, get a job – or get a higher education or maybe just a secondary education and then get a job, so they can provide for themselves*” (Teacher B, 2018). The above illustrates the academic focus and down-prioritizing of social and mental integration; The aim of integration in the school is here expressed as the ability to reach the same academic level as the monolingual children in the class. However, as Teacher B continues to explain, the resources in bilingual education is not adequate for performing the integrative task, the teachers face in the school: “*it means that from my chair as a teacher, there is not enough resources to carry out the task of providing the children with a sufficient vocabulary, understanding and presumptions of the Danish language*” (Teacher B, 2018). The teachers must thus prioritize between both children and tasks in their work, and the socially integrative work gets down-prioritized in order to meet the formal political demands of language-acquisition and academic results. This means, that the successful integration of bilingual children becomes a matter of their academic success:

“*I think we do it (succeed with integration) at this school and there has also been published a new report from the national association of the municipalities, and this municipality actually got a (top-placement) among the 98 municipalities, that meant that we had – as far as I can remember – the best grades for the bilinguals, when they left the school. So, if you measure on skills and grades, I do not think there is much to question*” (Teacher R, 2018).

The unquestionable(?) nature of grades makes this scale an explicit measure for the successful work with bilingual children, but the scale does not entail the social and individual development of the children – this thus becomes an implicit task, underlying the discursive practice of the teachers.

5.1.2. Social goals: an inclusive discourse

Bilingual children have with the change of policy in bilingual education been relocated from special classes into the ordinary classes. Teachers are thus subjected to an increasing diversity among children; both linguistically, religiously and socio-economically. Where the aims and demands for academic learning and achievement is explicitly described and outlined by policy-makers, the practice of inclusion and social development appears to be more implicit and value-laden.

One of the social aims for the teachers to meet from political side is well-being. This is not something, that like the academic aims, is measurable: *“it is widely defined things, that they are going to be okay and they should be safe, and they should be good friends and such. But there is made a national survey of well-being once every year, that gives you an overview [...] But there are no goals of learning for that”* (Teacher J, 2018). The view on well-being is shared and elaborated by Teacher R: *“Well-being is, when you can relax and be yourself, and you are allowed to be who you are”* (Teacher R, 2018). The statements illustrate the value-laden and implicit nature of the social aims in the school, that teachers must relate to in their practice of inclusive education.

Bilingual education – as it has become integrated in the ordinary schools – has meant a reduction in the municipal budgets. The teachers express, that they do not have the resources or time to perform the task: *“it means that from my chair as a teacher, there is not enough resources to carry out the task of providing the children with a sufficient vocabulary, understanding and presumptions of the Danish language”* (Teacher B, 2018), and teacher L supplements as she describes the consequences of the lacking resources – both for the teachers and children: *“We run as fast as we can, and there are some, where we can move them some, and then there are some, we can move as much as they can and take them to the level, they can reach – and it is so frustrating as a teacher not to have the time for them”* (Teacher L, 2018). The economic resources and thus time per child are not sufficient for the teachers to perform the social task of integrating and preparing the children socially (nor academically) for the ordinary classes of the elementary school. This is also evident in the ordinary classes, where teacher J, when asked, if the elementary school succeed in the integra-

tive task, responds: “*No, I do not believe it does. But many would probably say it is due to (lack of) resources*” (Teacher J, 2018). The economic and timely resources from municipal side are not enough for the teachers to act in relation to integrating the children socially, and this task is therefore an underlying effect of academic education and every-day discursive practice.

Whereas the academic outcome is both valued and measured in education, the social outcome of schooling is by contrast a ‘product’, that is not so easily defined: “*I think, the most important to me is, that they learn something. That is what is says in our goals of learning and stuff like that, but it also that they learn who they are themselves. It is not just about giving characters – obviously, it is through the process of learning – but is also about constructing a character, so they will have their own personal character*” (Teacher J, 2018). This quote has in the previous subsection been used to illustrate the neo-liberal discourse, but here it illustrates the social aim of socialization within the school, that seeks to create individuals for life after school. However, building a character is not formally defined, and the teachers must therefore construct the desired character based on the normative assumptions of correct bildung. As Teacher R describes bildung, “*it is more the understanding of, that there is a “who am I” and “why am I like this in society” and “why is society like this” and so forth. That is what I mean with the word bildung*” (Teacher R, 2018). This statement illustrates the contextual essence of the character (or identity) construction, and the need for further investigation of the normative constitution of the positioning of bilingual children in the both the educational system and society.

5.1.3. Acting within political lines

The political frame is the most formal and explicit frame of education that teachers can relate to in their practice, but teachers act within a variety of different frames for their practice. As Teacher J describes:

“*There is a governmental frame, then there is a municipal frame, then there is the frame of the school and the ‘phase’-frame and then there is the individual teacher. But if the individual teacher dares to be himself and dares to enter, the way I do, because I have been a teacher for so many years with colleagues, that I work well*

with, who I know have the same view on teaching as me, then there really is not a narrow frame” (Teacher J, 2018).

This quote illustrates the many different aspects and levels of governance in education that teachers must relate to in their practice, and the governmental frame is here described as the over-all frame for teachers to act within; but teacher J, who has been in the field for many years, expresses the possibility for interpreting and acting within the frame of the law as he continues; “*I interpret. It is a frame-law, that we have, so I interpret it as wide as possible*” (Teacher J, 2018). He describes the many years of practice as a factor in his ability to interpret the demands for education wide enough for him to act in accordance to his personal beliefs and motivations. But the frame for interpretation can only be so wide, and when facing issues related to cultural differences, the law is the final determinator in the action towards the child and her/his family: “*So, if you cross this line, then we have to do something in relation to the law, there is*” (Teacher J, 2018). The law as final and over-all frame is supported by a younger teacher, who expresses the importance and determination of the law, when facing an issue related to bilingual children; “*If they then choose not to come, well, then that is how it is, because at that point you do not have the law on your side*” (Teacher R, 2018). When the issues are value-laden – as they often are in cultural matters – the law is a certain and unquestionable frame to turn towards; if children for religious reasons will not participate in activities, the law can be the final argument: “*So, if you say, “I will not participate in sexual education” or “I will not participate in swimming class” ... I have a hard time (accepting that) personally, but I act in relation to the law – that is, “listen, it says so in the law, you have to participate in swimming class otherwise you must bring a medical certificate”*”(Teacher R, 2018).

However, there are several aspects involved in cultural practices, that the law has not legislated against (yet); in the debate concerning pork in the schools, teacher L describes her own attitude and action towards the “special request” for chicken or halal: “*But, then you just make something with chicken [...] I do not know, if it is because you have been in the game for so long, that you just think “it is not so hard to order some chicken instead of ordering pork, and it is not so hard to go to the Arabian grocery store and do that extra to get some halal-slaughtered meat”*”(Teacher L,

2018). A question of religious practices – such as not eating pork – is answered by the teachers in the classroom, and as the quote illustrates, the teachers must do an extra effort to meet the request of Muslims. Again, are the years of experience used as an explanation in the ‘walking the extra mile’ to go beyond the frame of the government, municipality and school policy.

5.2. Cultural categories in the classroom

As I have described the interpretations of the political and social discourse and frame, and I will now proceed with the next step of the analysis; the cultural categories constructed by the teachers in the multicultural classroom. This step in the analysis will entail a descriptive analysis of 1.) how teachers uses culture as an explanatory factor in the categorization of children, and 2.) how teachers understand the practice of inclusion and integration in the school through their conceptualization of culture.

5.2.1. Culture as an explanatory factor

“Culture” is widely used in political discourse and educational policies and the ability to handle culture-related issues is expected by teachers in a multicultural classroom (Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 5). Their conceptualization of culture is thus essential to understand how they act upon cultural differences. The concept of culture appears to be explanatory in three different aspects of the multicultural classroom; 1) behavior and cognition, 2) issues and 3) differences.

Firstly, the interviews of the teachers showed a conceptualization of culture as explanatory to behavior, thoughts, perceptions and development. Culture is by the teachers described to entail various aspects of human behavior, thinking and feeling: “*I think of at least language, and I also think of habits*” (Teacher R, 2018).

The descriptions of culture given by the teachers entail a static understanding of culture, that categorizes behavior and values as a specific cultural trait: “*Culture could be the what, that makes you not wanting to hold hands, when you dance folkdance in physical education in second grade*” (Teacher B, 2018). This quote illustrates how culture is used to explain how children will act in specific ways because of their culture – thus categorizing the child in question as a cultural representative, because

‘some cultures will not hold hands’. As teacher J further describes: “*Culture is the way, you perceive the world and act in the world, I would say*” (Teacher J, 2018). Culture is hereby represented as a specific way of viewing and acting in the world as directly linked to cultural background.

By classifying children according to cultural background, it is unavoidable to generalize on the basis of culture. This is illustrated by a statement of Teacher R: “*I have classes, where there are 4, 5, 6 different cultures, that think and act in the ways, that they... The culture, they have in their luggage. And they must also relate to the Danish culture*” (Teacher R, 2018). The conceptualization of culture as a static container of coherent personality traits here leads to the teacher first reducing the children to the general definition of a culture and next assign them the intention and action of that culture.

Secondly, the interviews showed a conceptualization of culture to be explanatory to issues in the classroom. As teachers meet challenges in the multicultural classroom, culture becomes the variable used to explain them. “*I think it is a hurdle for many Danish teachers, who has to get used to it; who are not used to working with bilingual children, that there are some cultural differences, that sometimes makes it hard to communicate*” (Teacher L, 2018). It is here described how culture and cultural differences are the reason for communicative challenges in the classroom. Teacher B supplements this statement by saying: “[...] *I think, you could spend a little more time educating teachers in, how to handle the cultural challenges, there are, when there is so many children from the Arabian world, as there are – because it does raise challenges*” (Teacher B, 2018). Here especially the Arabic bilingual children are problematized on the basis of their cultural or national background.

Thirdly, the conceptualization of culture appears to be explanatory to differences between monolingual and bilingual children. The (individual) differences between mono- and bilingual children are explained by cultural differences. Whereas differences in the group of monolingual children might be explained through individual, familial or medical factors, the distinguishing marker for bilingual children is culture: “*The other thing is that in their culture, it is apparently deeply anchored, that what you do not see and what you do not find out, is okay, and we do not feel that*

way either" (Teacher J, 2018). The quote illustrates both the static conceptualization of culture as something deeply anchored in the individual, and the differentiation constituted on the basis of culture. This is further elaborated by teacher B: "[...] but it is the cultural differences that lead to, that you might have a childhood or adolescence, that is markedly different than the normality of what Danish children have" (Teacher B, 2018). Culture is hereby described as the explanation to the segregation of "Danish" children and bilingual children. As Teacher L describes "*In the Education Act, it says, that we must practice teaching, so that they (the children) becomes equal, learns democracy and humanity. [...] that is in relation to the law, but as Teacher B has touched upon, being Danish – I guess – is being able to act within a society, that does not look like the one, you come from*" (Teacher L, 2018). The children must thus leave behind previous experiences and norms in order to act within a different society.

Culture is conceptualized as a static entity, that determines your perception and behavior, and the practice of cultural inclusion then becomes an obvious next step for the analysis.

5.2.2. Inclusion: a homogenization of language and culture

The teachers understand and use *culture* as an explanation for the diversity of children and the issues related to it. The aim for inclusion through tolerance and acceptance of diversity is by the teachers understood as a natural condition. They express "[...] it is at least not something, that I have articulated or made visible to the pupils, that we must be acceptive and tolerate each other and so on [...] to me, it just goes without saying" (Teacher R, 2018). The inclusive discourse is further communicated by teacher B: "*I do not care if you believe in Allah or God*" (Teacher B, 2018). The teachers explicitly state a tolerance towards children in the classroom in terms of religious and social differences. Further, they agree upon the right and opportunity for all children to be accepted and included in the classroom: "*Well-being is, that you can relax and be yourself, and you are allowed to be who you are, and you find a place, where you can be comfortable in your own skin*" (Teacher R, 2018). The autonomy and individual right for development is apparently an important aspect of the social well-being in the school.

However, in order to include bilingual children – both socially and academically – the teachers further express an aim for adapting and assimilating to Danish culture – understood as a static entity of mutual behavior, values and language. As it is stated: “*I think, that you – if you come to the country – as far as possible should try to take in the Danish culture*” (Teacher R, 2018). This is further supported and elaborated by Teacher J: “*I just think, that it is important, that when you come to Denmark, you have to take part in the Danish culture – that would be the wide form of Danish culture; you know who the royal family is; how our governance is; how the school is organized; how the educational system is organized – and then adjust to that*” (Teacher J, 2018). Danish culture is thus conceptualized through the institutionalized practices, traditions and norms of society. However, through this, (Danish) culture is expressed to be a concept or a history, you should fit into as it is represented as a pre-defined container with specific characteristics. Inclusion thus appears to be reserved for those, who fit into the frame of Danish culture and those who do not must assimilate to the definition of Danish culture.

The teachers are through their practice aiming to teach and guide bilingual children in the direction of Danish cultural practices. The teachers do express sensitivity towards cultural differences and an understanding of the change of cultural practices, that bilingual children may experience between the home-country and Denmark or the home and the Danish elementary school: “*We must as teachers be aware of, that we have to speak the language, that they speak in the first place, and then nice and easily guide them into the Danish culture*” (Teacher J, 2018). Teacher L supports the sensitivity and patience necessary for teaching bilingual children as she states: “*We cannot expect, that they learn it right away. So, we can try to develop them in the direction of democracy and participation*” (Teacher L, 2018). However explicitly inclusive, the approach is still directed at teaching the children “Danish” values in order to participate in society. As Teacher B states: “*Culture is many things, it is not just about countries. Whether we accept it? We have a culture in Denmark, that has some pillars, that has to do with participation and that has to do with democracy. That is what we need to teach them*” (Teacher B, 2018). The teachers display an awareness of the multifaceted essence of culture as all of them had difficulties narrowing it down to specific characteristics. However, the teachers do appear to under-

stand culture in terms of the (national) categories and the values, language and meaning connected to the category.

The teacher conceptualization of culture and cultural difference and deviance is described through a static and pre-defined category of Danish culture as it opposes other cultural groups. The cultural category of Danish culture, that entails a specific mentality and way of living, leads to the next step in the analysis, that will describe the construction of Danish identity in the multicultural classroom.

5.3. Constructing Danish identity

National identity is a social construction that simultaneously unites and divides (Triandafyllidou, 1998); through the categorization of “Danish”, the characteristics or demands for membership is (normatively) listed – including those, who fit the description and excluding those, who do not. This final step in the analysis will describe, how the teachers (co)construct Danish identity through categorization and differentiation. Firstly, the definition of Danish identity is illuminated and secondly, the positioning of bilingual children is described in relation to the definition of Danish identity.

5.3.1. Categorization of the Danish identity:

Danish as a national group is a category, that entails a variety of mutual characteristics between its members. In the categorization of Danish identity, the teachers point out several markers that identify a Danish member – and the non-members. The teachers express three different characteristics of the Danish identity, that will be described through the analysis; 1.) the placement of national identity, 2.) the historic development of the nation and society from religious state to democratic governance and 3.) the trust in the welfare system.

Firstly, the Danish identity is by the teachers not bound by physical appearance or national background *per se*: “*That (Danishness) is from our language to our mentality, democratic bildung, habits of food [...] I do not immediately think, that it is skin color or whether you have brown eyes or light eyes. That is not at all, what I connect with it. It is more mentality*” (Teacher R, 2018). The quote illustrates the purely men-

tal or socially shared nature of a national identity; the concept is not bound to visible or material factors. However, the national identity is by Teacher B further tied to the legal definition and acknowledgment of membership: “*The Danish society is a well-organized society, that is built on principles of justice. When the government chooses to grant you Danish citizenship, then you are per definition Danish. So, you are Danish, when you have a Danish citizenship*” (Teacher B, 2018). But as he continues: “*Are you Danish because you go (to parties) and integrate with others and get really drunk at age 15? Yes, you might be. Is it a good thing? No, I do not think it is*” (Teacher B, 2018). This illustrates, that there are two levels of Danish membership; a legal definition of citizenship and a mental definition of sameness among members that goes beyond the legal acknowledgment.

Secondly, the history of Denmark as a nation and society is fundamental to the Danish identity; we are who we used to be. As teacher J describes the Danish identity: “*It is also, that you know your own history; what we come from*” (Teacher J, 2018). Danish identity is here represented as the historic development and the knowledge of this as a characteristic or requirement for membership. As such, the development of society and how this is presented in the classroom is essential to the current Danish identity; Teacher R, who teaches history, describes the development of Danish society like this: “*It could be going from a deeply religious society, to being a – some might say dictatorial society during the absolutism until today, where we have democracy and a certain form of liberal society*” (Teacher R, 2018). The Danish history and current state is here presented as a movement from religion to democracy. Democracy as governance and a democratic philosophy or mentality are described as an important aspect in the Danish identity: “*That (being Danish) is, when you have a democratic view on life, I would say. You must support democracy as governance*” (Teacher J, 2018). The importance of democracy is evident in the descriptions of the teacher as the foundation for Danish society; democracy entails equal participation and freedom for all. This (democratic) view is listed as different from the religious views, and the two views could appear to be fixed and ununitable.

When linking history to identity, traditions become important. Albeit, the religious dominance is no longer a characteristic of Danish identity, the religious history of

Denmark as a Christian country is still evident in the traditions and norms of educational practice: “*There is a tradition in this place, that we go to church, and everyone must attend. And it is not making you Christian to go to church [...] It is more the message and the tradition therein*” (Teacher R, 2018). Religion and more specifically Christianity is presented as a part of both Danish history and present identity. The practice of going to church before Christmas is occurring in most Danish elementary schools, and the tradition of Christian practices constitutes a significant identity marker of Denmark in the school system. That is, although Denmark is not identified as a religious society or nation⁷, the religious traditions of Christianity is still a part of both the history and current representation of Danish identity.

Thirdly, the teachers describe trust in both the school as institution and society as a whole as a fundamental characteristic of the Danish identity. In the school, there is an implicit or underlying trust in the behavior of the social actors therein: “*In Denmark, we teach on the trust [...] I trust you to come here and that you do your homework*” and then that is the foundation for us meeting each other” (Teacher J, 2018). Trust is here presented as the foundation for practicing education, as the teachers and children alike depend on each other to show up and act according to expected roles of the school setting. Teacher R elaborates: “[...] they come from a culture, where there might have been a different way to be disciplined, and then you come to Denmark, where it might seem a little laissez-faire, that it is only verbal reprimands and not a cane [...]” (Teacher R, 2018). The statement illustrates, the implicit role expectations of Danish society; there are no physical sanctions. The Danish sanctions of not acting and thinking according to conventions thus become verbal – by getting yelled at – and social - by being excluded.

At a larger scale of Danish identity, Teacher J continues: “*And I would say being Danish is also this trustful form of tone and social conventions*” (Teacher J, 2018). The quote further illustrates the trust in the expected behavior of the social actors in society and school in particular. However, it is not just a trust in the individual, we meet in the interaction; the trust in the people upholding the system is also character-

⁷ The Danish constitution is built on Lutheran principles and the Danish church is still the only government supported House of Religion in Denmark

istic of the Danish identity: “*You could say, that we in Danish culture have a pretty big trust in the entire system, if you can put it that way., without having to consider bringing money in an envelope every time we leave the house and so forth*” (Teacher R, 2018). The Danish identity is thus characterized by the safe society, where both the individuals and the systems in place are dependable and behave, think and feel according to the norms and expectations.

5.3.2. Bilingual >< Danish: identification through differentiation

National identity – and other group identities for that matter – is based on the distinction from other groups (Triandafyllidou, 1998; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). This position both the group members and the non-group members in the social order of society. Bilingual children appear to be positioned in opposition to the Danish identity and ‘Danish’ children. The teachers positioning of bilingual children as others appear to be founded on 1) their opposition to ‘Danish’ children and 2) differentiation in treatment and privileges.

Firstly, bilingual children are othered in their position from Danish children. The cultural background of bilingual children has been found to differentiate them from other children in the multicultural classroom; however, these cultural differences also appear to position bilingual children as others in the Danish community: “[...] but it is the cultural differences that lead to, that you might have a childhood or adolescence, that is markedly different than the normality of what Danish children have” (Teacher B, 2018). The cultural differences here are not just presented as merely cultural differences, but the quote illustrates the linguistic representation of bilingual children in opposition to Danish children on the basis of cultural differences. Another statement by Teacher J illustrates the division of bilingual children and Danish children: “*They (bilingual children) are not different from Danish children*” (Teacher J, 2018). The quote illustrates that despite of a tolerant attitude toward bilingual children, they are still linguistically categorized as non-members; albeit they are described as ‘not different from Danish children’, they are still linguistically positioned in relation to Danish children, thus positioning the dichotomy of bilingual >< Danish. Bilingual is here represented in opposition to Danish children. This is further illus-

trated by Teacher J, who states: “*That might be some of the best, by having foreigners in Denmark; that is, that we are forced to relate to, who we are – both as a nation and as population with all the cultural values, that we have*” (Teacher J, 2018). This quote clearly illustrates how the identification of Danish occurs in relation and opposition to others – the others here being the ‘foreign’, bilingual children. As some bilingual children are born and raised in a foreign country, the term ‘foreign’ is (isolated) not a discriminatory definition; however, as some bilingual children are born and raised in Denmark – some might hold a Danish citizenship – they are through the definition of ‘bilingual’ identified as foreign – that is, not (valid) Danish memberships.

Secondly, bilingual children (and their families) are othered by being differentiated in term of treatment and privileges. The inclusive practice entails being tolerated, accepted and treated equally; however, bilingual children and their families are treated differently on the basis of their cultural practices: “*There is the example with that boy, we had in, who had skipped classes, where we then asked..., and we would never ever do to a Danish family*” (Teacher B, 2018). The quote illustrates, that despite of good intentions from the teacher, who tries to meet the family in eye-sight, bilingual children are receiving a differentiated practice and are positioned in relation to the Danish families – linguistically positioning them as others. This representation is further illustrated by the statement of Teacher J: “*So, you have to be aware, that we have a culture, and we demand from the people living in Denmark – Danes too – that they live up to the commitments, there are in the community*” (Teacher J, 2018). This quote further illustrates the discursive division of bilingual children and Danish children on the basis of culture. Teacher J here states, that bilingual children are subjected to the same demands as the rest of the population, but as he continues: “*If I visit someone, I cannot sit in a corner and ask for special food; I cannot sit and listen to my very own music and behave in a specific way and demand that others should adjust to the way I am*” (Teacher J, 2018). The quote illustrates two things; first, bilingual children are not described as equal members who can decide which music, food or behavior, they wish. They are here stripped of the privilege to choose for themselves. Second, they are linguistically positioned as non-members. By using this analogy, the teacher represents bilingual children as visitors in Denmark and not as valid Danes. A Danish characteristic of society is the equal right to support, but as

bilingual children have been found to be subjected to generalizations due to cultural background. They are further being categorized as a sub-group of the Danish population – who even are being problematized: “*They can really have the culture, they want to, but for me, we cannot live with – in a country like Denmark – that more than 50 % of the people coming here, are receiving government support*” (Teacher B, 2018). As a sub-group, the bilingual segment of Denmark is being problematized in term of the support from the government.

As a final remark, I will quote Teacher R, who describes the reason as he sees it for the withdrawal and division: “*It could also be what happens outside of the school that enter the school domain; I mean, who you are allowed to hang out with and why you are not allowed to hang out with (others), and what could happen if you hang out. But it is founded on it being unknown and then you maybe withdraw*” (Teacher R, 2018). As teacher R describes it, the unfamiliarity of people – as it goes both ways – makes them distance them from each other, and the way to bring people closer is thus to inform and make the unknown, known.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The analysis has been conducted as a deconstruction of naturalized conceptualizations and knowledge of teachers in the Danish elementary school. The analysis identified three findings, which in the following chapter will be further discussed through the theoretical scope of social representation theory (Moscovici, 1988) and cultural-historical activity theory (Engeström, 2001). **Firstly**, I have through the analysis found that the discourses available to the teachers in the official, political guidelines and demands are dominated by 1) a neo-liberal discourse of academia and individual rights/responsibility and 2) an inclusive discourse of social responsibility and social tolerance and diversity. The findings suggest that the teachers within this social frame of political discourses are using the political/legal framework in the matters of formally defined academic goals in the school; the (culture) inclusive aspect does however not hold the same formal and explicit definitions as the academic, and the conceptualization of culture thus was the next object for analysis, which led to the second finding in the analysis. That is, **secondly**, the analysis suggested that teachers conceptualize culture as the explanation for the action, thinking and perceiving of individuals – as well as the explanation for social (and individual) differences.

Culture is thus found to be conceptualized as a fixed entity of homogenous language, values, history and – to some degree – religion. The findings suggested that in order to be considered culturally included, a certain degree of assimilation of culture is required. Culture is found to be conceptualized through national categories, and the Danish culture or Danish identity was thus the next step for the analysis. This step identified the third finding, as **I thirdly** found, that the Danish identity constructed in the school setting is build with the conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance. Danish culture as the core of danish identity is thus used as a differentiation marker between bilingual children vs. Danish children and as such, culture is used to categorize the Danish members – and the non-members.

As I have presented the findings of the analysis, I will continue this chapter with 1) a theoretical discussion of the data, 2) a discussion of the social context of this study and how this study can be understood in a broader social scale and 3) a discussion of the methodical and epistemological limitations and implications of the study.

The main focus of the theoretical discussion of data will be the social representation of culture and cultural deviance by applying the perspective of Social Representation Theory (SRT). Secondarily, the agency and actions of the teachers are discussed through the perspective of Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT); this will be discussed in relation to how teachers appropriate the mediating tools of social representations in the actions toward bilingual children in the multicultural classroom.

Following the theoretical discussion of data, I will discuss how we can place the findings of this study in a broader social scale. I will here discuss how we can understand the institutional discursive practice of the school as (dialectically) constitutional for the discursive practice at a societal level; that is, how the social representations in the school is connected to the social representation of society. This will lead to a discussion of how the national identity represented and constructed in the school can affect the national membership – or exclusion thereof – of bilingual children.

Finally, in the chapter, I will discuss the methodical and epistemological limitations and implications of this study in order to provide a more nuanced and humble answer to a complex question of integration. This will lead to a discussion of the need for further research in the field of integration in the setting of the school.

6.1. Theoretical discussion of data

This discussion will be a theoretically informed discussion of the data through the theories presented in chapter 4; social representation theory (SRT) and cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT). As stated above, the main focus for this subsection will be the conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance, that is discussed through the scope of SRT. Firstly, culture will be discussed as a hegemonic representation; secondly, culture as hegemonic representation will be discussed in terms of how culture thus is used as an exclusionary concept; thirdly, I will discuss the human need for categorization in order to provide a nuanced discussion of the categorizations of the teachers; and fourth and finally, I will discuss the social representation of culture (and cultural deviance) as conceptual tools, appropriated by the teachers in their actions through CHAT.

6.1.1. Culture: a hegemonic representation

From the preliminary study of educational policies, culture appeared to be represented as a container of specific cultural traits. This definition of culture as a rigid and fixed container of specific character traits, perceptions and values appears to go unquestioned by the teachers. The representation of culture can thus be argued to be a hegemonic representation; as such, the representation is shared by the majority and holds a certain authority and unquestionability (Moscovici, 1988).

On the other hand, *Danish* culture can through the analysis be understood as a polemic representation. Different groups battle on defining the Danish culture and identity; the traditional, historical definition of Danish identity – that has been and still might be shared by the majority of society – has been challenged by an increasing diversity and the growing sub-group of migrants and descendants, who has challenged the naturalized representation of Danish culture and identity (Moscovici, 1988, p. 221). The teachers illustrate the polemic nature of the representation of Danish culture and Danish identity by both expressing the majority-defined representation of Danish culture characterized especially by democracy and democratic values *and* the emancipated representation of Danish identity by expressing that Danish culture and identity does not lie in the consumption of pork or renouncement of Allah. Danish culture and identity thus appear to be a conflicted and multifaceted concept, that is open to interpretation, and whose dominant characteristics are challenged by the teachers.

However, the isolated concept of culture appears to be deeply anchored in the institutional practice and culture appears to be a natural category of specific people and their characteristics. As teachers then interpret and use culture in a general sense, they reproduce the representation of culture as static container. As cultural competencies are required in the multicultural classroom in the school, the teachers use the hegemonic representation of culture as an explanatory factor in explaining the differences of bilingual and monolingual children. That is, although the dominant representation of *Danish* culture appears to be challenged by the teachers, the differentiation of children is still based on the hegemonic representation of the very notion of culture.

6.1.2. Culture as exclusion mechanism

As the very notion of culture is statically conceptualized as a container of specific groups of people, this representation appears to have been objectified in the institution of school. The characteristics of a culture appear to be objectified through both institutional practices in the school and through more symbolic values of democratic governance, religious symbols and - also - language.

The findings of the analysis suggest that culture is represented as a group of people, who share similar language, values and norms; the way to be included is thus conditioned by bilingual children's ability to assimilate to Danish culture. Here I will put forth the argument, that culture through this conceptualization becomes exclusionary in effect. As bilinguals are expected to assimilate in order to be included and the lack of assimilation is problematized, bilingual children themselves are being problematized - and "*one cannot qualify groups as problems, which is a kind of identity designation, without actually derogating them*" (Moscovici, 2011, p. 450). The effect of representing bilingual children as culturally different from monolingual children can in this perspective run the risk of being exclusionary of bilingual children from the cultural category of Danish members.

For instance, non-western migrants and descendants – especially Muslims – have long been represented as a particularly problematized group in Danish society – if the representation of the politicians and medias are to be trusted. The non-western group of bilingual children was also highlighted by the teachers as the biggest contrast to Danish culture and the group, who raised the most challenges. If we apply the perspective of SRT, as unfamiliarity in the shape of a large number of Syrian refugees in Denmark has emerged, the individuals of the group are categorized through pre-existing categories of – in this case – non-western culture. Non-western migrants and descendants appear to be represented by the religious practices of Islam, and this ‘non-western’ culture appears to be represented in opposition to the democratic practices of ‘western’ or Danish culture. An event such as 9/11 has been found to have had a strong impact on the objectified representation of Muslim people as opposing the democratic values of Western societies (Peek, 2005). As Muslims currently represent the majority of new-Danes (National Statistics, 2017), it can be argued that

they through anchoring are placed in a pre-existing representation of Muslims, who opposes – sometimes violently – the democratic society of Denmark and in order to become members of Denmark, they must therefore leave behind the values of “non-western culture”. As the very notion of culture goes unquestioned by the teachers in the schools, this representation can be considered objectified in the institutional practice, and the classroom can become the first place of exclusion from society.

6.1.3. Categorization: a condition of human meaning-making

I found in the analysis, that teachers have (re)constructed an objective category of culture as both an identification and differentiation marker between monolingual children and bilingual children. I have in this discussion (critically) put this forth as damaging to both integration in general and more specifically to the possibilities for bilingual children to construct themselves as members of Danish culture and identity. Further, teachers are by the policy of (inclusive) education in a multicultural classroom expected to *“avoid categorizations and prejudices and meet the individual human and an individual and not a representative of culture”* (Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 5). That is, in order to practice without prejudices, teachers must not categorize.

However, from the perspective of social representation theory, this is a requirement that would demand teachers to deviate from a basic human function of meaning making and construction of social order (Moscovici, 1988). All people categorize as this is the way, people make order in an otherwise chaotic world of stimuli. Teachers in the elementary school are obviously no exception, and the very fact that they categorize the children in their classroom can hardly be criticized – at least, I will not discuss this here. However, what can be discussed is the basis for categorization, and in order to be able to practice inclusive education, teachers – as well as every other person in a social structure – must thus be aware of how, why and what the consequences of the categorization leads to (Hancock & Miller, 2017). The perspective of SRT thus recognizes the basic human function of categorization, but it further allows for a denaturalization of the categorizations by illuminating the construction of them.

6.1.4. Action through appropriation of conceptual tools

As I have just discussed, human beings make meaning of their social reality through the categorization of objects, subjects and social phenomena. This has been discussed through the notion of social representations as they are constructed and shared by the individuals of a society, institution or a group. But how can we then understand the shared social representations as action guiding?

CHAT can supplement and contribute to SRT by illustrating how social representations as conceptual tools are only one factor or aspect in the individual's activity system. The social representation of culture is thus not deterministic as human action is guided by several other aspects (Hancock & Miller, 2017). However, as I have analyzed the conceptual tools of social representations, the representation of culture as a container to fit into in terms of a Danish culture appears to be guiding the actions of teachers in their culture inclusive practice, towards a practice of (unintended) exclusion.

As teachers must act within societal rules, the teachers are currently – politically and practically – placed between two seats; they must both – and simultaneously – treat bilingual children undifferentiated and equal to monolingual children *and* raise both their academic achievements and social participation and level of cultural knowledge. The rules of society – both the formal and informal – are thus both framing the possibility for action of the teachers, but at the same time this social frame constrains the actions. To draw a bit further of the activity system described in CHAT, the findings of the analysis suggest, that the more experienced the teachers are, the more they find themselves less constrained by the societal rules, and instead are more guided by e.g. the teacher community (see figure 4, p. 50).

6.2. Constructing Danish membership: From school to society

As the findings have been discussed in light of the analytical tools of social representation theory and cultural-historical activity theory, the question then is how we can view the findings of the study, that has investigated the setting of school, in the

broader setting of Danish society? I introduced this thesis by asking how the societal tendencies and issues of bilingual parallel-societies, terrorism conducted by bilinguals born and raised in the country, they attack and the unequal participation in the democratic society are occurring, when bilingual children all go through the same institutional system as monolingual children; I will answer this by arguing, that they do not attend the same school. This might seem like a bold statement, but although the material setting might be the same, the institution of school and the practice of education appears to differ in relation to bilingual children in terms of privileges, inclusion, validation and recognition.

The school and the teachers therein appears to succeed in preparing bilingual children for the neo-liberal society; bilingual children – as they are defined as both migrants and descendants – are currently well represented in both the educational system and in the labor market. However, the school does not appear to promote membership for bilingual children as they in the schools are positioned in opposition to Danish culture and identity. The values promoted in the school e.g. academic achievements and work preparation are – statistically – met by the bilingual segment of the population, but the demands for membership appears to go beyond – both in the school system and society. It makes you wonder; what does it take for a bilingual Muslim to be considered a valid Danish member?

The notion and definition of a national identity is founded on the identification of sameness among group members through the distancing from other groups (Triandafyllidou, 1998); the characteristics of Danish identity must hence be in opposition of something. That is, the definition of Danish identity in opposition to other (national) groups is not (necessarily) discriminatory, but a basic function in human categorization. As the teachers here express Danish identity, it is based on a historic development – both as a past process and a present product. This is probably the case in the identification of every social or national group – and furthermore, this is what is constituting the group; a national identity is thus not in itself cause for problematization. However, national identity can (and should) be problematized, when one segment of the population of Denmark is excluded from membership.

6.3. Epistemological and methodical implications

This study has been conducted within the meta-theoretical frame of cultural psychology (Vygotsky, 1978; Bruner, 1990; Valsiner, 201) and a discursive approach of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2008; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). This framework has allowed for an investigation of the structural and discursive constructions of the concepts of culture, cultural deviance and national identity as they are unfolded and expressed in the elementary school. This perspective has allowed me to investigate the school, not simply as an isolated institution of situated discursive practice, but to draw parallels to the broader scale of society, that the institution of school is embedded in.

For this study, the teachers have been interviewed as institutional agents, that through the theoretical perspective have been investigated solely within the structural and institutional frame of discourses and representations. From this point of view, it is primarily the leaving out of a phenomenological perspective that limits the study to the institutional frame; as it is also illustrated by CHAT, insitutional practice – understood here as the actions of the teachers – is influenced by more than conceptual tools of social representations and societal structures of legal framework and social norms. The agency of the teachers is shaped across various settings, and I have for this study solely focused on the setting of the school. From the structural perspective applied in this study, it has been benificial to understand the school as a frame for both teacher practice and child development, but in order to fully understand the full aspects of teacher practice, a phenomonological approach could have contributed to a more individual perspective.

The discursive perspective has further meant, that I have solely focused on the discursive aspects of meaning, knowledge and identity construction and of social representations as conceptual tools; social representations can further be materially and symbolically anchored; these aspects of the anchoring and objectification of social representation have been left in order to be able to go more in-depth with the linguistic aspects of social representations and the construction, reproducing and changing of them.

To sum up the epistemological limitations, the approach of the cultural-discursive perspective has provided a limited view on the elementary school as a site for national identity construction and integration as it has illuminated the structural and discursive aspects of the issue. By doing this, I have left out other perspectives that could have provided a more nuanced picture of the issue. But – to speak metaphorically, it is not possible to see the entire elephant from one perspective, and I cannot both be in front of and behind it at the same time, but I am aware that the entity of the elephant goes beyond my perspective.

The method of semi-structured interviews further holds methodical implications. As I draw conclusions based on the interviews with teachers of the elementary school, I have through the interview guide pre-defined the themes and categories for bilingual children in the interview – thus guiding the interview through these themes and categories. That is, as I ask the teachers to define bilingual children as a group and Danish identity as a group-identity, I have pre-defined them as (separate) groups. A method of ethnographic observation could allow for an unguided investigation of how bilingual children are positioned in the classroom without pre-defining the groups as separate and different.

6.3.1. The need for further research

As predicted, this study has not found the solution on how to improve the integration in Denmark. In this study, the institution of school and the teachers as institutional agents have in this Danish case been found to operate and practice on a hegemonic representation of culture as a static container of individuals, that differs from other ‘cultural containers’ of individuals. As the teachers of the school then reproduce this representation in their discursive practice, the consequence of this representation could lead to bilingual danes being excluded from the Danish community as they are represented as deviators of Danish culture and identity – thus not being recognized as valid Danish members (Wodak, 2013). What is still missing in the current research is the perspective of the children; much research – including the present thesis – has investigated the educational discourses and institutional practice in relation to the integration of bilingual children. That is, the frame and practice for constructing national membership has with this thesis been researched, but we have yet to ask the

children. This perspective would be an ideal next step in the illumination of the elementary school as a site for integration (See figure 2, p. 19). The child perspective is however more difficult to carry out due to the ethical complications of interviews with children – especially with minority group children – and an observational field study requires access to the classroom by both school, teachers and parents of the children attending. However, the future will hopefully hold a study that voices the experience of the children themselves.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis set out to illuminate how the issues of integration could be understood and problematized in the setting of the Danish elementary school. Needless to say, integration is not an easy process – not in Denmark or any other country. Migrants and descendants are well-represented – and in much higher numbers than they have been in a long time – in both the educational system and in employment, but somehow failed integration appears more current today than ever. But what makes it so difficult to have a successful integration as evident by the Danish situation as well as other European countries'? One answer might be that the very notion of a national identity requires a group to differ from; as such, when a society like Denmark will identify itself, something must stand in the opposition thereof and foreign societies and people appear to be the obvious choice. But as people come to Denmark, when will they then no longer be considered foreign?

As I have sought to illuminate the issue of integration through the conceptualization of culture and cultural deviance, I have been critical of the narrow and rigid definition of culture by the teachers as I found the definition to be exclusionary of bilingual children in the Danish elementary school. But as human beings categorize and divides as a part of their meaning-making and construction of social order, what is the alternative? We cannot expect people to stop categorizing as it would only bring more chaos to the world, but the categorization and division is seemingly one of the factors of the failing integration and increasing segregation.

Without trying to reduce the issues of integration to either the school setting nor the conceptualization of culture, this study suggests that a reconceptualization of the notion of culture could be a first step in changing the positioning bilingual children in the school as different group. A conceptualization in educational policies that is theoretically informed and entails viewing culture as a practice – not a static container – could give rise to less differentiation in the school, as this differentiation now appears to be based on – or influenced by – the rigid definition of culture.

The teachers of this study showed a huge commitment to improve both the academic and social conditions for their pupils, and I have no doubt that teachers today do the best they can within the frame they are given; the frame however needs a reconstruction. I will therefore end this thesis with an acknowledgement of the teachers of the Danish elementary school.

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w?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B9Vwk3dZfMm6RmNiZTVQVIBER2c/view?usp=sharing)

1 Appendix 1: Transcript: Teacher J

2 26./3.-2018

3 S: Sara; TJ: teacher J

4

5 *S: Hvis du vil begynde med, hvor du er uddannet fra, og hvornår du er uddannet?*

6 TJ: åh gud, det er mange år siden. Jeg er uddannet nede i Midtjylland fra lærerseminariet i 1984, så jeg har været lærer i 33 år, eller sådan noget.

8 *S: en erfaren herre. Hvad for nogle fag er du uddannet og underviser i?*

9 TJ: jeg er uddannet i dansk og idræt. Det er mine hovedfag, men jeg underviser i 10 dansk og idræt fortrinsvis, men så har jeg undervist stort set i alle andre fag på nær 11 tysk og fysik. Og så har jeg haft en del med – hvad skal vi sige – børn med specielle 12 behov at gøre. Specialundervisning kan man kalde det, generelt specialundervisning 13 og så en del tosprogsundervisning. Det har jeg ikke længere – ikke andet end jeg har 14 nogle, der er integreret i min klasse, men jeg er ikke specielt tosproglærer længere.

15 *S: bare lige hurtigt, hvad er det for et klassetrin, du underviser på?*

16 TJ: jeg underviser ved de store, altså overbygningen med 7., 8. og 9.

17 *S: okay. Hvad har været dine personlige bevæggrunde for at blive lærer, dengang du blev uddannet?*

19 TJ: det har været fordi, jeg altid har været tilknyttet nogle idrætsforeninger, så det har 20 været et ønske om at gøre en forskel for unge mennesker og få ting til at fungere for 21 de unge og få det bedste ud af de kvaliteter og de muligheder, de nu indeholder. Lidt 22 ligesom, hvis vi skal sammenligne det med et sportshold eller et eller andet – at få 23 tingene til at spille sammen, så tingene går op i en højere enhed. Og så simpelthen 24 kunne spotte de der potentialer og kan spotte den der person derinde bagved den fa- 25 cade, de stiller op, og så finde den frem og kultivere den. Det tror jeg, det er dét.

26 *S: så du er en meget idealistisk lærer?*

27 TJ: nej, det vil jeg ikke sige, jeg er. Jeg er både idealistisk, men så er jeg også meget 28 realistisk. Altså, for jeg ved jo godt, hvad begrænsningerne og hvad mulighederne er, 29 men indenfor den ramme, så vil jeg gerne have det bedste frem i de elever, jeg har 30 med at gøre – til enhver tid.

31 *S: så i forlængelse af det, hvad er det så, du synes, at folkeskolens rolle er for alle 32 dens elever? Hvad er det folkeskolen skal gøre?*

33 TJ: altså, den overordnede rolle? Det har ikke noget med forhåndsparagraffer at gøre?
34 Bare min mening om det?

35 *S: nej, bare sådan, hvad skal folkeskolen gøre i sine 10 år med børnene?*

36 TJ: jamen, jeg synes, det allervigtigste for mig, det er, at de lærer noget. Det er det,
37 der står i vores læringsmål og sådan noget, men det er også, at de lærer at finde ud af,
38 hvem de selv er. Så det handler for ikke kun om at *give* karakterer – det gør det selv-
39 følgelig gennem den der læringsproces, der er, men det er også at *danne* en karakter,
40 så de får deres egen personlige karakter. De finder ud af, hvem de selv er, sådan at de
41 kan få det bedste afsæt for et videre liv. Både fagligt, men ikke mindst socialt og
42 personlighedsmæssigt. Og der tror jeg, at det personlighedsmæssige og det dannelses-
43 mæssige spiller ikke så stor en rolle, som det burde gøre. Fordi det er faktisk det,
44 der er afgørende for, at de træffer det rigtige valg, fordi det er det, der er med til at
45 styrke deres selvværd – og har de ikke det selvværd, så er der mange af de der fagli-
46 ge ting, som der ikke bliver forløst, fordi de ting, som de ting, de så eventuelt forlø-
47 ser børnene, det er de ting, som de tror, andre stiller krav til dem om, eller andre for-
48 venter af dem. Men hvis de skal have det fulde potentiale, finde ud af, hvad deres
49 muligheder er, så kræver det faktisk, at de lærer dem selv at kende hundrede procent.
50 Og der synes jeg faktisk, man burde have sådan et – jeg ved ikke, om man kan kalde
51 det dannelsesfag, men man burde sætte meget mere fokus på at finde ud af, hvem den
52 enkelte elev er - faktisk fra de træder ind i skolen og så til de går ud igen. Altså,
53 ”hvad er jeg god til, og hvad er jeg dårlige til? Er jeg praktisk orienteret, eller er jeg
54 teoretisk orienteret? Kan jeg samarbejde med andre? Er jeg bedst til at arbejde for
55 mig selv? Eller er jeg god til at arbejde i projekter?”. Alle de der ting, når de skal
56 finde ud af, hvem de egentlig er, fordi jeg oplever mange, når de kommer i 7., 8., 9.
57 klasse, som er mit område – specielt 9. klasse – så når de skal til at træffe et uddan-
58 nelsesvalg, så ved de faktisk ikke, hvem de selv er. Så skal man spørge lidt ind til
59 dem og så sige ”hvad er du god til?”, så er der faktisk ret mange, der ikke ved det. Så
60 begynder deres øjne at flakke. De har ikke været sat i nogle situationer, hvor de har
61 fået lov til at prøve sig selv af og finde ud af, hvem de selv er. I dag er der mange,
62 der sidder og kigger på en computer, og måske ikke er så meget ude og har arbejde
63 eller har nogen forpligtelser derhjemme - altså et reelt ansvar. Så derfor er det mange
64 gange... jeg ved ikke, om man kan sige, at de lever i en pseudo virkelighed, men de
65 lever i en parallel virkelighed, der gør, at det for mange er svært at træffe det rigtige
66 valg. Og det er lidt ærgerligt, fordi så skal man igennem en masse sideløbende pro-

67 cesser, indtil man finder ud af, hvem man selv er og kan træffe det rigtige uddannel-
68 sesvalg. Og jeg tror også, det er det, der er med til at gøre, at mange unge får psyki-
69 ske problemer, eller problemer med egentlig at klare tilværelsen, fordi de ikke er
70 rustet til at kunne klare sig selv. Og er man ikke rustet til at kunne klare sig selv og
71 møde de udfordringer, der nu er, og kan takle dem og være problemløsende, så vil
72 man jo få problemer.

73 *S: så der synes du ikke, folkeskolen gör det godt nok?*

74 TJ: den kan gøre det bedre. De kan gøre det bedre. Altså, der hvor jeg arbejder nu,
75 der arbejder vi meget projektorienteret – i vores afdeling, og derigennem der synes
76 jeg faktisk, de lærer mange ting, fordi mange af de eksaminer, der er nu om dage, de
77 er jo projektorienteret. Så det vil sige, at hvis man nu stiller krav til eleverne om, at
78 de skal bruge det potentielle, de har, og så egentlig lægger ansvaret over til eleverne –
79 indenfor en ramme, selvfølgelig, der er styret af de faglige ting, man skal nå. Så op-
80 lever jeg i hvert fald, at der er mange flere elever, der blomstrer. Fordi det folkesko-
81 len er bedst til i virkeligheden, det er at tage ansvaret væk fra eleverne. Fordi lærere
82 er traditionelt gode til at sige, hvad for et pensum, man skal igennem og hvad de for-
83 skellige elever skal lave, og de har forberedt nogle kopiark eller nogle læseopgaver,
84 og så går der tre minutter, så falder eleverne i søvn, og så frøtager man dem i virke-
85 ligheden ansvaret, fordi så er det lærerne, der egentlig styrer hele processen. Der skal
86 man mere over i at overflødiggøre sig selv, og så egentlig inddrage eleverne – selv-
87 om med det ansvar, som de kan magte og så skal man appellere meget mere til det
88 potentielle, de har, fordi de har kæmpe potentielle, der er uudnyttede. Når nu de har
89 sådan en lang skoledag, som de har nu, så er det enormt vigtigt, at de kommer meget
90 mere aktivt på banen, end de bliver nogle aktive tilskuere, som sidder i en ventesal
91 og venter på, det ringer ud og bliver pacificeret. Især drengene har det svært i det her.
92 Pigerne er bare søde og ordentlige, men de har også deres udfordringer. Så der er et
93 enormt potentielle i at trække sig tilbage som lærer og så styre processen via en ram-
94 me og via den opgave, man stiller – en åbent styret opgave.

95 *S: men er det så den kommunale ramme, der sætter en begrænsning for dig?*

96 TJ: nej, det er også... nej, det er det ikke. Det er også lærerens personlige ramme.
97 Det der sætter rammen for eksempel: nu er jeg jo så gammel i gårde, at der er mange
98 ting. Der er en statslig ramme, så er der også den kommunal ramme, så er der skole
99 rammen og fase rammen og så er der den enkelte lærer. Men hvis nu den enkelte
100 lærer tør at være sig selv og tør at gå ind i det, sådan som jeg nu tør, fordi jeg har

101 været lærer i mange år sammen med de kolleger, som jeg arbejder godt sammen
102 med, som jeg ved har det samme læringssyn som mig, så er der egentlig ikke sat en
103 snæver ramme. Så er rammen åben. Det eneste, vi er styret af, er selvfølgelig, at vi
104 skal have vores elever op til en prøve. Der er en afgangsprøve, men der er mange
105 veje til at få læst det der. Så mulighederne er egentlig brede.

106 *S: men når du så siger, at der er en statslig, en kommunal, en skolemæssig, en fase-
107 mæssig og der er din egen ramme: når der så er så mange forskellige sider, du skal
108 forholde dig til, hvordan gør du så det?*

109 TJ: jamen, jeg fortolker. Det er jo en rammelov, vi har, så jeg fortolker den lov så
110 bredt som overhovedet muligt. Det der bare er sket de senere år, det er, at med de
111 læringsmål, vi har fået ind – vi har stort set læringsmål for hvert enkelt område og
112 hver enkelt faglige disciplin – de bliver alt for kontrollerende, alt for styrende. Så
113 hvis man ikke tør at se lidt ud over det, så kan man nemt blive meget bundet af et
114 meget styret undervisningssystem, der ikke er til gavn for børnene efter min mening.
115 Men altså, dét, det også står og falder på, det er, at lærerne – for eksempel på den
116 afdeling, jeg er på – vi er 25 lærere på afdelingen – det er jeg nødt til at sige, vi har
117 ikke det samme læringssyn. Altså, der er nogle, der synes, at nogle af de ting, jeg
118 laver, er dybt åndssvage, fordi de er meget mere gammeldags, fagligt orienterede,
119 traditionelt orienterede. Hvor der er mange, hvor deres undervisning er bygget op på
120 karakterer og opgaver og eksamen, hvor jeg er mere styret af processen, fordi jeg tror
121 mere på, at jo mere frihed man har... jeg starter et andet sted: for mig er undervis-
122 ning en relationel ting. Altså, når man har hul igennem til den enkelte elev, så kan
123 man flytte dem derhen, som man skal. Så man kan ikke kun styre det ved hjælp af
124 nogle faglige ting. Så det, der er helt afgørende for mig, er faktisk, at man får en kon-
125 tact til den enkelte elev. Og det tager ret lang tid at opbygge. For eksempel, når jeg
126 overtager en klasse på 7. årgang, så kan det godt tage... nu har vi samtaler her første
127 gang efter påske, så tager det et halvt til trekvarter år, før man føler, at man har styr på
128 de der 26 elever, så man egentlig kan behandle dem, som de er med det udtryk, de
129 selv kommer med. For at give et eksempel: der er tre 7. klasser nede ved os, så da vi
130 skulle starte, havde vi sådan et fælles introforløb på nogle dage, men udover det, så
131 har min makker og jeg puttet noget andet ind i det. Vi tager for eksempel rundt og
132 besøger alle deres hjem. Vi cykler rundt og besøger alle deres hjem, ser hvor de bor
133 rent fysisk, og så har de en opgave, hvor de skal fortælle lidt om, hvad deres interes-
134 ser er, hvor de bor henne, hvem deres familie er og sådan noget. Og det er simpelthen

135 for at tage dem i hånden, og for egentligt at vise dem noget opmærksomhed og indi-
136 rekte sige: ”jeg bekymrer mig også om hvor du er, og hvor du bor, og hvad din fami-
137 lie laver”. Og vi kommer ikke rundt for at komme ind og få kage eller for at snage i
138 familien, men det er simpelthen for, at vi får et optisk overblik over, hvor de bor
139 henne, fordi vores skoledistrikt spænder vidt. Nogle bor helt ude på landet, nogle bor
140 i byen, nogle bor i højhuse. Og så på den måde får vi et overblik over, hvor de bor
141 henne, og hvad det er for nogle familier, og det får de også for hinanden. Så på den
142 måde laver vi mange ting for at pejle os ind på, hvem de er.

143 *S: kræver det ikke meget?*

144 TJ: nej, det kræver bare en cykeltur. Jo, det kræver da, at man organiserer det, og i
145 det her tilfælde får de nogle opgaver. Så laver vi en cykelrute, og så har vi noget, der
146 hedder UU-timer – understøttende undervisning – og så har vi også noget, der hedder
147 bevægelsestimer, så det er bare at inddrage dem. Så det er jo bare et spørgsmål om,
148 hvilket læringssyn man har. Jeg kunne også vælge at sige: ”det er enormt vigtigt, at
149 nu kommer I på vores afdeling, nu skal I bare lære en masse og så kører jeg bare på
150 med en masse opgaver, fordi I skal være pisse dygtige og så skal I bare have mere af
151 det, I er gode til, og jo dårligere I er til noget, jo mere skal I have det!”. Det er slet
152 ikke det læringssyn, jeg har. Men altså, det er en relationel ting, at man finder ud af,
153 hvor de er henne på alle måder – socialt, fysisk, intellektuelt, samarbejdsmæssigt.
154 Alle de der ting. Og så synes jeg, man kan arbejde med eleverne.

155 *S: Nu siger du, at der fra kommunens side er opstillet faglige læringsmål; er der
156 nogle mål sat for sociale krav til eleverne?*

157 TJ: ja, vi har jo noget, der hedder den nationale trivselsundersøgelse, vi skal lave én
158 gang om året, så den skal vi jo lave. Men det er ikke et krav om at... der er ikke et
159 krav om, hvordan man skal opdrage børnene, hvis det er dét, du tænker på, eller der
160 er nogle ting, man skal tage ind i undervisningen. Det er mere sådan nogle brede ting
161 med, at de skal have det godt, og de skal være trygge, og at de skal være nogle gode
162 kammerater og sådan noget. Men der bliver lavet den der nationale trivselsundersø-
163 gelse én gang om året, som gør, at man har et overblik over det. Og det har vi lige
164 lavet. Men der er ikke nogle læringsmål for det.

165 *S: hvad så for tosprogede; er der så heller ikke nogle særlige udviklingspunkter for
166 tosprogede elever?*

167 TJ: Nej, det der med tosprogsundervisning svæver meget. Det svæver meget i luften,
168 vil jeg sige, fordi... på min arbejdsplads har vi afprøvet mange forskellige metoder,

169 mens jeg har været der – nu har jeg været på den skole i 7 år – og det er jo faktisk
170 kommet... for at nævne nogle af dem, det første vi har oplevet, det var, at vi fik en
171 masse nede fra Syrien, da der var krig dernede – fra Mellemøsten, de vælter faktisk
172 til Danmark, og mange kom til kommunen, fordi vi havde billige boliger og sådan
173 noget, og så blev de bare sat ud i klasserne. Og der sad de bare ude det første år, jeg
174 var lærer. Så tilbød jeg mig som ekstra lærer – det var derfor, jeg kom ind i tosprøgs-
175 undervisningen, fordi vi havde nogle ekstra timer. Dengang var det sådan, at vi var
176 tre klasser - og jeg havde dansk - og så havde man altid tilknyttet en ekstra dansklæ-
177 rer, så jeg var den fjerde dansklærer på ét klassetrin, hvor der var rigtig mange to-
178 sprogede børn. Der var 12. Så dem tog jeg til side og så egentlig lavede et forløb med
179 dem, for jeg kunne se, at de bare fik lov at sidde, de hang, og så begyndte jeg at lave
180 et samarbejde med klasselærerne om at udbygge noget undervisning til fordel for
181 dem, hvor der blev tilknyttet en tosprøglærer, en arabisk lærer. De senere år er det
182 så udviklet sig til, at vi har haft nogle tosprøgs lærere med som konsulenter. Og det
183 seneste år har vi haft sådan et overgangsforløb, så når de kommer til Danmark uden
184 at kunne sproget, så er de oppe i den sprogklasse, indtil de kan snakke noget dansk –
185 eller forstå lidt dansk. Der er de halvdelen af timerne cirka. For at nævne et eksem-
186 pel, så har jeg lige for 14 dage siden fået en dreng fra Eritrea – næsten direkte fra
187 Eritrea, så han kan ikke noget sprog. Han kan et sprog, der hedder Tikri og Armri-
188 hansk, og det er der ikke nogle af os, der kan overhovedet, så han er oppe i tosprøgs-
189 centeret, hvor han er i den der overgang, og så er han halvdelen af tiden nede i klas-
190 sen. Og så har vi så lavet nogle forskellige aktiviteter for at få ham ind i klassen. Men
191 det har været meget på eksperimentel basis, hvordan man har bedrevet tosprøgsun-
192 dervisningen

193 *S: hvad har det været for nogle aktiviteter for at få ham ind i klassen?*

194 TJ: hvad vi har lavet?

195 S: ja.

196 TJ: det første, vi lavede, var, at... for at nævne historien, der er et godt eksempel –
197 det kan du måske bruge i din rapport: vi vidste, der skulle komme en fra Eritrea. Så
198 havde vi så tre klasser, så vi blev bedt om at internt finde ud af, hvor han skulle pla-
199 ceres, og han blev placeret i min klasse. Det fik jeg så at vide en dag, hvor jeg var på
200 kursus – jeg kom hjem fra kursus en onsdag aften, hvor han skulle starte torsdag
201 morgen. Så havde jeg heldigvis to timer. Der var slet ikke noget forberedt andet end
202 han stod der. Og min makker vidste det heller ikke – vi havde to klasselærere på. Så

203 jeg havde heldigvis to timer, men det er noget, jeg godt kan lide, fordi jeg havde prø-
204 vet det før, så jeg havde god tid til at finde nogle bøger, tage imod ham, og sige god-
205 dag til ham og gå ned og hente ham på kontoret. Og jeg kender så én, der hedder R,
206 som kan snakke Tigri, der går i 9. klasse. Så fik jeg hende til at lave en præsentation
207 af ham og hans familie på Tigri – altså på sproget, og så skulle hun oversætte det til
208 dansk. Og så nåede jeg at orientere klassen om det, da de kom i tredje time, blev de
209 orienteret om, at han var ankommet – B – og så fortalte jeg lidt om, hvem han var og
210 hvad for et land, han kom fra, at de skulle tage godt imod ham, og så blev der ud-
211 nævnt to tutorer. Der var en, der går i tosprogscenteret og så en anden dreng, de skul-
212 le så tage sig specielt af ham, mens han går her – i hvert fald det første stykke tid. Så
213 fik vi lavet den der præsentation, som de kom ned og læste op i klassen, hvor jeg så
214 oversatte den. Hun læste den op på sit sprog, på engelsk og så oversatte jeg så, så de
215 kunne forstå, hvem han var. Så tog vi den sætning for sætning. Og så sendte jeg præ-
216 sentationen ud til alle lærerne også – det er ikke normalt noget, vi gør – så de vidste,
217 hvad for en knægt det var, og hvorfor han kom og sådan noget. Så jeg synes, det er
218 en god måde sådan at lette overgangen, fordi dét, der typisk sker, er også, at klassen
219 ikke ved noget, og hvis ikke de ved, hvem det er, der kommer ind i klassen, så ved de
220 heller ikke, hvordan de skal håndtere ham. Så bare det, vi snakker om, hvilket land
221 det var og vidste sproget - sådan et arabisk sprog, det er jo nærmest hiroglyffer for
222 dem – bare det gjorde, at de fik en forståelse for det. Det, at han kom ind i klassen og
223 stillede sig sammen med R og mig, og vi stod og forklarede om hans situation, det
224 gjorde jo også, at de fik en forståelse. Han gik rundt og gav dem hånd hver især –
225 ikke fordi han skulle give dem hånd, men fordi de skulle hilse på ham. Og så skulle
226 de præsentere sig for hinanden – bare lige sige, hvad de hed hver især. Og det der
227 med tutorer og fik sagt, hvad hans fritidsinteresser var, så de har en forståelse også
228 for, hvor svært det kan være for ham at komme, og så de kan få empati for ham. Og
229 det samme gælder lærerne også, når de kommer, så har de en lidt anden forståelse
230 af, hvem det er, der sidder inde i klassen, og han sidder der. Så jeg synes, det er en
231 god måde, at kunne gøre det på – det er bare ikke altid, at det kan lade sig gøre. Så
232 der er mange historier, man kunne fortælle om det, men det er et godt overgangsfor-
233 løb, og han er en god dreng. Så han er kommet godt ind i klassen.

234 *S: men nu er det så også de tosprogede, som er nyankomne – dem der skal lære*
235 *sproget. Det er måske én måde at få dem ind i klassen på. Men når tosprogede så*
236 *også involverer de børn, der er født og opvokset i Danmark, taler flydende dansk,*

237 *men går under tosprogs- definitionen, fordi de har et andet sprog i hjemmet; hvor-*
238 *dan forholdet du dig til den gruppering af tosprogede elever?*

239 TJ: det er meget forskelligt. Det kommer... jeg ved ikke, hvordan jeg skal sige det.
240 Det kommer meget an på, hvordan forældrenes indstilling er. Det kommer også an
241 på, hvilken kulturel baggrund, de kommer med. Men jeg synes, det, der er det vigtig-
242 ste, når det er sådan, at man har tosprogede – om det så er anden eller tredje genera-
243 tion – de har været her i mange år, og de kan dansk – det er, at man stiller nogle helt
244 klare krav om, at i Danmark, der er der et gratis uddannelsessystem. Vi forventer, de
245 lever op til den lovgivning, vi har. At de møder op i skolen hver dag. De laver deres
246 lektier. De taler det sprog. De går ind måske... i Danmark underviser vi meget på
247 tilliden. Vi har også nogle, der kommer fra nogle verdensdele, der handler... altså,
248 hvis man kan snyde sig frem til noget, så er det okay. De er nødt til at vænne sig til,
249 at i Danmark, der er den grundlæggende... altså, ”jeg har tillid til, at du kommer her,
250 og at du laver dine ting, og så er den måde, vi møder hinanden på”. Så der skal være
251 sådan nogle helt klare krav til de der ting, sådan at forældrene ved, hvilke krav man
252 stiller, og det gør eleverne også. Så det synes jeg er afgørende, fordi de er jo ikke
253 anderledes end danske børn er. Der er også mange danske børn, der kan finde på at
254 snyde og hoppe over, hvor gærdet er lavest og sådan noget. Men man er bare klar til
255 at stille nogle klare krav, og så måske også involvere forældrene lidt mere i det. Den-
256 gang jeg var oppe i tosprogs-centeret, der havde jeg faktisk planer om at involvere
257 forældrene i undervisningen året efter, men der var jeg taget af den undervisning –
258 der var der en anden én, der var kommet ind over det. Men jeg synes faktisk, at det er
259 vigtigt, at de tosprogsforældre også kommer, fordi der er mange gange, hvor de ikke
260 kommer i kontakt med skolen. Så uanset hvem det er, så skal der bare være nogle
261 klare krav.

262 *S: så for at stille det lidt på spidsen; når nu vi har en tosprogs-definition, der også*
263 *involverer de tosprogede elever, der er flydende i dansk, hvor meget fylder sprog så i*
264 *”tosproget”?*

265 TJ: for dem, der kan dansk?

266 *S: mmh. Altså når nu, vi kalder dem tosprogede, men de tosprogede kan sproget?*

267 TJ: jamen, så synes jeg ikke, det fylder noget. Hvis de kan sproget... altså, der kan
268 være nogle nuancer med at forstå noget underforståethed, vittigheder og alle sådan
269 nogle ting, men det skal man jo så bare ikke bruge i sin undervisning. Men altså, hvis
270 de kan sproget, så er det ikke noget problem. Problemet er mere det der med om man

271 laver de ting og holder de aftaler, som vi har – også fordi det er man måske ikke vant
272 til, eller man kan snyde sig fra det – lidt ligesom danske elever selvfølgelig også kan,
273 så skal man jo bare gøre ind, og så lave en aftale. Nu kan jeg give et eksempel: jeg
274 har en dreng inde i min klasse, der faktisk er tre år ældre end de andre. Han er ret god
275 til dansk. Han er sådan en ”øjentjener”, så han holder hele tiden øje med, hvad jeg
276 laver. Doven af natur; han gør ikke lave noget; han har en fraværsprocent, der lig-
277 ger på 18 – når det kommer på 20, så skal man til at lave en underretning til kommu-
278 nen. Så inviterede vi forældrene ind, og vi fik snakket lidt om, hvad grunden er til...
279 nej, vi fortalte først, at han er en dygtig dreng, men havde meget fravær og hvad, det
280 så skyldtes. Og så ifølge forældre, siger de så, at det er på grund af, at han har noget
281 astma, og det kan godt være, at han har noget astma – han har mange fraværssedler.
282 Så bad jeg ham om at komme med en lægeerklæring, fordi hvis det er, man kommer
283 over 20 procent, så skal man indberette til kommunen, og så skal han selvfølgelig til
284 at lave nogle ting i skolen. Så det er en måde, man kan takle det på. Det er at invitere
285 forældrene ind og så høre, ”hvad er det her? Hvad drejer det sig om?”, og så selvføl-
286 gelig sige, hvor grænsen er henne. Så hvis man går over den her grænse, så er vi nødt
287 til at gøre noget i forhold til den lovgivning, der er. Og det er også en måde at kridte
288 banen op for de forældre på – det kunne også godt være for danske forældre, det er
289 sådan set ikke, fordi der skal være en udlændinge-problematik i det. Men det har vi
290 så fået ordnet, og dagen efter kom de med en lægeerklæring, og så ved vi jo det og
291 kan arbejde videre med det, og så ved han også selv, hvor grænsen er. Så man skal
292 bare involvere forældrene og så være præcis, tænker jeg.

293 *S: når du så siger, at sproget ikke betyder noget, når det er børn, der godt kan tale*
294 *flydende dansk, har det så nogen betydning, om de tosprogede børn er dansk-tysk,*
295 *dansk-svensk, dansk-polsk eller om de er dansk-arabisk, dansk-farsi?*

296 TJ: ja, det gør det. For mig er der en klar... man kan ikke stigmatisere noget, man må
297 ikke tage alle over en kam – men den arabiske kultur er meget speciel i forhold til de
298 andre kulturer, fordi der er det legalt – i det område måske at... tonen er en anden.
299 Hvis man ikke bliver styret med hård hånd, så laver man måske ikke det, man skal.
300 Det er sådan den ene ting – det er jo ikke den måde, vi underviser på. Vi siger for
301 eksempel: ”du skal lave den der opgave, og så forventer vi selvfølgelig, den er afle-
302 veret, og så får du ikke pisk”. De er vant til at få slag eller tæsk ligefrem af læreren,
303 hvis de ikke laver det. Det er den ene ting. Den anden ting er også, at i deres kultur
304 ligger det også dybt forankret åbenbart, at det man ikke ser, og det man ikke opdager,

305 det er okay, og sådan har vi det jo heller ikke. Så der er nogle ting, der støder imod
306 hinanden der. Der skal vi jo bare som lærere være klar over, at vi er nødt til at tale
307 det sprog, som de taler i første omgang, og så stille og roligt gejde dem over i den
308 danske kultur. Men det er den gruppe børn, vi generelt har de største problemer med.
309 De andre grupperinger, synes jeg ikke, der er så store problemer med.

310 *S: hvad er det for nogle problemer, der er med den ene gruppering?*

311 TJ: jamen, det er de to ting, jeg har ridset op. Det er dem, der er mest tydelige. I min
312 klasse har vi haft elever fra Somalia, Afghanistan, Polen, Congo, Rusland, Syrien og
313 Kurdistan for bare at nævne nogle af dem – Islændinge er der mange af, Færinger er
314 der mange af. Men det er specielt den gruppe, der popper op; det er den arabiske, det
315 er jeg bare nødt til at sige.

316 *S: ja. Nu siger du også selv kulturer; hvad forbinder du med kultur? Hvad er kultur
317 for dig?*

318 TJ: kultur er den måde, man opfatter verden på og gebærder sig i verden på, vil jeg
319 sige. Det er jo mange ting. Det kan både være religion, og den måde man er opdraget
320 på; det syn, man har på andre mennesker; det syn, man har på fællesskab og sådan
321 nogle ting der. Så det er mange ting. Men jeg synes bare, det er væsentligt, når man
322 kommer til Danmark, så er man nødt til at indgå i den danske kultur – det er den bre-
323 de form for dansk kultur; man ved, hvem kongehuset er; hvordan vores styreform er;
324 hvordan skolen er indrettet; hvordan uddannelsessystemet er indrettet – og så indrette
325 sig efter det. Det synes jeg er enormt væsentligt, fordi at hvis man flytter sig fra A til
326 B, så stiller vi nogle rammer og midler til rådighed, og så synes jeg i principippet, at
327 dem bliver man nødt til at gå positivt ind i – i stedet for at man holder sig indenfor
328 sin egen måde at være på. Det er okay, at man er det derhjemme – man har sin egen
329 måde at være på – men når man er i fællesskab, så er man nødt til at indgå i det fæl-
330 lesskab.

331 *S: hvad er det så, der gør, at man indgår i det fællesskab, der hedder Danmark som
332 tosproget? Hvad er det for nogle kvaliteter, man skal besidde for at indgå i det dan-
333 ske fællesskab?*

334 TJ: Jamen, det er for eksempel det med demokrati. Man ved, at alle er lige – der er
335 ikke forskel. Det er også den omgangsform, vi har. Det er, at vi stiller et system til
336 rådighed, der ikke koster noget – det kan være sygehusvæsen; det kan være dagsin-
337 stitutioner; det kan være alt muligt; det kan være skoler – og så forventer man selv-
338 følgelig også, at man tager vel imod det og benytter sig af det. Det at lære sproget

339 først og fremmest, det er den allervigtigste faktor. Så det er nogle af de der kvaliteter,
340 der afgør det. Selvfølgelig også, at man er arbejdsmæssig, og man vil arbejde sig ind i
341 samfundet – at man ikke kun er en belastning – i det omfang, man kan. Der er selv-
342 følgelig nogle, der kommer med traumer og sådan noget, men det er vigtigt, at man
343 vil samfundet, og man ikke kun kommer, fordi vi måske stiller nogle goder til rådig-
344 hed, som man ikke kan få andre steder. Og det tror jeg faktisk, at det er ret vigtigt, at
345 man gør op med det der, fordi ellers tror jeg, man får – det kan man også se mange
346 andre steder i Danmark – der opstår de her parallellesamfund – parallelle virkelighes-
347 der, der ikke har noget med Danmark at gøre. Og det har jeg også mange eksempler
348 på nede ved os: vi har nogle, der ikke er integreret – det er faktisk nogle af de store
349 elever, der er gået ud af skolen nu, der er de – jeg ved ikke, om jeg vil sige hårde
350 negle oppe i nabokommunen, men de styrer kommunens underliv med mange for-
351 skellige ting, og det er jo ikke rart. Så man skal bare være bevidst om at vi har en
352 kultur, og vi forlanger, at de mennesker, der bor i Danmark – også danskere – de
353 lever op til de forpligtelser, der er i det fællesskab.

354 *S: når du så også siger, at de skal integreres i det danske samfund, og du siger også
355 parallellesamfund; hvad er integration så for dig?*

356 TJ: jamen, integration er, at de indgår på lige fod i det danske samfund som alle an-
357 dre, og selvfølgelig gør sig umage i at gøre det. Det kan man jo ikke gøre fra dag 1,
358 men ligeså stille prøve at arbejde sig ind i den kultur og det sprog, det samfund og
359 den hverdag, der er i Danmark, ellers har jeg svært ved at se, hvorfor de egentlig søger
360 Danmark – altså, hvorfor tosprogede søger Danmark. Der kan selvfølgelig være
361 en eller anden form for at få tryghed, men når man kommer til et sted, så har man
362 også forpligtelsen til at gå ind i det fællesskab, der er. For eksempel, hvis jeg kom-
363 mer på besøg hos nogen, så kan jeg ikke sætte mig over i et hjørne og bede om noget
364 helt specielt mad, jeg kan ikke begynde og sidde at høre min helt egen musik og op-
365 føre mig på en helt speciel måde, og stille krav til, at andre skal indrette sig efter den
366 måde, jeg er på. Fordi man kan bare tage den omvendte situation, hvis vi kommer til
367 nogle andre lande rundt omkring i verden, så kan vi jo ikke per definition bare tage
368 vores egen kultur med os. Så det er vigtigt i hvert fald, når man skal integreres, at
369 man bliver integreret på de vilkår, der er i det land, man nu kommer til, men selvføl-
370 gelig skal vi også være åbne og tolerante overfor den religion og den kultur, de
371 kommer med. Men det må ikke være på... nogle gange synes jeg, der er sådan en
372 misforstået hensynsfuldhed, så vi egentlig glemmer, hvem vi selv er, og hvis vi ikke

373 ved, hvem vi selv er og er bevidste om, hvem vi selv er, så lige pludselig, så forsvin-
374 der Danmark – så forsvinder de værdier, vi har. Så det er måske noget af det aller-
375 bedste ved, at vi har fået udlændinge til Danmark, det er, at vi bliver tvunget til at
376 forholde os til, hvem vi selv er – både som nation og som folk med alle de kulturelle
377 værdier, vi nu har.

378 *S: vil du prøve at sætte nogle ord på – som du selv siger, bliver vi bevidste omkring,
379 hvem vi selv er og hvad vores værdier er; kan du sætte ord på, hvem er vi så som
380 nation?*

381 TJ: Danmark er en meget rig nation. Vi er et meget lykkeligt land. Vi tager alle de
382 frihedsrettigheder, vi har fuldstændigt for givet. Vi tror ikke, der er nogle ulykker
383 eller noget uro, der kan ramme os. Så vi har jo levet i en boble eller i et drivhus – i
384 vores eget lille selvbillede af, hvordan verden den er. Så det der med at man lige
385 pludselig får nogen ind i et samfund, der ser helt anderledes ud; der lever på en helt
386 anden måde; der kommer med en helt anden baggrund; der er flygtet fra krig og nød
387 og elendighed, det er lige pludselig med til at sætte vores samfund i perspektiv. Så
388 måske også den måde, som unge mennesker tager ting for givet på... vi har et ud-
389 dannelsessystem, der er gratis, og der er også nogle, der kommer fra nogle andre lan-
390 de, hvor det overhovedet ikke er en selvfølge. Jeg kan huske for eksempel, dengang
391 jeg startede det tosprøgs-undervisning, der havde vi sådan en opgave, hvor de skulle
392 forklare, hvad forskellen mellem deres eget land og Danmark var, og nogle af de ting
393 var selvfølgelig det der med, at de blev slået i skolen – det gør man ikke i Danmark. I
394 Danmark, der arbejder man meget lidt, men tjener mange penge – der hvor de kom-
395 mer fra, der arbejde man rigtig meget og tjener ingen penge. Så der er enormt stor
396 forskel, så det er godt nok at få de ting op, som man egentlig kan spejle sig i hinan-
397 den eller blive konfronteret med det. Så det er ikke fordi vi ikke lærer noget af det,
398 men vi skal bare være bevidste om, hvordan vi takler det. Og så synes jeg, man skal
399 være bevidst om det antal, vi også får til Danmark for eksempel. Fordi vi skal ikke
400 tage flere ind, end vi magter at integrere på en ordentlig og ansvarsfuld og værdig
401 måde – i ordets bedste forstand. Og der synes jeg, der har været alt for meget af det
402 misforståede hensyn til, at vi kan godt redde alle verdens problemer, så vi har taget
403 alt for mange ind, uden egentlig at håndtere dem rigtigt. Det synes jeg ikke er godt.

404 *S: hvad er det, der er gjort galt?*

405 TJ: jeg synes, det er galt, at... det der er helt afgørende for mig, når de kommer til
406 Danmark, så skolemæssigt, så bliver de sendt nogle steder hen – for eksempel her i

407 kommunen, der har vi 80 pladser, vi skal tage. Så er de tvunget til at være der i 3 år.
408 Efter 3 år må man jo flytte hen, hvor man vil. Og så vil det sige, man jo samler sig i
409 ghettoer eller enklaver rundt om i Danmark, og så udvikler de her parallelsamfund
410 sig. Jeg synes egentlig fra starten af, der skulle man sige, at de skal spredes så vidt
411 muligt ud over hele landet, fordi det er den måde, man bedst bliver integreret på. Og
412 det er rigtigt, der er jo gode historier på begge sider, men jeg kan huske en radioud-
413 sendelse, jeg hørte om en michelin-kok i Århus – han havde fået michelin-status, og
414 han kom som flygtning og blev integreret i en lille kommune af alle steder, hvor der
415 ikke var andre. Og de måtte arbejde sig ind i et samfund ved hjælp af de lokale der-
416 oppe, og han har kunnet etablere en hverdag og etablere en succeshistorie. Så jeg
417 tror, jo mere man kommer ud og jo mere, man viser sig og hvem man er overfor de
418 naboer, man er sammen med, jo nemmere er det også at integrere folk. Jo mere man
419 er i ghettoer, jo større bliver problemerne jo i virkeligheden. Men jeg forstår godt,
420 hvorfor udlændinge vil være sammen – det er så en helt anden sag, men det gør også,
421 at man kommer til at udvikle sig i de her uheldige parallelsamfund. Det synes jeg
422 ikke er godt for Danmark i hvert fald.

423 *S: hvad gør du konkret i dit arbejde for at lave den her integration med tosprogsele-
424 verne?*

425 TJ: det er nogle af de ting, jeg har nævnt. Nu kan jeg give nogle eksempler fra den-
426 gang jeg havde det tosprogsundervisning. Det er det der med at finde ud af, hvorfor
427 de er kommet til Danmark; hvad for et liv de kommer med; og hvad for et liv, vi så
428 har i Danmark. Så det laver vi i en projektopgave, hvor de præsenterer hver deres
429 land ud fra en masse spørgsmål om skolegang, mad, familie og hvor de boede geo-
430 grafisk, så man kunne få en forståelse for det. Så præsenterede jeg hele Danmark for
431 dem ved hjælp af nogle billeder – af Danmark og Færøerne og Grønland. Så havde vi
432 sådan et helt klasselokale, hvor vi klistede alle de her billeder op, og vi fortalte om
433 for eksempel, ”det er dronning Margrethe, det er Christiansborg, det er Aalborg, det
434 er Sønderjylland”, så de vidste, hvordan Danmark ser ud og har et begreb om, hvad
435 det var. Og så stillede vi nogle dogmeregler op om hvad man skulle, når man var i
436 det lokale. Det var for eksempel, at man skulle tale dansk; man skulle indgå i den
437 danske kultur; man skulle lave sine lektier. Der var sådan nogle helt klare regler –
438 der var 5 dogmeregler, og så etablerede vi også nogle sproglige kurser. Jeg etablere-
439 de nogle sproglige kurser mellem danske elever og udenlandske elever, så jeg havde
440 12 tosprogselever, og så fandt jeg 12 – jeg vidste, at der på årgangen var en masse,

441 der havde svært ved at læse eller skrive- så fandt jeg 12 elever, der havde rigtig svært
442 ved at læse på dansk, så blev de tilknyttet en udenlandsk elev – en tosprogselev blev
443 tilknyttet en dansk elev. Så lavede vi sådan nogle både, hvor de sad og læste for hin-
444 anden, og det havde det formål at styrke selvværdet og selvtilliden ved de danske
445 elever, fordi normalt, når de sad i klassen, var det dem, der var lavest i hierarkiet og
446 ikke rigtig havde lyst til at lære, så de skulle egentlig bruge de sproglige kompeten-
447 cer, de havde overfor tosprogseleverne – omvendt kunne de sidde og fortælle lidt om,
448 hvor de kom fra, så de kunne få en dialog i gang. De hjalp hinanden faktisk, så det
449 var en kæmpe succes med at lære sproget at kende og forstå kulturen og knytte nogle
450 venskaber. Og så er det også det, jeg fortalte med ham B, at når nu, jeg får én, så vil
451 jeg prøve at lette overgangen så meget som muligt ved hjælp af tutorer og præsentere
452 eleverne for den. Vi har også prøvet nogle madforløb, hvor familier kom ned og præ-
453 senterer deres mad fra det sted, de kommer fra sammen med deres forældre til skole-
454 fester. Så der er mange måder, man kan gøre det på, hvor man virkelig tager dem i
455 hånden, men det vigtigste af det hele er, at man viser, at man vil dem og så stiller
456 nogle krav. De to ting skal gå hånd i hånd.

457 *S: for at så opstille en hypotetisk situation; hvis du har en elev i din klasse, og du*
458 *skal have seksualundervisning, og din elev, som er pige og muslim, vil ikke være med*
459 *i seksualundervisningen på grund af sin religiøse baggrund; hvordan vil du håndtere*
460 *sådan en situation?*

461 TJ: så vil jeg få fat i sundhedsplejersken. Hvis hun ikke vil – der kan også være en
462 elev, der ikke vil i bad, der kan være nogle ting, hvor tingene støder fuldstændigt
463 sammen – og hvis nu vi siger det med seksualundervisningen, og hendes religion
464 foreskriver, at det må hun ikke, eller det vil hun ikke, eller det gør man bare ikke, så
465 får jeg fat i sundhedsplejersken. Det har jeg gjort nogle gange, og så kan sundheds-
466 plejersken i første omgang tage hende over og informere hende om seksualundervis-
467 ning, og så bagefter komme sammen med Fatima ind i klassen og forklare de andre,
468 hvorfor Fatima nu reagerer sådan; hvorfor hun ikke må deltage i undervisningen, så
469 de andre også får en forståelse af det, fordi det handler jo også om at få en gensidig
470 forståelse af, hvorfor hun lige pludselig bliver ekskluderet omkring det med seksual-
471 undervisningen – og hvad er det, der ligger til grund for det, så man får en forståelse
472 for hinanden.

473 *S: så du vil acceptere det?*

474 TJ: jeg vil nok acceptere det... der er nogle ting, jeg ikke vil acceptere – det dér vil
475 jeg godt acceptere. Men normalt spørger vi ikke eleverne om – for eksempel når vi
476 skal i kirke til jul, hvis det er muslimer. Vi går til gudstjeneste dagen før jul, og det
477 spørger vi ikke efter, og som regel, så går alle med derover, fordi det er en del af...
478 selvom man ikke er under den kultur, kan man godt komme over og opleve det, fordi
479 det er en del af dansk kultur. Altså, det er ikke, fordi man skal kuppe dem til at blive
480 kristne - det har ikke noget med det at gøre, så det prøver jeg på ikke at acceptere,
481 eller i hvert fald snige det igennem, fordi jeg synes, det er en vigtig del. Det samme
482 også, når man har idræt; vi spørger dem heller ikke efter, om de skal bade hver for
483 sig, fordi det synes jeg også er en del af det. Det er nogle af de der misforståede hen-
484 syn, der nogle gange kan blive taget, men omkring det dér med seksualitet og sådan
485 noget, der ville jeg da respektere det, fordi det er mere ømfindstligt område. Jeg har
486 også haft en, der blev gravid i min klasse, så der gjorde vi det samme, hvor sund-
487 hedsplejersken blev involveret – hun blev gravid i 8. klasse og fødte i 9. klasse. Og
488 det er klart, det var noget uvant for de fleste, og så ved hjælp af sundhedsplejersken,
489 blev vi så informeret om det der, og hun kom og præsenterede babyen og sådan nog-
490 le ting. Så selvfølgelig kan det lade sig gøre. Men det kræver en forståelse og en ac-
491 cept, og så gælder det også, hvor langt man vil strække sig selv.

492 *S: Når vi så snakker integration og integration i folkeskolen; synes du så folkeskolen*
493 *lykkes med sin del af integrationsarbejdet?*

494 TJ: bredt – altså generelt folkeskolen?

495 *S: mmh.*

496 TJ: Nej, det synes jeg nok ikke. Men mange vil jo nok sige, det skyldes ressourcer.

497 *S: altså økonomisk?*

498 TJ: ja, økonomisk. Det er altid det, det strander på. Det er også sådan noget med spe-
499 cialundervisning. Så det er selvfølgelig én del af det. Men meget af det strander også
500 på læringssyn. Jeg vil sige, at hvis man har det rette syn, og man ikke har for mange
501 – jeg synes, der skal være en grænse for, hvor mange man kan have i en klasse – der
502 skal være et politisk mål med, at der må max være 20 % i en klasse. Det er sådan den
503 tommelfingerregel, jeg har, men hvis man har op til sådan 20 % procent, så kan man
504 godt – og det ikke er vilde udfordringer, man har i klassen med eleverne – så kan
505 man godt håndtere det. Det har meget med ens læringssyn at gøre; ens kollegasamar-
506 bejde at gøre, vil jeg sige også. Så det kan man godt. Det har jeg i hvert fald selv
507 kunnet. Jeg havde en eksamensklasse her for 3 år siden, hvor der var – der var en fra

508 Congo, der var en fra Kurdistan, der var en fra Polen, der var en fra Rusland, der var
509 2 fra Syrien – der var i hvert fald syv. Der var syv sammen med 13 andre udfordrede
510 danske elever i klassen, og det håndterede vi fint med hensyn til eksamen, så det kan
511 man godt. Det er min erfaring. Men det er klart, du kan også møde lærere, der siger,
512 at det, kan man, overhovedet ikke håndtere. Men det er klart, det er en udfordring.
513 Jeg ved ikke, om jeg kan svare... hvis du spørger konkret, så lykkes vi jo nok ikke
514 med det. Det tror jeg ikke. Det generelle syn, men man kan godt, hvis man vil, tror
515 jeg.

516 *Så tænker jeg, igen når vi snakker integration, vi snakker dansk kultur; hvad vil du*
517 *sige, det kræver at være dansker? Hvornår er du dansker?*

518 TJ: hvornår man er Dansker... Det ved jeg ikke... Det er, når man har de danske
519 værdier, og så vil du spørge ”hvad er de danske værdier?”. Det er, når man har et
520 demokratisk livssyn, vil jeg sige. Man går ind for demokrati som styreform. Deri
521 ligger også at man har religionsfrihed og sådan noget. Og så vil jeg også sige det at
522 være dansker, det er også det med den her tillidsfulde omgangstone og omgangs-
523 form. Det er også, at man kender sin egen historie; hvad vi selv kommer af. Og er
524 bevidste om, hvor godt vi har det; og hvor godt vi har det i forhold til andre land; og
525 at vi også godt kan rumme at tage imod andre lande på visse betingelser. Men jeg vil
526 sige, at først og fremmest, der handler det om den der demokratiske styreform og at
527 man vil arbejde sig ind i et fællesskab, men det er jo ikke specielt ’dansk’ – det skal
528 man jo også gøre, når man kommer andre steder hen, men omkring demokrati synes
529 jeg i hvert fald, det er det allervigtigste. Men eller så ved jeg ikke, jeg er jo ikke fir-
530 kantet i min opfattelse af, hvad en dansker er, men jeg synes, man skal være demo-
531 kratisk indstillet, og man skal indgå på de betingelser i Danmark og den styreform,
532 det er fanme det allervigtigste.

533 *Hvad så hvis, nu er jeg lige provokerende måske, du ikke har et demokratisk verden-*
534 *dssyn, men du har et dansk pas? Hvis du har en elev, som for eksempel går mere ind*
535 *for sharia lovgivning, men stadigvæk har et dansk pas?*

536 TJ: Jamen, så vil jeg stille et fuldstændigt krav om, at så længe han er i det fælles
537 rum, så er det demokratiske regler, der gælder, og hvis vedkommende ikke kan leve
538 op til det, så kan han ikke være i det fællesskab, og det vil i virkeligheden også gælde
539 det samme, hvis jeg havde nogle inde missionske, danske elever, eller jeg havde også
540 nogle Jehovahs vidner-elever, der stiller helt specielle krav – det kan man ikke. Altså,
541 når man er i et fællesskab, så er det fællesskabets regler, der gælder, og kan man så

542 ikke indordne sig under det brede fællesskabs regler, så stiller man jo i virkeligheden
543 sig selv udenfor, fordi så siger man, at det har man ikke lyst til. Så det synes jeg er
544 klart nok, fordi rammen er, at vi spiller efter de regler – det er den banehalvdel, vi er
545 på. Så må man indgå i det der. Men det gælder ikke kun tosprogede; det gælder også
546 danskere. Fordi vi har jo også danske børn, der er meget racistiske i deres udtryk –
547 det gælder jo også dem, som vi har udelukket. Vi har haft elever, der er blevet sendt
548 hjem i en uge, fordi de er racistiske. Det er ikke mange, men det sker nogle gange.
549 Og de har uploadet noget på nogle hjemmesider med racistisk udtryk og sådan nogle
550 ting, så selvfølgelig, det gælder alle. Man kan jo ikke have nogen, der har en om-
551 gangsform, der strider imod... Det gælder alle, fordi som lærer har du ansvaret for 25
552 i en gruppe – du har ikke ansvaret kun for den enkelte, der på trods skal integreres,
553 og så må man hellere om nødvendigt udelukke vedkommende for fællesskabet, hvis
554 vedkommende ikke vil deltagte eller sørge for at tage de andre tarv. Sådan må det jo
555 være i en hver situation. Absolut. Og så lige med sharia – det har jeg ikke været utsat
556 for. Jo, jeg har været utsat for at udelukke nogen.

557 *S: hvad var det for en situation?*

558 TJ: Det var nogle danske børn, der lokkede nogle til at heile i gymnastiksalen – nogle
559 små børn, og det er jo ikke særligt godt. Det må man jo ikke, det er klart. Og det
560 fandt vi så ud af, fordi de havde uploadet nogle billeder. Så det er klart, der blev for-
561 ældrene jo involveret. Der blev jo lavet alt muligt for at dæmme op for det der, fordi
562 det er jo heller ikke en situation, der er rar for skolen. Men det var nogle store elever,
563 der simpelthen havde lokket nogle små til noget. Og det foregik i frikvarteret – så det
564 var jo ikke i undervisningssituation, men så længe de er i vores varetægt, så foregår
565 det jo i skolen.

566 *S: så der sanktionerede I også?*

567 TJ: det er klart. Og det kan også være nogle, der religiøst forsøger at lokke nogen,
568 eller driver en eller anden form for religiøs virksomhed, så vil man jo også gøre ind.
569 Lidt ligesom, man må ikke slå, og man må ikke stjæle, og man må ikke alle de der
570 ting, så er man nødt til at gøre ind, og så må man jo sanktionere – selvfølgelig med
571 forældrenes samtykke, og så være meget klar i spytet. Jeg har også haft enkelte ele-
572 ver, der har været udelukket, men det har været enkelte arabiske elever, der har haft
573 svært ved at forstå, hvordan reglerne er, hvor de simpelthen har smadret ting og øde-
574 lagt ting.

575 *S: altså, fysiske?*

576 TJ: ja, smadret to computere og sådan noget, hvor de blev ved med at benægte, indtil
577 det blev filmet, og det blev forelagt forældrene. Og så er det ikke den måde, man
578 opfører sig på i Danmark. Man snyder og bedrager og lyver og pisser én lige op og
579 ned af ryggen, men det er klart, der skal jo beviser på bordet, eller så var det aldrig
580 sket, og så da det blev forelagt for skoleledelsen, så var det endegyldige bevis der, og
581 så blev forældrene kaldt ind, og så blev vedkommende så bortvist i en uge. Det er
582 den maksimale straf, det er at bortvise en i en uge. Man har sådan et adfærdsregulativ
583 med en dag eller to dage, og man kan selvfølgelig også tale med forældrene, og man
584 kan give en skriftlig advarsel, men max det er 7 dage, inden der så kan ske nogle helt
585 andre ting.

586 *S: okay. TJ, jeg har ikke mere, så hvis du har noget, du gerne vil have med på bånd?*
587 TJ: næh, men du kan altid spørge, hvis der er noget, du har glemt eller misset, eller
588 ikke har svaret ordentligt på.

589

590 *S: tak!*

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1 **Appendix 2: Transcript: Teacher L and B**

2 19./3.-2018

3 S: Sara; TL: teacher L; TB: teacher B

4

5 *S: Så hvis I vil starte med, hvor I er uddannet fra og hvornår?*

6 TB: jeg er uddannet fra seminarium, læreruddannelsen 1998

7 *S: Mh, ja*

8 TL: jeg er uddannet fra seminarium 2009... Vil du have linjefag med, eller noget?

9 *S: Ja, det tænker jeg nemlig, hvad det er for nogle fag, I så underviser i?*

10 TL: Jamen, jeg underviser i dansk og dansk som andetsprog (DSA) og madkundskab,
11 og så jeg så også kristendom, men det underviser jeg ikke i lige nu.

12 *S: Ja*

13 TB: Jeg underviser udelukkende i dansk som andetsprog, det der hedder DSA-center.
14 Indenfor de senere år er der sket en omstrukturering indenfor Kommunen, hvor vi
15 gik fra modtagerklasse med udslusning på én skole til udslusning på tre skoler i byen.
16 Og der opretter man så et DSA-center, hvor børn, der er kommet i en almindelig
17 klasse, de skal have ekstra hjælp. Og på seminariet er jeg uddannet i Dansk, historie
18 og samfundsfag.

19 *S: Okay. Og så også bare lige en sidste, hvor lang tid har I så undervist?*

20 TL: Jamen, jeg har undervist siden 2010 og har faktisk gennem hele forløbet haft
21 DSA. Jeg har haft i en større kommune, hvor jeg havde DSA, og så kom jeg ud i det,
22 der hedder asylklasser, som er børn, der ikke har fået opholdstilladelse endnu, og har
23 arbejdet med dem i 2 år, altså fuldtid, kun dem. Og så røg jeg så over på mellemtrinet
24 i almen-området, så har jeg så stadigvæk støttetimer i DSA.

25 *S: Ja*

26 TB: jeg underviste på en skole fra 1998-2004, og så søgte jeg et års orlov, hvor jeg
27 sagde mit job op for at blive leder på et andet projekt. I 2014, der fik jeg så job med
28 de voksne asylansøgere her i kommunen; det var i efteråret 2014, hvor der kom rigtig
29 mange asylansøgere til Danmark. Jeg underviste dem i 1 år, og et år i en modtage-
30 klasse på en anden skole fra 2015-2016 og har fra 2016 og indtil nu været på denne
31 skole i DSA-centeret.

32 *S: Ja, nu siger du også det her med, at kommunen har lavet en omstrukturering, så*
33 *hvad er det nu, især efter den nye omstrukturering, hvad er det for nogle rammer,*
34 *kommunen så opstiller for jeres arbejde med tosprogede elever?*

35 TB: der er afsat en vis mængde ressourcer, rent økonomisk, til at arbejde med to-
36 sprogede elever. De er fordelt på den måde, at der er i øjeblikket to lærere, der arbej-
37 der i modtagesystemet... Det er dem, der lige har fået asyl. På en anden skole i
38 kommunen, der kommer man og går en vis mængde tid, det kan være 3 måneder, det
39 kan være 6 måneder, alt afhængigt af, hvad der er nødvendigt. Derefter bliver man
40 udsluset i en almindelig dansk klasse, enten på den samme skole eller en af de øvrige
41 i byen, og på de skoler er der så afsat en mængde ressourcer, afhængigt af hvor man-
42 ge elever, der skal have hjælp af dem, der bliver udsluset i en almindelig dansk klas-
43 se.

44 TL: Og for vores vedkommende passer det med at TB, så er fulldtid DSA'er , og jeg
45 så har 9 lektioner om ugen.

46 *S: Okay, hvor du så ellers arbejder i almenklassen?*

47 TL: Ja

48 *S: Hvad er det så for nogle mål, I skal indfri i forhold til de tosprogede elever fra*
49 *kommunens side?*

50 TL: Det er vel at få dem så godt integreret i det danske skolesystem som muligt, og
51 ved det menes, at de kan følge med i timerne, og de kan prøve at være på samme
52 niveau, som børnene i de danske klasser. Og det er noget af en udfordring, fordi
53 mange af dem som vi får er noget kun under niveau.

54 *S: Rent fagligt?*

55 TL: Rent fagligt.

56 TB; Målet for en kommunal bestyrelse, der er at få økonomien til at hænge sammen.
57 Det betyder, set fra min stol, som lærer at der ikke er ressourcer nok til at varetage
58 den opgave, vi har med at give de børn tilstrækkelig mængde ordforråd, forståelse og
59 forforståelse af det danske sprog, til at de kan klare sig ude i en almindelig dansk
60 klasse. Men der er den mængde ressourcer, der er, og det er så det, vi må agere ef-
61 ter... Så målet det må være, at de børn som bliver sluset for tidligt ud, eller som på
62 en eller anden måde ikke har de tilstrækkelige sproglige ressourcer til at klare sig i en
63 almindelig klasse, dem må vi forsøge, så godt som muligt at gøre klar til at kunne
64 klare sig i en almindelig klasse. For os må endemålet være, at de alle sammen får en
65 eksamen, fordi hvis de får en eksamen, så har de mulighed for at komme videre i

66 uddannelsessystemet, få sig et job, eller en videregående uddannelse, eller måske
67 bare en ungdomsuddannelse, og så få et job, og kunne forsørge sig selv. Men der er
68 ikke, efter min personlige mening, de ressourcer, der er nødvendige for at gøre dem
69 fuldstændig klar til at kunne klare sig... Men der er de ressourcer, der er, og det er
70 dem, vi må agere indenfor.

71 *S: Hvad gør I så for at agere indenfor det her felt, hvor der ikke er nok ressourcer til
72 lærerne; hvordan håndterer I det?*

73 TL: Jeg tænker, vi løber så hurtigt, vi kan, og der er nogle, hvor vi kan nå og rykke
74 dem en del, og så er der nogle, vi må rykke det, som de nu kan og være på det ni-
75 veau, som de nu kan... Og det er mega frustrerende som lærer ikke at kunne have
76 tiden til dem... Og der er mange, hvor man er nødt til at kun give en lektion, fordi
77 det er det, der lige er tid til, og så må man håbe på det bedste. Det er i hvert fald, set
78 ud fra mit synspunkt, fordi jeg har jo kun de 9 lektioner, og det betyder også, at jeg
79 dækker indskolingen og overbygningen, og der er bare nogle elever, som bare godt
80 kunne få nogle flere lektioner, men det er der bare ikke økonomi til.

81 TB: det gode ved ledelsen på denne skole og en anden i kommunen, i dette skoledi-
82 strikt, det er, at vi trods alt har fået mulighed for at prioritere, TL og jeg, hvordan vi
83 skal gøre det, og så må vi fordele ressourcerne indenfor de elever, der er og de timer,
84 vi har til rådighed, og det, synes jeg, er en god model. Det at komme firkantet, oven-
85 fra og sige, nu skal hvert barn, der har været en vis mængde tid i Danmark, eller en
86 almindelig klasse, have 3 timer om uger, det giver jo ikke nødvendigvis mening. Det
87 kan være, der er nogle, der ikke har behov for så meget hjælp, og det kan være, der er
88 nogle, der bliver lynhurtigt integreret af forskellige årsager i en almindelig klasse.
89 Det kan også være, der er nogle, der slet ikke bliver det og har brug for rigtig meget
90 hjælp i starten. Jeg sad med en pige, jeg underviste fra august 2016 her på skolen,
91 som ikke kunne læse, og hun har også en meget dårlig forståelse for, hvad der fore-
92 gik ude i klassen; så giver det ikke ret meget mening, at hun skal sidde der og drukne
93 i 35 lektioner om ugen. Så giver det mere mening, hun så har 2 lektioner om dagen
94 med mig, så vi kan arbejde hårdt på, at hun kommer til at lære at læse. Det betyder
95 selvfølgelig, at hun ikke er så integreret i klassen til at starte med, men man bliver
96 heller ikke integreret, hvis man ikke forstår noget. Der har vi fået mulighed for her på
97 skolen, og det tror jeg, nu skal jeg ikke udtale mig på vegne af hele skoledistriket,
98 men i hvert fald her på skolen, at prioritere ressourcerne, som vi finder rigtigt. Og det
99 gør, at vi kan sætte ind der, hvor vi mener, der er kritisk behov for det.

100 *S: Nu er det også meget sproget, I snakker om... Det her med at lære sproget, som*
101 *forudsætning for at blive integreret; hvad for nogle sociale mål skal I indfri, som går*
102 *ud over sproget?*

103 TB: vores mål det er, at de integreres i klassen – uden sprog kan du ikke blive inte-
104 greret i klassen. Hvis du kommer ud efter, og du har et meget begrænset ordforråd, så
105 vil du søge, de andre arabisk talende drenge i frikvarteret, fordi det er dem, du kan
106 kommunikere med, og sådan ville vi alle sammen gøre, hvis vi to ikke er på bølge-
107 længde og taler hvert sit sprog, så vil vi ikke søge hinanden særlig meget. Så vores
108 mål må være, at de rent fagligt er så dygtige, at de kan være med i klasse. Så kan vi
109 selvfølgelig godt gå lidt mere ud i klassen engang i mellem, være lidt med dér, prøve
110 at sige: ”Kom lige og vær med her – vær lige med i den gruppe og lige arbejd lidt
111 med”, sådan de lærer hinanden at kende, og sådan de dansktalende børn også finder
112 ud af, ”nåh, jamen de kan jo godt noget”... Så det er også en klasselærer-opgave at
113 sørge for at få lokket dem ind i folden, fordi de vil selvfølgelig være nervøse, når de
114 kommer og ikke kan ret meget, når de sidder og der måske er 50-60 %, de ikke for-
115 står i en time, så vil de jo holde sig tilbage – det ville jeg også gøre, hvis det var mig.
116 Jeg skal prøve at lokke dem lidt ind, hvor vi kan og få dem med i nogle små gruppe
117 arbejder, se om de kan være med dér. Det er jo det muliges kunst.

118 TL: Men det er jo meget en balancegang, fordi det er jo at hjælpe, der hvor de nu er,
119 men det er jo også samtidig med at få, som TB også siger, ind i grupper... Nu har jeg
120 også madkundskab, og der har jeg også flere tosprogede inde, og det nyttet jo ikke
121 noget, man kun sætter to tosprogede sammen i madkundskab, selvom de måske kan
122 hjælpe hinanden der, men så sammensætte nogle grupper, hvor man tænker at de kan
123 løfte hinanden alle sammen. Så jeg tænker, der er dét, man kan gøre socialt lige nu
124 og her, i forhold til dem.

125 *S: Ja. Men så er det nemlig også, nu hvor det meget er de her børn, der kommer og*
126 *ikke kan sproget og skal have lært sproget, vi snakker om nu; men i forhold til to-*
127 *sprogede elever, der også gælder de elever, der rent faktisk er flydende i dansk, må-*
128 *ske født og opvokset i Danmark, men hvor der bliver talt et andet sprog i hjemmet, de*
129 *går også under denne her tosprogs-definition; hvor meget fylder sproget så i den her*
130 *tosprogs definition?*

131 TB: For det første, hvis der med de midler der er afsat fra Kommunens økonomiud-
132 valg skal afsættes tid til dem, der lige er udsluset fra en modtageklasse, og dem, der
133 er født og opvokset i Danmark som 2. eller 3. generations indvandrere, så er der ikke

134 tid nok. Det er der ikke. Det er noget som kommunen har valgt, at der er ikke flere
135 penge i kassen, til at vi kan afsætte nok timer til det. Der er ikke tid nok til den
136 mængde elever, det bliver vi nødt til at sige fuldstændig ærligt. Så der skal vi vælge.
137 Der er nogle, der har nogle store faglige kompetencer; sidste år sad vi med en elev,
138 som virkelig var dygtig. Hun var også talentfuld og hun brugte meget tid på at lære
139 dansk derhjemme. Der er målet selvfølgelig noget andet. Der er målet at gå i dybden
140 med de enkelte fag, som hun måske skal til eksamen i, hvor hun får en forståelse af,
141 hvad er det der foregår i det her fag i 9. klasse, hvordan er det, jeg laver en projekt-
142 opgave, hvordan får jeg stillet en synopsis op, og hvordan får jeg øvet på de emner,
143 jeg skal op i, så jeg kan få en god eksamen. Og det er jo rigtig godt, når man er der.
144 Det er et fåtal. Det er et fåtal.

145 TL: man kan sige, lige for hendes vedkommende, der var det jo både fagligt, men der
146 var det jo også, at vi arbejdede med det sociale i forhold til, hvem hun kunne hen-
147 vende sig til af de klassekammerater, hun nu havde, fordi hun var det skridt længere.
148 Men for at understøtte det TB, han lige sagde, hvis det er, at du ikke har sproget, så
149 kan du heller ikke magte det andet i forhold til, at gå hen og sige ”skal vi to lege
150 sammen”, fordi hvis du ikke kan formulere det på den måde, så er det jo dødsdømt i
151 forvejen. Så derfor er det meget, meget vigtigt for os i forhold til sproget, at de har
152 muligheden for at kunne formulere sig. Og nu nævner du selv tosprogede, som den
153 definition, der nu hedder, at hvis du har et modersmål, der er andet end dansk, så er
154 du tosproget. Altså, vi har også mange her på skolen, som er 2. eller 3. generations
155 indvandrere, hvor det er, at de kan godt følge med. Man kan sige fagligt er de også
156 udfordrede, fordi de er alderssvarende i dansk, men der bliver bare snakket et andet
157 sprog derhjemme, men vi har simpelthen ikke ressourcerne til at støtte dem så meget,
158 som vi egentlig gerne ville. Hvis det stod til os, tror jeg da, at vi gerne ville have rig-
159 tig mange timer, men det kan vi bare ikke, og så er vi nødt til at prioritere, er der
160 nogle, vi skal tabe 100 %, eller er der nogle, vi bare prøver at hjælpe så godt som
161 muligt.

162 *S: og så bliver det dem, der skal fra starten af have lært basalt sprog?*

163 TL: Ja.

164 TB: der er trods alt en forskel på, om du starter i en almindelig klasse i 0., eller om
165 du starter der i 5. De sent ankomne børn fra syrien eksempelvis, der starter i en al-
166 mindelig 5. eller 6. klasse, er jo vitalt bagud på point, mens man trods alt har mulig-
167 hed for at lære ABC, når man starter i 0. klasse. Til trods for, at man i ikke så høj

168 grad taler dansk i hjemmet. Det er også vores opgave – også klasselærrens, men det er
169 også vores opgave at motivere forældrene til at gøre noget. De kan godt gøre en for-
170 skel, hvis man vælger at se DR ultra eller DR Ramashang , måske en time hver dag,
171 hvis man vælger at sige ” vi skal lige på biblioteket og låne nogle bøger, som vi læser
172 sammen med vores børn, så bliver det nemmere end hvis man kun taler et andet
173 sprog i hjemmet. Så man skal også fra forældre side gøre noget, og det skal vi også
174 hjælpe med at opfordre til. Sige ”du kan gøre en forskel for dit barn, vil du det, er du
175 interesseret i at hjælpe?” For det er der nogle, der gør, og der er måske andre, der
176 ikke har ressourcerne til det, eller ikke gør det i hvert fald. Det er også en opgave, vi
177 har. Det er sådan en rent social at få skabt et godt samarbejde med forældrene, og få
178 dem til at forstå, at ja, der er hårdt at skulle flygte fra krig og komme til et andet land,
179 der er meget, man ikke forstår, men man skal kæmpe hårdere for at lære det. Det er
180 bare vilkårene, fordi man er bagud på point, når man starter. Nogle forstår det og
181 kæmper og når et vist stykke, andre tager måske ikke kampen op af forskellige årsa-
182 ger.

183 *S: altså, når eksemplerne kommer så er det meget ”syrisk flygtning”, ”arabisk ta-*
184 *lende”; tosprogede gælder selvfølgelig også dansk-svensk, dansk-tysk*
185 TL: Ja, ham der lige sad her, var fra polen.

186 *S: mmh, men hvor jeg så tænker, om der er en forskel i de tosprogede elever, der er*
187 *dansk-polisk, altså der er indenfor Vestens rammer, og dem, der er ikke vestlige?*
188 TL: der er en tydelig forskel. Vi har også haft nogle... Altså, hende vi omtalte, hun
189 kom fra Ukraine, det vil sige, det faglige niveau, det var rimelig højt fra der, hvor
190 hun kom fra. Der er også nogle af de syriske børn, der har et højt fagligt niveau, men
191 det er et fåtal af dem, og der er mange, der ikke har gået i skole, altså stabilt, i den
192 tid, de nu har været i skolesystemet. Så var der dem, der kom fra... Altså, Tjetenier-
193 ne... De har også et udmarket skolesystem, men der er en tydelig forskel på, om
194 man kommer fra Syrien eller om man kommer fra Ukraine for eksempel. Altså, sko-
195 lesystemet er bare bedre i Ukraine end det er i Syrien.

196 TB: Der er også en væsentlig forskel på hvilket alfabet, man er vant til at arbejde
197 med, om bogstaverne hedder a, b, c, eller om det hedder mim og nuun og noget an-
198 det... Så der er selvfølgelig nogle ting at kæmpe med, men ellers så er der mulighed
199 for at lære et alfabet med 28 tegn, hvis der er tid. Der skal tid til.

200 *S: men hvad så med det rent socialt? Ikke kun fagligt i forhold til alfabeter og faglige*
201 *præstationer, men hvad med socialt?*

202 TL: Jamen, der er der jo også nogle kulturelle forskelle. Uanset om du er muslim fra
203 Tjetjenien eller om du er muslim fra Syrien. Uanset om man vil det eller ej som
204 kvinde, så kan det godt være nemmere at... Jeg kan godt have nemmere ved at gå
205 hen til TB og sige ”vil du være såd at snakke med den her elev, som er hankøn”, for-
206 di det er nemmere for dig at komme i kontakt med ham end det er for mig. Og hvor
207 jeg så derimod kan sige, jamen, de piger her kan jeg godt lige tage fat i og snakke
208 med dem, og det er vi også nødt til at respektere - og det gør vi også, fordi der er
209 kulturelle forskelle, og der er jo også... Jeg tror da både TB og jeg har taget meget
210 ind, altså det med, at vi godt ved, at de syriske kvinder ikke vil give hånd til mænd,
211 men de vil gerne til kvinder. Eller at man respekterer at de ser dig ikke i øjnene, når
212 man snakker til dem. Og det er okay at kigge ned, når det er sådan. Og det tror jeg er
213 en hurdle for mange danske lærere, som lige skal vænne sig til det, som ikke er vant
214 til at arbejde med tosprogede børn, at der er altså nogle kulturelle forskelle, som gør,
215 at det godt kan være svært nogle gange at kommunikere.

216 TB: det gør også en forskel i forhold til mængden af kammerater. Jeg voksede selv
217 op der, hvor en stor del af indvanderne, de vokser op den dag i dag, og det var ikke
218 fordi, jeg havde det store behov for at være social med min klasse, fordi jeg havde
219 venner derhjemme i blokken, hvor jeg boede. Og det har mange af dem, der vokser
220 op der også. For nogle af dem, de kan måske være kede af at de ikke har venner i
221 klassen, mens nogle er fuldstændig ligeglade, fordi de har 50 eller 100 venner, der
222 hvor de bor og spiller fodbold med, hver evig eneste dag, og det gør altså bare en
223 forskel. Man kan selvfølgelig gøre noget for at få dem til at være en del af klassen,
224 fordi det er godt at være socialt en del af en klasse, men det er ikke ødelæggende for
225 ens liv, at det ikke nødvendigvis er klassen, man leger mest med. Jeg legede ikke
226 mest med min klasse – jeg har klaret mig udmarket alligevel. For der var rigtig man-
227 ge venner at vælge imellem, af dem jeg boede sammen med, der hvor jeg boede. Der
228 er også forskel i for eksempel, i det område, der bor der måske 300 arabisk talende
229 familier – så er det mange børn. Der bor ikke så mange polakker, så der er du lige-
230 som nødt til at lære et andet sprog for ellers er det da helt sikkert, så har du ingen
231 venner, hvis der kun bor en polakisk eller to polakiske familier i kommunen. Så det
232 gør en forskel også.

233 *S: Hvis de så har venner i det område, de bor, og vi snakker ghettoisering og paral-*
234 *lelsamfund, gør I så noget for de børn, som har nok i boligområdet for at få dem ind*
235 *bedre i klassen?*

236 TB: For mig er der ikke lighedstegn mellem, om man leger med nogle mennesker i et
237 bestemt område og om der så er fare for ghettoisering. Noget af det, jeg kan bekymre
238 mig for, der er hvis, der er nogle familier, der lukker sig om sig selv, og det behøver
239 ikke at være i et boligområde, hvor der bor 300 familier; det kan også foregå på en
240 villave, hvor man lukker sig om sig selv og ikke har noget med nogen som helst at
241 gøre. Pigerne bor på den ene sal, drengene bor på den anden sal, man deltager aldrig i
242 skole-fester, ikke med på lejrskole; det er noget af det, vi skal gøre noget for. Hvis
243 der er. Der kan også være nogle problemstillinger i forhold til nogle familier har nog-
244 le problemer med kommunen, måske, hvor der bliver stillet nogle krav, man ikke
245 forstår. Man skal måske i praktik, man magter ikke opgaven, så er det vores opgave,
246 hvis man vælger at sige ”jamen, så skal børnene ikke i skole”, så skal vi gå hjem og
247 banke på døren og sige ”goddag, dit barn er ikke i skole – hvad gør vi?”. Så der kan
248 vi prøve at... det er virkelig vigtigt at have en tæt forældrekontakt og få løst nogle af
249 de problemstillinger, der opstår. Men det at man bor i [ghetto’en], hvor jeg er vokset
250 op, det er ikke ensbetydende med at man bliver ghetto-dreng, der ingenting kan. Men
251 det er selvfølgelig rigtigt, at i og med at der bor rigtig mange arabisk talende familier
252 i et bestemt område af byen, så vil der være mange at vælge imellem der, og det kan
253 gøre, at man ikke i ligeså høj grad leger med danske børn. Om det er en ulempe, det
254 ved jeg ikke. Det er kun en ulempe måske, hvis man finder på noget forkert at gøre,
255 men det kan ligeså godt være, man finder på noget rigtigt at gøre.

256 TL: Men nu har vi også et tæt samarbejde med boligforeningen, hvor [et socialt bo-
257 ligprojekt] hører til, og der har vi to fyre, der er... Den ene er tilknyttet 10 timer i
258 vores distrikt, og den anden er fuldtid på [et socialt boligprojekt]. Men dem har vi
259 også et tæt samarbejde med, fordi der kommer drengene jo og får ringet til dem og
260 snakket med dem, om hvordan det er lige nu og så videre. Og så er vi også rigtig
261 gode til at snakke sammen på tværs omkring tingene, hvad gør vi lige her. Vi har
262 også lige haft en dreng ind til samtale, der valgte at pjække en dag, og der tog TB og
263 ham fra [et socialt boligprojekt] og jeg fat i forældrene, og snakkede med dem om-
264 kring, hvordan er det lige vi forventer, at jeres dreng kommer i skole. Jeg tænker, at
265 der er et rigtig stort arbejde for os som lærere, men det er det altså også for klasselæ-
266 rer, fordi de skal også vænne sig til de her ting, og det er ikke kun TB og jeg, der
267 står med den opgave. Jeg var der så i kraft af, at jeg var klasselærer, ikke som to-
268 sprogs-medarbejder. Så det er... For på den anden skole har de været vant til det i
269 mange år - på denne skole er det så noget, de skal vænne sig til nu, og den frustrati-

270 on, der hedder, at børnene fagligt er så meget bagud. Så der er man nødt til at lige at
271 lukke ned for sin faglige stolthed, og så sige, ”vi gør det så godt, som vi kan” og det
272 er svært at nå dertil. Det tager tid, men man når dertil på et tidspunkt, hvor det er man
273 er nødt til at sige ”vi løber så hurtigt, vi kan, og vi kan ikke gøre det bedre”
274 TB: Jeg føler nogle gange, at der indenfor, det faglige område blandt lærerne, er et
275 efterslæb på, hvordan kommunikerer man med kulturer, der ikke er som vores, hvor-
276 dan håndterer man forældresamarbejde, hvad gør man. Det kan være grænseover-
277 skridende at skulle gøre nogle andre ting end det, man er vant til. Min måde at kom-
278 munikere med forældrene på, det er typisk via messenger, og det kan være meget
279 grænseoverskridende for nogle lærere, fordi de vil måske ikke være venner med de
280 pågældende forældre på facebook, og så kan de sidde og følge med i, hvad de laver –
281 men det er nu engang en rigtig god ting, synes jeg, fordi så kan du se, om de har set
282 det, du skriver til dem, så kan du nemmere anklage dem, hvis de ikke svarer på det.
283 Så der er mange måder, du kan håndtere et forældre samarbejde på. Jeg kan huske,
284 dengang jeg startede på den første skole i 1998, der var jeg lærer i en specialklasse,
285 og der var det meget grænseoverskridende, når jeg skrev til nogle piger i klassen
286 ”hvorfor er du ikke i skole?” på sms, for det var meget nyt dengang, men det havde
287 bare den virkning, at hvis de så, jeg havde skrevet til dem, så kom de i skole, fordi
288 næste skridt var – og det var de bevidste om – så skrev jeg til mor og far næste gang.
289 Så du har muligheden for at stå ud af den seng og komme i skole, og hvis du ikke gør
290 det, så er det mor og far, jeg skriver til næste gang. Så nogle gange skal man gibe
291 tingene an på en lidt anderledes måde for at få kommunikationen. Det kan du på
292 messenger, hvor de kan kopiere præcis den tekst, jeg har sendt til dem, ind i en trans-
293 later, og ”nåh, nu forstår jeg, hvad han har skrevet”, men jeg synes godt, at man kun-
294 ne bruge lidt mere tid på måske at uddanne klasselærere i, hvordan håndterer vi, de
295 kulturelle udfordringer, der er, når nu der er så mange børn fra især den arabiske ver-
296 den, som der er – for det giver udfordringer. Det er et andet forældresamarbejde, vi
297 skal opbygge.

298 *S: nu kommer vi sådan set lidt ind på det her kultur, så for at gå lidt videre; hvad*
299 *forbinder i så med et begreb som kultur, som vi bruger så meget?*

300 TL: I forhold til dansk kultur eller arabisk kultur?

301 *S: Begge dele. Bare generelt kultur-begabet?*

302 TB: Kultur kan være det, der gør, at man ikke har lyst til at holde i hånd, når man
303 skal danse folkedans nede i idræt i 2. klasse, fordi ”jeg holder jo ikke piger i hån-

304 den”, siger den lille dreng. Det er en kulturel forskel. Det er der ikke noget problem
305 for et dansk barn at gøre det. Kultur kan også være, at man måske oppe i de ældste
306 klasser, bliver ekskluderet af fællesskabet, fordi man ikke drikker øl. Man drikker
307 ikke øl til festen, fordi det er jo haram. Det må man ikke i den arabiske verden; bety-
308 der det at det er dårligere? Næh, det kan være de er klogere, fordi de ikke ødelægger
309 organerne så hurtigt i deres liv, men de er jo kulturelle forskelle, som gør, at man
310 måske har et børne- og ungdomsliv som er helt markant anderledes end det som
311 normaliteten af det danske børn har.

312 TL: det kan også være det er svært hvis man skal have seksualundervisning oppe i
313 overbygningen og være den pige, som skal sidde sådan her (gemme ansigtet i hæn-
314 derne) med hovedet nedad og ikke kigge op, fordi det må hun ikke. Det er haram.
315 Det er også kultur. Kulturforskel er også, hvordan sidder vi omkring det måltids-
316 fællesskab, vi har. Hvordan spiser vi sammen? hvad gør vi? hvad snakker vi om?
317 sidder vi med ryggen til hinanden? Det er også kultur. Altså, for mig er kultur rigtig
318 mange ting. Jamen, det er rigtig, rigtig svært, fordi det kræver årevis for mit ved-
319 kommende at lære, hvad er det egentlig lige, jeg skal være opmærksom på i min un-
320 dervisning i forhold til de tosprogede børn. Hvor er det, der kan være nogle fald-
321 grupper? Og det tror jeg kun, man kan lære, hvis det er, at man har haft det tæt inde
322 på livet.

323 TB: der er også en kulturel forskel i, at når jeg sidder her i DSA-centeret, og så et
324 barn fra et andet land skal ind til mig, så banker vedkommende på og afventer, at jeg
325 som lærer siger ”ja, værsgo”... det vil danske børn måske ikke i samme grad forstå.
326 Det er noget med respekt, man viser respekt for autoriteten, som læreren er. Da jeg
327 havde de voksne, kaldte man mig Mister B eller estaz, som betyder lærer, professor.
328 Så der er nogle helt andre måder. Det kan også være svært for en, ikke kun arabisk
329 talende familie, det kan også være andre kulturer, at forstå, hvorfor vi i Danmark
330 altså bruger 5 minutter på at sige ”det er altså en sød dreng, du har... En rigtig flink,
331 og neeej, hvor er det en god dreng, bla bla”, og så kommer man efter 5 minutter til
332 det alvorlige. Der er det nogen gange nødvendigt at sige, ”velkommen til. Nu skal du
333 høre, vi har et problem med din dreng.” Sådan kommunikerer man i højere grad i
334 andre skolesystemer, så det er også kultur. Og der bliver vi nødt til nogle gange, at
335 tage tingene til os, hvor vi må sige, at hvis vi vil opnå et resultat med den her familie
336 og dét barn, så bliver vi nødt til at lægge nogle af vores vaner på hylden. Vi kan ikke
337 forvente, de lærer det med det samme. Så kan vi prøve at udvikle dem i retning af

338 demokrati og medbestemmelse og alt det her, men det kan godt være, vi i starten må
339 starte på en anden måde.

340 TL: og der er igen det eksempel med den dreng, som vi havde inde, der havde pjæk-
341 ket, hvor vi så spørger, og det ville vi jo aldrig nogensinde gøre til en dansk familie,
342 hvor vi er nødt til at sige ”Prøv nu at høre her, din dreng, han overholder ikke de her
343 aftaler. Det er dit ansvar, som forælder at få ham til at komme i skole. Hvad skal vi
344 gøre?” Og det vil man ikke gøre til en dansk familie. Der vil man jo så sige ”I skal
345 huske” og så videre, og være lidt mere høflig i forhold til det, men det som den mor
346 forstod ved det, det var ”jamen, det er mit ansvar”. Og det skal de også vide, at I for-
347 hold til at gå i den danske folkeskole, så har de et ansvar. Vi har et ansvar for at lære
348 deres børn, hvordan man fagligt, og hvordan man bliver medmenneskelig, og altså,
349 alt det med demokrati og så videre, men de har altså et ansvar for, at de kommer i
350 skole hver dag og ikke pjækker. Det er også kulturelt bestemt, fordi mange af dren-
351 ge-børnene kan jo løbe om hjørner med deres mor og kan gøre, hvad de vil, og det er
352 vi også bare nødt til at vise dem, det kan de ikke. Og som kvinde er det også en
353 kæmpe udfordring nogle gange at have med teenage, muslimske drenge at gøre, fordi
354 respekten er ikke helt den samme, som hvis det var en mand, der sad der. Så da jeg
355 arbejde i asylklassen havde jeg en makker, der var en mand, så det gjorde det nem-
356 mere for mig. Hvis vi skal have en samtale med et barn, med en af vores ledere, så
357 vil jeg 10 gange hellere gå til den mandlige leder omkring det her drenge-barn end
358 jeg ville gå til den kvindelige leder. Og der bør jeg på noget som egentlig hedder...
359 at mine strømper, som er rigtig, rigtig røde normalt, dem er jeg nødt til at få lidt væk,
360 fordi vi er nødt til at respektere, fordi det er det, der har gennemslagskraft, og det er
361 okay. Men det kræver også år at respektere, eller at acceptere, det, fordi vi i så mange
362 år har kæmpet som kvinder.

363 *S: men er det så noget I synes, vi skal acceptere, eller er det noget, der skal ændres
364 ved dem?*

365 TL: Nej, jeg har... Min holdning, det er, jeg accepterer, at det er sådan. Det irriterer
366 mig rigtig, rigtig meget, men jeg tænker, det er en hel kultur, som man skal ændre, og
367 det har jeg egentlig ikke lyst til at gøre. Jeg viser respekt overfor dem, og siger, ”det
368 er okay”, og at mændene næsten ikke hilser på mig, når jeg kommer, det kan jeg godt
369 have svært ved, men at det er manden, der skal have gennemslagskraft og sige ”hvor-
370 for” og så videre, det har jeg det okay med.

371 TB: En kultur er mange ting. Det er ikke kun noget med nationalitet at gøre. Der er
372 en kulturel forskel på at komme fra en anden by og så fra denne by, der er en kulturel
373 forskel på, om man har en uddannelse eller ikke har en uddannelse, så det har ikke
374 kun noget at gøre med i min verden, om man kommer fra et arabisk talende land og
375 Danmark. Der er markante kulturelle forskelle blandt danskere i Danmark, og det
376 bliver man også nogle gange nødt til... Jeg har også siddet i et andet job tidligere,
377 hvor jeg var lærer i en specialafdeling, og der kunne du ikke kommunikere, som du
378 kan med en højtuddannet med en mor og far, der er uddannet fra universitet og har
379 taget en uddannelse, der bliver du nok nogle gange, hvis du vil opnå noget, nødt til at
380 tage en snak om, hvad man laver med grisene ude på gården, ikke? Og når han så har
381 taget armene ned, så kan sige ”den lejrskole der, ikke, der skal du da med”. Kultur,
382 det er mange ting, det er ikke kun noget med lande at gøre. Med hensyn til om vi
383 accepterer det, vi har en kultur i Danmark, som har nogle grundpiller, og det er noget
384 med, at man skal være med til at bestemme, og der er noget demokrati. Det er det, vi
385 skal arbejde på at lære dem. Men hvis vi skal opnå noget i starten, bliver vi nødt til at
386 gå lidt ind på den bane, som forældrene. Vi skal have dem til at hjælpe med at flytte
387 deres børn i den rigtige retning.

388 *S: mmh. For lige at gøre den, mit næste spørgsmål er, hvad det er for nogle kvalite-
389 ter for medlemmer af Danmark, I prøver at indgyde i tosprogede elever? For at net-
390 op de forstår grundpillaen i det danske samfund, så de kan blive medlemmer? Hvilke
391 kvaliteter skal de udvikle?*

392 TL: Jamen, vi har jo haft meget omkring det der med slåskampe. Omkring det der
393 med at ”du siger noget, jeg ikke bryder mig om, så slår vi bare”. Det er i hvert fald én
394 af de kvaliteter, som har ligget mig meget på siden i forhold til de elever, som jeg har
395 haft. At de er nødt til at prøve at snakke om tingene. Men det kræver jo igen, at de
396 har et sprog, fordi hvis de ikke har et sprog, jamen, hvorfor så ikke slå? Altså, det
397 giver jo mening. Så det er i hvert fald en af de kvaliteter, hvor det er, at jeg gerne vil
398 have de forstår, at vi skal altså prøve at kommunikere om tingene. Hvis det er, du
399 synes, det er træls, så er du nødt til at sige ”nej, jeg vil ikke”. Og i forhold til, hvor-
400 dan man gør med dansk kultur og så videre, også fortælle dem, at det er okay at sige
401 sin mening omkring tingene

402 TB: der er også mange ting, der ikke er forskel på. En teenager er en teenager. En
403 pige, der er muslim og går med tørklæde og kommer fra Syrien, hun tænker på de
404 samme ting og kan være ligeså vanskelig at have at gøre med som en Dansk pige, der

405 er 13 år. De får måske ikke lov til de samme ting. Der er en forskel. Danske piger,
406 når de er 14-15 år, så er det nærmest normen at så skal man på [den store traditionel-
407 le byfest], helst ikke i ret meget tøj og så skal man drikke sig hammer-stiv og brække
408 sig bagved teltet. Det vil en muslimsk pige nok ikke gøre, og det kan være, det er
409 godt, hun ikke gør det. Det giver selvfølgelig nogle udfordringer, hvis der er et stort
410 flertal, hvilket der ofte er, af danske piger, der gør den slags, ikke? Så kan det være
411 svært at finde nogle veninder, fordi man er ikke med til det sjove i weekenden. Men
412 ellers er der jo mange ting, som er det samme. De samme problemstillinger gør sig
413 gældende i et muslimsk hjem med en teenage pige, der kan være rigtig vanskelig at
414 have med at gøre og skaber sig og smækker med døren. Det har vi da også eksempler
415 på. Så der er også mange ting, der ikke er forskellige. Nogle af de store udfordringer
416 for os, det synes jeg også, som TL siger, at hvis man kommer fra en arabisk kultur og
417 har svært ved at respektere kvindelige lærere, så kan det godt blive hædt i den danske
418 skole, fordi der er rigtig mange kvindelige lærere, og det bliver man nødt til på en
419 eller anden måde at lære, ”sådan er det i Danmark, kvinder og mænd har lige meget
420 at skulle have sagt, man skal respektere uanset hvad”, og det bliver vi nødt til at få
421 kridtet op. Det kan så godt være, at det de første gange er en mand, der skal sige det.
422 En mand, der har en god relation til de pågældende børn, skal sige det mange gange,
423 så kan det være sådan, at det med tiden er, at nu forstår de det efterhånden. Det kan
424 også være det kommer med tiden, når man finder ud af den lærer vil mig egentlig
425 noget godt. Men til at starte med bliver vi nødt til nogle gange at give os lidt for at
426 opnå det mål, vi har på den lange bane.

427 *S: Nu kom TL lige med det eksempel om seksualundervisningen; hvordan vil du så
428 håndtere sådan en situation, hvor en pige på grund af etnisk baggrund eller religiøs
429 baggrund måske ikke vil deltage eller i hvert fald er ved at grave sig ned over det,
430 hun hører?*

431 TL: Jeg vil synes, det er et overgreb mod hende at sige, hun skulle deltage og hun
432 skulle sætte et kondom på en penis og så videre. Altså, det vil være et overgreb for
433 mit vedkommende, altså personligt. Men jeg vil da sige til hende, at hun skal sidde
434 inde i undervisningen, og hun skulle lytte. Det kan godt være, hun ikke behøvede at
435 se det hele, fordi... man kan sige, når muslimske piger når den alder, hvor det er så-
436 dan at sex begynder at blive et issue, det vil sige oppe i overbygningen... altså, bare
437 det at se et kys kan være grænseoverskridende for dem, ikke. Men jeg har stadigvæk
438 den holdning, at selvfølgelig skal de sidde i klassen. At de så lige kigger væk, når det

439 er det sker, og så kigger op igen; det rører mig ikke. Så jeg vil løse det på den måde,
440 der hedder, ”at jeg kan godt forstå det gør dig lidt forlegen, men du er simpelthen
441 nødt til at være herinde og så lytte, og så kan du kigge væk, når det er, du føler, det
442 bliver for grænseoverskridende”. Fordi det er både at respektere deres kultur, men
443 stadigvæk at de får et indblik i den danske kultur.

444 *S: Ja*

445 TL: så det handler om... for mig handler det meget om balancegang, og det handler
446 meget om, at man skal kunne leve... Altså, jeg ved godt, det lyder så sukkersødt og
447 så videre, men at man skal kunne leve side om side, og så er vi nogle gange nødt til
448 at gå på kompromis med de holdninger, man nu har, og så kan det godt være, at jeg
449 taber ansigt i forhold til nogle ting, men ved du hvad? Det kan jeg altså godt overle-
450 ve.

451 *S: er der nogle særlige, nu nævner I seksualundervisning og slåskampe, nogle særli-
452 ge situationer i forhold til tosprøgede elever, der bliver problematiseret mere end
453 andet? Hvis I forstår mit spørgsmål?*

454 TL: Jamen, det er der. For mange danske forældre og for mange danske lærere kan
455 det da være et problem at de skal gå lidt ud over grænserne i forhold til, at børnene
456 ikke må spise svinekød og de må ikke... og så videre... Men altså, så laver man bare
457 noget med kylling. Det er ikke... Det har været et kæmpe problem at de ikke har
458 kunnet spise det, der blev serveret, men altså, det ved jeg ikke, om det er fordi, man
459 har været i gamet i så lang tid, at man tænker ”jamen, det er ikke skidesvært at bestil-
460 le noget kylling i stedet for at bestille noget svinekød, og det er ikke skidesvært at
461 køre ned til den arabiske butik og så lige gøre det ekstra for at få noget hallal-slagtet
462 kød. Altså, det har jeg set som et problem tidligere med de elever, man nu har haft,
463 danske elevers forældre, hvor det er, de har sagt ”jamen hvorfor kan de ikke
464 bare spise det?”, og ”jamen, det kan de altså ikke”.

465 TB: Og jeg tror også, det har noget med at gøre, som du (TL) siger, at man har været
466 i gamet. Altså, nu er du jo også lærer for flersprogede børn, så du gør det dét, fordi
467 det giver god mening, fordi så opnår man nogle andre mål i sin undervisning. Hvis
468 man stædigt fastholder at det skal bare være sådan og de skal simpelthen bare spise
469 den gris, jamen, så har man tabt. Og så er der en masse andre ting, de ikke lærer, som
470 er nødvendige, de lærer også. F.eks. et fag som madkundskab handler ikke kun om,
471 at de skal spise nogle bestemte retter, der er mange opdragende ting i det, som de

472 også får glæde af sidenhen også. Også noget med sundhed, hvad er der i den mad, vi
473 spiser for eksempel?

474 TL: for der er mange eksempler på, at tosprogede børn kommer tit med hvidt toast-
475 brød og rigtig, rigtig usunde ting, og så kommer de med sådan en durumrulle, hvor
476 der er fyldt med nutella. Og hvor man sådan... Men det er jo også fordi man har
477 holdningen til, at madkundskab er bare at lave mad, men det er det jo bare ikke. Der
478 er så meget teori, der er så meget fællesskab omkring det at samles, der er så meget
479 matematisk i at læse en opskrift, og sådan nogle ting. Det er meget dannende overfor
480 den danske kultur, der er meget dannelse i madkundskabs faget. Så ja. Nu kan så
481 ikke lige huske dit spørgsmål..?

482 *S: ja, ja, okay...*

483 TB: Jeg synes også, der er vigtigt at sige, man skal ikke være berøringsangst overfor
484 andre kulturer. Der er rig mulighed for at lære dem at kende. Jeg benytter enhver
485 lejlighed til, hvis det er man bliver inviteret hjem, så sige ”ja tak”. For det første får
486 du noget rigtig god mad – det er altid godt, hvis man godt kan ide god mad. På den
487 anden side, så har du vundet første runde. Så når du har snakket med mor og far og
488 du måske skal tage en lille, vanskelig samtale med en elev, så har man en anden fæl-
489 les forståelse af at ”nåh, han har været hjemme i vores hjem”. Det gør altså en for-
490 skel, ikke. Og der er jo nogle, der gerne vil invitere én, fordi de synes, det er en ære
491 at læreren kommer på besøg, og de virkelig vil gøre noget for at blive en del af det
492 danske samfund. Det tager selvfølgelig lang tid, og det er nemmere for børnene end
493 det er for forældrene, men grib chancen. Det tror jeg måske også nok, at man kan
494 have glæde af som lærer.

495 TL: men der vi jo så igen der, hvor diskussionen kommer, fordi det kan vi jo så ikke
496 gøre mere i, fordi hvis man nu skal kigge på love og så videre, det må vi jo ikke. Alt-
497 så, vi må jo ikke tage hjem til forældrene på den måde, som vi har gjort før. Og da
498 jeg var i asylafdelingen, der var vi tit inviteret med hjem til forældrene og tit invite-
499 ret... Hvor er det de bor, hvor er det, de kommer fra. Og vi greb da også enhver
500 chance, vi havde for at komme med hjem og så sige ”jamen, det er her I bor, det er
501 her, de og de børn nu kommer fra”. Men som klasselærer, hvor det er, at man har 21
502 børn rundt nu her, hvor det er jeg står med en fod i hver lejr, det er bare fysisk umu-
503 ligt for mig at nå de her ting og med de timer, man nu har.

504 *S: og det bliver vel den nye realitet med den her nye nedlæggelse af modtageklassen?*

505 TL: Jamen, det gør det. Man får ikke det der tætte forhold som TB har til mange af
506 forældrene. TB har så også den fordel, at han har noget ved siden af. Han har jo... Ja,
507 det kan du selv lige sige.

508 TB: Jeg er formand for en sports klub og er på meget højt plan der indenfor, og der er
509 mange af de børn i byen, der går til det, så der har man vundet et point mere. Men vi
510 bliver nødt til at gøre noget for at integrere os med hinanden, lære hinanden at kende,
511 fordi så bliver det meget nemmere at opnå det mål, og så skal vi spørge os selv – det
512 er ikke så meget os, det er kommunen nu – hvis man vil nå noget på den lange bane,
513 bliver man nødt til at afsætte nogle midler til det, ellers så når man ikke noget. Hvis
514 det næste man siger ”nåh, nu har de været der et stykke tid, nu fjerner vi DSA-
515 centeret, så behøver de ikke få ekstra hjælp”, så sidder de og drukner derude. Og så
516 kan de sidde og røv-kede sig i resten af deres skoletid, og så er der født nogle nye
517 kontanthjælpsmodtagere om 7-8-9 år – er det dét? Man bliver nødt til at afsætte nog-
518 le midler, hvor man ikke kan se resultatet i morgen, men hvor det måske er nogle
519 andre politikere, der så høster frugterne af de frø, man har sået nogle år tidligere. Det
520 er nødvendigt med ekstra hjælp, når man kommer fra andre lande. Og det skal man
521 forstå.

522 TL: Men det er også derfor, at man kan se, at vores kommune er en af de kommuner,
523 hvor det går aller, allerbedst for de tosprøgede. Det er jo fordi, der har været en tidlig
524 indsats, og fordi der har været en ordentlig indsats. Og da jeg flyttede fra en større
525 Kommune, jamen, der var det, man valgte at nedlægge alle modtageklasserne, og
526 hvor det er sådan, at der er rigtig mange tosprøgede ude i den bydel, hvor jeg var, og
527 de har bare ikke fået den hjælp, og nu kan man se... At nu er der det dér med ghetto-
528 dannelser og de der ting, og de har jo rigtig, rigtig store problemer, og der er jo ikke
529 nogle der siger, at der ikke er problemer i denne kommune - det er der. Og det vil der
530 jo altid være, men jeg tænker, at som udgangspunkt har vi haft nogle muligheder,
531 som man ikke har haft før i andre kommuner. Og det kan vi så se frugten af nu, at det
532 har været sådan., fordi de så er kommet så højt op i systemet, at de er begyndt at gå
533 ud af skolen. Så ja...

534 TB: Det er jo en prioritering af give ekstra hjælp – ikke kun til Yossef og Moham-
535 med, det er det måske også til Mathias og Tobias, der måske heller ikke er dygtige.
536 Hvis man vælger at sige, ”nåh, men nu skal alle børn integreres i en almindelig klas-
537 se – inklusion, de er bare ikke klar til det, jamen så må det gå, som det nu engang
538 kan, det kunne være man kunne have nået noget mere på en anden måde. Det kan

539 også være, at nogle gange er det en fordel at man inkluderer så mange børn som mu-
540 ligt, men hvis der skal være alt for mange særaftaler med at de ikke kan have den
541 time og den time og den time, så har man en problemstilling.

542 *S: For så lige at gibe fat i det her med integration, inklusion; hvad forstår I ved den*
543 *opgave? Hvad er integration?*

544 TB: for mig er definitionen, hvis vi magter at gøre børnene så dygtige at de kan for-
545 sørge sig selv, når de er blevet voksne, så er de i hvert fald et stykke hen ad vejen for
546 at blive integreret i Danmark. Jeg er ligeglads med, om man tror på Allah eller Gud;
547 jeg er kristen, og jeg er døbt og konfirmeret – jeg tror ikke på alt det der, men det er
548 en del af mit grundlag. Der er nogle ting i kristendommen, som er gode – næstekær-
549 lighed og behandl andre mennesker, som du selv ønsket at blive behandlet. Jeg er
550 ligeglads med, om man er det ene eller det andet. De må gerne være Muslimer for min
551 skyld, de må gene bede 5 gange om dagen for min skyld, de må gerne... Der er man-
552 ge gode ting i religionen Islam. Der er meget respekt, man viser i høj grad respekt for
553 andre mennesker – det kunne vi godt lære lidt af selv. Så de må egentlig selv have
554 den kultur, de vil, men for mig at se, vi kan ikke leve med – i et land som Danmark –
555 at over 50 % af dem der kommer hertil, de er på overførselsindkomst. Sådan et sam-
556 fund kan vi ikke have. Så for mig at se, så er målet at gøre dem så tilstrækkeligt dyg-
557 tige, at de kan forsørge sig selv i fremtiden og den familie, de nu engang får. Det er
558 mit mål.

559 TL: så de bliver selvkørende.

560 TB: ja, det er et mål med integration.

561 TL: og hvis man så trækker det lige den tand længere ned, og så siger på skole ni-
562 veau, jamen, så er integration vel, at de ved, at de går i skole fra det og det, vi skal
563 have det og det fag, vi skal huske at pakke vores svømmetøj, og vi skal huske at gå i
564 bad efter idræt.

565 TB: Ja.

566 TL: altså, vi skal huske alle de der spilleregler, som nu er i folkeskolen med de for-
567 skellige fag, de nu har. Og de ved, at når der er pause, så... altså, at de kender spille-
568 reglerne indenfor skolen. Hvad er det, vi skal på de her forskellige tidspunkter, hvor-
569 når er det, vi skal gå ud i frikvartererne, hvem er derude, hvem er det, vi skal tage fat
570 i, gå til en voksen, når det er sådan, at du har et problem i stedet for at prøve at løse
571 det selv, hvis det er, du tænker, at det er uoverskueligt. Det er jo integration på folke-
572 skole niveau, kan man sige. Og der har jo også været... altså, det er jo hele tiden fly-

573 dende det der, fordi der er jo hele tiden nogle nye ting, som kommer op. Altså, det
574 der med at gå i bad efter idræt, det er jo ikke kun de muslimske børn, det er ligeså
575 meget de danske børn, hvor det er, at det kulturelle har ændret sig til, at ”jamen, vi
576 må ikke være nøgne overfor hinanden”, fordi det er farligt. Og det gjorde de jo ikke
577 for 10 år siden. Der var vi jo bare allesammen i bad sammen næsten. Så på den måde
578 så er integration, at man kan komme i skole, og man ved at man skal have sin blyant
579 med, man skal have sin skoletaske med, man skal en madpakke med, man skal have
580 noget vand med og en drikkedunk eller noget. Det er også integration.

581 *S: Altså, lige for at lege djævlens advokat; I er jo selvfølgelig begge to DSA lærere...*

582 TL: Jamen vi er jo farvede af det arbejde, vi har haft

583 *S: nemlig, I er meget den ideologiske gren af arbejdet på tosprogsområdet; ser I ikke
584 noget problem i, hvis med Islam for eksempel – om det er tørklædebærende, bede 5
585 gange om dagen, de her kulturelle koder der ligger indenfor den ikke-vestlige ver-
586 den... Altså, I er meget rummelige omkring det; ser I ikke problemer i det?*

587 TL: Jeg ser et problem under Rammadanen, hvor det er sådan, at vi har børn helt ned
588 til børnehaveklassen, der nægter at spise. Vi har også ... Altså, vi har jo mange børn i
589 indskolingen, der siger ”nu prøver vi”, og så psykisk får de en masse knæk, for de
590 kan faktisk ikke holde til det her, fordi det er for hårdt for dem. Man ser også rigtig
591 mange børn, som ikke kan følge med i undervisningen, fordi de simpelthen er for
592 trætte, og fordi de er fysisk udmattede. Det har jeg et rigtig, rigtig stort problem med,
593 fordi jeg synes, det er at udøve vold mod børn. Det er min personlige holdning til det.
594 Hvad de gør i weekenderne, det synes jeg, det er fint. Og jeg synes også, man skal
595 passe på ikke at gøre børnene for voksne for hurtigt,

596 TB: Jeg ser en udfordring i vores samfund, hvis det er en for stor gruppe af menne-
597 sker, der ingen arbejde har, og skal forsørges af den anden gruppe af mennesker. Og
598 det er uanset om det er danskere, der igennem mange år har været vant til alt for
599 nemt at få førtidspension, eller om det er nogle mennesker, der kommer fra andre
600 lande, som ikke vil arbejde af forskellige grunde. Det ser jeg som en udfordring. Jeg
601 er fuldstændig ligeglads med, hvad det er for en religion, folk har. Jeg tror ikke, det
602 har så meget at sige, når det kommer til stykket. Jeg er vokset op sammen med man-
603 ge af dem, der kom til Danmark i midten af 1980’erne, og der var også strenge regler
604 – specielt for pigerne i ... de palæstinænske piger, men mange af dem har jo ændret
605 sig med tiden. Det kan jo godt være, at de er blevet gift med en muslimsk mand og så
606 videre, men de er jo også blevet grebet af det samfund, vi lever i – slår billeder af sig

607 selv, selfier, op på facebook og alle mulige sociale medier. Det er ikke den samme
608 type araber, der bor i et måske arabisk talende land, dem der bor i Danmark. Det ta-
609 ger noget tid. For mig der er formålet med skolen, at alle børn skal have muligheden
610 for at få en uddannelse og kunne forsørge sig selv i fremtiden. Hvis det kan lade sig
611 gøre, så er jeg altså ligeglads med, hvad de laver i fritiden. Der er også mange danske-
612 re, der har nogle underlige interesser i fritiden, og det er ikke nødvendigvis et handi-
613 cap for det danske samfund.

614 *S: hvis nu vi kigger på statistikkerne over efterkommere, så er de virkelig godt med i*
615 *uddannelsessystemet – især pigerne, og drengene er heller alarmerende rent stati-*
616 *stisk; men hvis vi kigger på stemmeprocenten til sidste kommunalvalg, så har vi en*
617 *høj valgdeltagelse blandt etnisk danske, flygtninge – eller 1. generations indvandrere*
618 *– er også godt med, men ved efterkommere er der kun 50 %, der stemmer. Hvad tæn-*
619 *ker I om, at særligt efterkommere ikke får stemt i ligeså høj grad?*

620 TB: Jeg tror, at hvis man skal stemme til et kommunalvalg for den sags skyld også
621 folketingsvalg, så skal man kunne se en grund til at stemme på nogen. Nu forholder
622 det sig således, at jeg stillede selv op til kommunalvalg i Kommunen, og jeg har be-
623 stem indtryk af, at jeg fik mange stemmer fra det tosprøgede område. Man skal nok
624 kunne se, hvorfor er det egentligt, jeg skal deltagte i det, hvad er formålet med det?
625 Den dag i dag er politik ikke som dengang jeg læste samfundsfragt på seminariet, hvor
626 man sagde, der var et enkelt populistisk parti dengang – de hed fremskridtspartiet, og
627 det var noget med 0 % i skat og sådan noget. De var populister. Den dag i dag er alle
628 partier populister, alle retter ind efter folkestemningen, fordi hvor er stemmerne hen-
629 ne? Der er ikke noget ideologi i dag. Man kan ikke sige længere at en social demo-
630 krat er en social demokrat. Jeg har svært ved at genkende, at Social demokratiet anno
631 2018 har noget som helst med den socialistiske ideologi at gøre, og konservativisme,
632 findes den ideologi? Mange partier retter ind efter det samme og kigger på, hvor er
633 der mulighed for at få stemmer henne. Så hvis vi skal lokke nogle efterkommere eller
634 nogle nye indvandrere til at stemme, så skal de se ind i, her er der nogen, der re-
635 præsenterer os. Så det er jo vigtigt, vi forsøger at opdrage dem til at tage del i demo-
636 kratiet. Og det synes jeg bestemt, man ser eksempler på i Kommunen, at der var op
637 til flere kandidater, der også var indvandrere fra andre lande.

638 TL: men jeg tror også, det er et problem, og det tror jeg egentlig også, det er for dan-
639 ske unge nu, at stemme, fordi som TB, han siger, det hele har jo skubbet sig. Man
640 kan ikke bare sige, at S, det er til venstre og V, det er til højre. Altså, det kan man jo

641 ikke efterhånden. Vi rykker jo hele tiden, og det kan vi også se nu under lock... vi
642 skal ikke ind på lock out, men det er, hvad det er.

643 TB: men det er jo derfor, man bliver fremmedgjort til politik. Det er, at man ikke kan
644 se forskel længere. Der er jo ikke noget regeringsbærende parti på venstre fløj, der
645 vil gå ind og kæmpe for, at den danske model virker. Man synger i høj grad fra social
646 demokratisk side om ”den danske model, den danske model”, men man kæmper ikke
647 for den danske model for social demokraterne længere. Så som offentligt ansat er der
648 ikke nogen dansk model længere – det må vi bare sige, det er der ikke.

649 TL: nej nu må vi hellere...

650 *S: Ja, og for at vi også lige kan nå det, så allersidste spørgsmål, inden du skal til
651 undervisning igen: hvis i med konkrete ord, når vi snakker integration og dansk med-
652 lemskab, hvad er det, der gør en dansker?*

653 TL: åh, det er sådan den klassiske spørgsmål.

654 *S: ja*

655 TL: Jamen, i folkeskole loven, der står der, at vi skal undervise, sådan at de bliver
656 ligeværdige, lærer demokrati og medmenneskelighed, og jeg kan ikke huske alle de
657 andre ord, men de der ting. Det er i forhold til folkeskole loven, men som Tb også
658 har været inde over, det at være dansk er vel at kunne agere i et samfund, som ikke
659 ligner det, man kommer fra, men at vide, det er godt at få en uddannelse. Det er godt
660 at få et job. Det er godt at få nogle penge, og det er godt at være selvstændige i for-
661 hold til alle de her ting. Og så tænker jeg, det at være dansk for mig – og så kan man
662 sige, jeg ser jo også anderledes ud og jeg kommer jo også fra en anden kultur oprin-
663 deligt – men det at være dansk for mig, det er vel at respektere de ting, der nu er i
664 samfundet, som bliver pålagt én, og man respekterer, at der er nogle regler overfor
665 tingene. Ja, det ved jeg ikke, hvad der...

666 TB: Det danske samfund, det er et velorganiseret samfund, der bygger på nogle rets-
667 principper. Når myndighederne, de vælger at give en person dansk statsborgerskab,
668 så er man per definition ”dansk”. Så man er dansker, når man har dansk statsborger-
669 skab.

670 *S: men er det ikke kun juridisk?*

671 TB: Jo, det er det. Når man vælger at give en person dansk statsborgerskab, så har
672 man valgt at sige, den person er dansker. Det står der i passet, at så er den statsborger
673 dansker. Er man dansker, fordi man går på [den traditionelle byfest] og integrerer sig
674 meget med andre og drikker sig hammer-stiv ude bagved teltet som 15-årig? Ja, det

675 er man måske nok. Er det en god ting? Nej, det tror jeg ikke, det er. Så for mig at se,
676 der forholder jeg mig til, hvis der er nogle myndigheder, der har valgt at give dig
677 dansk statsborgerskab, så er du dansker, og så kan man være dansker på mange for-
678 skellige måder, men hvis vi spoler tiden 100 år tilbage, så var du også dansker på en
679 anden måde, end du er i dag. Der måtte kvinder ikke stemme for eksempel – for 103
680 år siden. Så samfundet vil ændre sig hele tiden. Vi er gået fra at være et... hvad skal
681 man sige... ja, mono-etnisk samfund til at være et multi-etnisk samfund, hvor de
682 store byer ser anderledes ud i dag, men det er måske godt nok? Det er måske godt
683 nok.

684 *S: synes I, det bliver rummet i folkeskolen? Altså, nu når du siger, det er godt nok*
685 *med multikulturel, multietnisk sammensætningen; synes I, det bliver rummet folke-*
686 *skolen?*

687 TB: Ja, det synes jeg nok, det bliver. Det er jo forskelligt.

688 TL: det er jo svært at svare på, for det er forskelligt alt afhængig af, hvem du tager
689 fat i som lærer. Er det overlærer et-eller-andet, som har været lærer i 50 år og faktisk
690 er i gang med at gå på pension, fordi nu gider vi simpelthen ikke mere, fordi så kan
691 det godt være, det ikke bliver rummet så meget, som den nyuddannede ideologiske
692 et-eller-andet. Altså, det ved jeg ikke. Jeg synes – nu kan jeg kun tale ud fra vores
693 skole – vores skole har været prøve-skole i forhold til at få tosprøgede elever ud, og
694 samarbejdet skulle op og køre; der har været nogle forhindringer, men alt i alt har
695 medarbejdere og ledere taget opgaven til sig, og tager den også på sig. Og gør hvad
696 de kan for at finde ud af, hvad er det vi gør her, hvad er det, der er normalt, og hvor-
697 dan kan vi lige støtte den og den og den.

698 TB: Men jeg tror bestemt også, at der er behov for nogle frontkæmpere, som går ind
699 og siger ”vi kan også se det på den hér måde”, og nogle gange ser det lidt fra den
700 anden vinkel, fordi ellers kunne man meget nemt forestille sig, at der ikke bliver
701 rummet noget som helst. Så altså, hvis vi skal have succes... altså igen, jeg er prag-
702 matiker, lad os forholde os til virkeligheden; mange af dem her kommer til at bo i
703 Danmark resten af deres tid, og det er uanset om man synes, det er en god ide eller
704 ikke en god ide – det kommer de til. Hvad er målet? De skal kunne forsørge sig selv.
705 Ergo må vi gøre det nødvendige for at lære dem nok til, at de kan forsørge sig selv.
706 Så i starten må vi måske gå lidt på kompromis; det kan godt være, jeg har et skema,
707 der hænger her på tavlen med, hvem der skal være her hos mig og hvornår. Sådan er
708 virkeligheden ikke. Ofte så sker der noget i løbet af dagen, hvor lige pludselig så jeg

709 har måske 7 elever i stedet for 5 elever. Det er fint. Det kan være, der er et behov for,
710 at Mohammed lige skal have hjælp af mig, og derfor lige kommer og banker på dø-
711 ren. Godt, så skal han have mulighed for det.

712 TL: Men det kan også være der er et behov for, at der er en eller anden, der lige skal
713 snakke med TB om et eller andet, der er vigtigt. Ikke også? Og det er der også plads
714 til. Altså, man nавigerer rundt i det her, og det er ikke altid, at tingene bliver, som
715 man forventer, og det sjældent i en DSA time, kan man så sige. Og så tager man de
716 bolde op, der kommer og griber dem, og så tager man den derfra.

717 TB: Men vi skal jo også huske på, at det kan blive værre endnu. Man har trods alt i
718 Kommunen valgt at afsætte en hvis mængde ressourcer, ikke mange, men dog nogle
719 ressourcer til at hjælpe de her børn fra andre lande, så de stille og roligt kan blive
720 integreret, lære noget sprog, lære hvordan vores kultur er, finde ud af, ”jeg kan godt
721 både være Muslim og dansker samtidig, det skal nok gå”. Vi finder en måde at læse
722 det her på. Hvis man bare siger ”ud i klassen, sit og lær”, så kommer det til at se helt
723 anderledes ud, men man kan jo ikke se det før mange år efter. Man bliver nødt til at
724 investere nogle penge, hvis vi have succes med det her. Og målet må være, at det
725 skal vores samfund have succes med.

726 *S: medmindre I har nogle afsluttende indvendinger, I gerne på bånd, så vil jeg gerne
727 bare sige tusind tak.*

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1 **Appendix 3: Transcript: Teacher R**

2 20./3.-2018

3 Sara: S; TR: teacher R

4

5 *S: Så, TR, hvis du vil starte med, hvor du er uddannet fra og hvornår?*

6 TR: Jeg er uddannet oppe på Lærerseminarium, færdiguddannet i 2008, og jeg har
7 været på denne skole lige siden.

8 *S: Okay, så du har været her de sidste 10 år?*

9 TR: Ja, det er 10. år, ja.

10 *S: Hvad får nogle fag har du?*

11 TR: Ja, det er i matematik, og samfundsfag og historie og geografi. Og så en lille
12 smule idræt.

13 *S: Okay, ja. Og hvilke klassetrin er det, du underviser på?*

14 TR: Det er i udskolingen, det der hedder 7., 8. og 9.

15 *S: Det er kun udskolingen, du har?*

16 TR: Jeg kan måske blive kaldt som vikar en enkelt gang i indskolingen og mel-
17 lemtrinet.

18 *S: Men du har ellers de store elever?*

19 TR: Ja

20 *S: Så er det, hvad dine personlige bevæggrunde var for at blive lærer – i sin tid og
21 nu?*

22 TR: Uha, ja. Det startede tilbage som teenager, hvor jeg var fodboldtræner og syntes,
23 det var en fed fornemmelse at lære noget fra sig, have interaktionen med – ja, i det
24 tilfælde var det børn og unge mennesker, så det tænkte jeg... Jeg var lidt i tvivl om,
25 hvad jeg skulle vælge, om jeg skulle gå en helt anden vej, eller om det skulle være
26 indenfor noget uddannelse, altså læring. Og så, ja... På daværende tidspunkt, der var
27 der så også rigtig mange – hvad kan man sige - i lærerlivet, at man kunne have sådan
28 lidt mere indflydelse på at tilrettelægge ens arbejdsliv, så det lå ret lige for dengang.

29 *S: Så tænker jeg, hvad du synes, når du så er blevet folkeskole lærer, at folkeskolens
30 rolle skal spille?*

31 TR: Altså, primært synes jeg, at den skal give faglige kundskaber til eleverne, det
32 synes jeg må være det primære formål. Dernæst, så er der rigtig mange andre ting,

33 som jeg synes, er rigtig, rigtig vigtige, og det er blandt andet sådan noget som ordet
34 dannelsesfag. Selvom de også bliver vægtet rigtig højt nu, og de skal til afgangsek-
35 sammen og så videre. Men det at man giver eleverne en dannelsesfag. Jeg kalder dem
36 dannelsesfag. Selvom de også bliver vægtet rigtig højt nu, og de skal til afgangsek-
37 sammen og så videre. Men det at man giver eleverne en dannelsesfag. Det er sådan
dét, jeg har i baghovedet hver gang, jeg går til en time.

38 *S: Hvad forstår du så ved et ord som dannelsesfag? Som kan være meget bredt?*

39 TR: Ja, det er rigtig, rigtig bredt, men det er måske ikke så meget, at man lige kan
40 redegøre for reformationen, for eksempel, i årstal, men mere, at man ved, hvad re-
41 formationen har betydet for det danske samfund. Og så er det sådan set lige meget
42 med årstal og kronologiske begivenheder. Det er mere forståelsen af, at der ligger
43 noget ”hvem er jeg” og ”hvorfor er jeg sådan i samfundet” og ”hvorfor er samfundet
44 sådan” og så videre. Det er sådan det, jeg mener med ordet dannelsesfag.

45 *S: Hvad gør du så for at lære eleverne dét?*

46 TR: jeg underviser jo i... altså, de får nogle tekster og nogle opgaver, der lægger op
47 til at være undersøgende og reflekterende. Så ellers gammeldags røv-til-bænk under-
48 visning, hvor de får nogle begreber, prøver at levendegøre det for dem så godt, som
49 jeg nu evner.

50 *S: men hvad er det så for nogle, nu siger du også det her med den danske identitet,
51 hvad er det for nogle karakteristika, du sætter på det i din undervisning?*

52 TR: jamen det er i bund og grund... Hvis det nu er historie, ”hvem er jeg” og ”hvor-
53 for er jeg som jeg er”, og ”hvorfor er tiden, jeg lever i, som den er”. Der er historie
54 rigtig god til at komme med nogle – i hvert fald idéindspark til den enkelte. Det er jo
55 relativt subjektivt, kan man sige. Med hvordan man lige fortolker det. Men man har
56 muligheden for at gå ned og arbejde med forståelsen for den tid, vi lever i nu. Og i
57 samfundsbygningen, der er det måske mere med, hvordan samfundet er indrettet med insti-
58 tutioner og den offentlige og private sektor, og der er også noget med... Vi arbejder
59 meget med et område indenfor identitet, så ja...

60 *S: hvad er det så for nogle ting særligt med de tosprøgede elever? Nu har du både
61 tosprøgede og etsprøgede i samme klasse.*

62 TR: Ja, en del faktisk.

63 *S: Hvad er det for nogle ting, som du gerne vil lære dem?*

64 TR: Altså, jeg stiller ikke undervisningsmål op, hvor der er én etnicitet, der skal lære
65 dét. Sådan har jeg det ikke, men jeg har jo læringsmål, der skal lede hen mod, at alle
66 uanset om man er fra det højere borgerskab eller socialklassen 5, hvis man kan sige

67 det, eller om man er Ali eller om man er Peter, at man har en kuffert med herfra ste-
68 det, når man forlader det efter 9. klasse, der gør, at man er bevidstgjort om ”hvem er
69 jeg”, ”hvad er det for et samfund, jeg lever i, og hvordan har det udviklet sig”.

70 *S: Hvis du så skal sætte nogle træk på det samfund, som det er i dag; hvad er det så
71 for nogle, hvis du kan komme med nogle konkrete ord?*

72 TR: Det kan være fra at være et dybt religiøst samfund, til at være et – nogen vil må-
73 ske sige diktatorisk samfund under enevælden til i dag, hvor vi har demokrati og en
74 hvis form for liberalistisk samfund, hvor man kan sige, at den enkelte elev, eller det
75 enkelte menneske, har mange udfoldelsesmuligheder, og det er måske også svært at
76 navigere i, fordi der er så mange ting at tage stilling til, og man skal også have tillid
77 til systemerne, hvis man kan sige det sådan.

78 *S: nu kommer vi lidt ind på det her med systemerne og officielle læringsmål; hvis du
79 tænker over de rammer, der er opsat fra kommunal side i forhold til målsætninger og
80 faglige og sociale mål, hvad er det så for nogle ting, du skal indfri fra kommunens
81 side?*

82 TR: det er trivsel. Trivselsmål, for eksempel, med at vi bestræber os på, at alle de
83 trives, og vi samler op, inden det ender i en katastrofe, og så videre. Det er jo også
84 vigtigt som lærer, at man har et tillidsforhold til hver enkelte elev. Det er jo svært,
85 kan man sige. Man kan jo ikke have lige meget tillidsrelationer til hver en elev, men
86 man prøver, og nogle elever er måske bedre til at kontakte deres klasselærer, hvis der
87 er noget, og jeg er jo ikke klasselærer, men andre de har det måske sådan; ”ah, det er
88 måske heller ikke lige ham eller hende, jeg har det bedst med”, at de går til en faglæ-
89 rer, for eksempel.

90 *S: og du er faglærer?*

91 TR: Ja, jeg er faglærer.

92 *S: synes du så, at kommunen sætter – om det er en taburet under sit arbejde eller
93 nogle begrænsninger?*

94 TR: jeg føler ingen begrænsninger. Nogle gange føler jeg, at noget af min tid bliver
95 taget, hvor der er en forventning om, at de ansatte udfører et eller andet som, man
96 måske tager lidt for... som er taget for givet, men som skal bureaukratiseres, hvor
97 der går en masse tid med det i stedet for at fokusere på kerneydelsen.

98 *S: hvad kunne det for eksempel være?*

99 TR: Jamen, kerneydelsen kunne være, hvis Peter igennem længere tid har haft ondt i
100 maven, fordi der er pres hjemmefra. Det kunne være – det er bare et tænkt eksempel

101 – forældrene, der har rigtig, rigtig, rigtig høje ambitioner på hans vegne, og han må-
102 ske ikke præsterer så godt, og hele det der læreren, der står og snakker om afgangs-
103 prøver, og så videre. Det er jo ikke sådan, det skal være. Det er jo ikke trivsel. Triv-
104 sel er, at man kan slappe af og være sig selv og man får lov til at være, den man er,
105 og man finder ligesom et sted, hvor man kan hvile i sig selv.

106 *S: og synes du, at folkeskolen rummer det.*

107 TR: det ved jeg ikke – det er...

108 *S: bare ifølge dig, sådan som du oplever det?*

109 TR: nu kan jeg kun tale ud fra mine egne timer... jah, det har jeg... altså, jeg møder
110 da også – det lyder godt nok, som om man er lidt selvfed – men jeg møder jo også
111 tidligere elever og får en snak med dem og så videre. Og der er i hvert fald langt,
112 langt, langt de fleste positive samtaler om hvordan, det var at gå i skole på denne
113 skole og så videre, og hvad det har givet dem og hvordan de... hvad de har kunnet
114 bruge det til efterfølgende. Og der synes jeg da, sådan noget som det der med, at man
115 er bevidst om sig selv – kan man sige hviler i sig selv? Det synes jeg er en af de ting,
116 jeg vægter højest at lykkes med.

117 *S: så det her med, at kritikken nogle gange går på, at folkeskolen er gået fra at være
118 den her meget rummende institution til at være meget begrænset, hvor folk søger
119 mod private og friskoler – det er ikke sådan, du oplever det her?*

120 TR: Narj, men man kan jo så også sige, at alt efter... i det her distrikt er der måske
121 heller ikke muligheder for at søge mod privatskoler, fordi det nok er en del dyrere
122 end den kommunale skole, men det er i hvert fald ikke det, vi oplever, men jeg tror
123 heller ikke kun, det handler om økonomi, fordi altså, hvis der er vilje, må mange fa-
124 milier nok også finde økonomien til det, og det er ikke det, vi har oplevelsen af her
125 på stedet, så jeg tror at... Nu spørger du, om jeg stadig har mulighed for... at gå fra
126 førhen, hvor det netop var en rummelig skole... og man hører, at det er den ikke
127 længere. Sådan oplever jeg det ikke, men jeg kan godt forstå, hvorfor det bliver sagt i
128 medier og i samfundet, når man diskuterer folkeskolens rolle. At den måske er blevet
129 mindre rummelig, fordi vi skal inkludere flere og flere, og det er altså lige fra handi-
130 cappede til tosprogede – men det er ikke bare tosprogede fra samme kultur. Jeg har
131 jo klasser, hvor der sidder 4, 5, 6 forskellige kulturer, der tænker og agerer på de må-
132 der, de nu engang... den kultur de nu har med i baggen. Og de skal også forholde
133 sig til den danske kultur. Og så er der jo også, ja, børn med diagnoser, og det er altså
134 nogen steder... selvom man prøver at leve op til det der hedder undervisningsdiffe-

135 rentiering, så man prøver at tilpasse sine læringsmål til den enkelte elev, så er det jo
136 lidt urealistisk på 45 minutter at få samtlige 28 - 26 elever. Og så er det jo klart, at
137 nogen gange er der nogen, der får en øv-dag. Det kan jo ikke undgås – vi er jo kun
138 mennesker. Og hvis det så er, at det kun bliver de negative ting, der bliver fortalt, så
139 kan jeg godt forstå, at billedet af den danske folkeskole er gået fra at være rummelig
140 til at være mindre rummelig, men jeg tror generelt set, og sådan på landsplan, at læ-
141 rerne er blevet mere pressede med den nye reform, og det er ikke fordi det skal være
142 den sang om at ”uh og åh, vi har det så hårdt” – det er slet ikke der, jeg vil hen, men
143 det er mere... der er andre ting, vi er bundet op på efter reformen, hvor vi måske
144 gjorde det af egne interesser og – hvad kan man sige – at sjælen brændte for det, hvor
145 det ligesom er blevet formaliseret nu.

146 *S: ja.*

147 TR: jeg ved ikke, om det giver mening?

148 *S: jo, absolut, absolut. Så altså, når nu jeg læser om Kommunes mål, hvor de siger,
149 at mangfoldighed skal hyldes og bruges som en styrke i klascefællesskabet, synes du
150 så, at der er plads til at hylde den mangfoldighed, når du siger, der er nogle gange
151 7-8 forskellige nationaliteter?*

152 TR: det synes jeg i høj grad, der er. Blandt eleverne, der er det som om at... de tæn-
153 ker ikke over – det er jeg helt sikker på – at de tænker ikke over, at der er en, der
154 kommer fra en mellemøstlig kultur eller en burmesisk kultur eller en sydafrikansk
155 kultur. De tænker de slet, slet ikke over. Altså, der er de bare, hvad kan man sige;
156 børn og unge mennesker, der sporer sig ind på venner og relationer alt efter interesser
157 og så videre. Og så er de rigtig gode til at... og det er faktisk ikke fordi vi arbejder
158 med – jeg gør i hvert fald ikke – arbejder ret meget med det der tolerance-begreb,
159 men det er som om, ”nu er vi i den her klasse, vi skal have det bedste ud af det”, og
160 sådan det været i de 10 år, jeg har været her på stedet. Så det er kommet sådan helt
161 naturligt, hvis man kan sige det sådan. Det kan godt være, der ligger alt muligt under,
162 som jeg ikke er uddannet til at kan se og så videre, men det er i hvert fald ikke noget,
163 jeg som sådan har italesat eller synliggjort overfor elever, at nu skal vi være rumme-
164 lige og tolerere hinanden og så videre. Det er måske sådan... for mig er det bare en
165 selvfolge.

166 *S: mmh. Men hvad så når, at kommuner snakker om læreres tværkulturelle kompe-
167 tencer: hvad betyder det så for dig, når det ikke er noget, du differentierer imellem i
168 undervisningen?*

169 TR: jamen, det er meget, meget sjældent, at man sige, at jeg bliver stillet overfor en
170 problemstilling, der gør, at jeg tænker, ”det er, fordi han eller hun er fra en anden
171 kultur og agerer anderledes”... Og hvis så det sker - for eksempel... Det kunne være
172 et eksempel med somaliere. Altså. Jeg har ikke mødt en somalisk tolk endnu til en
173 skole-hjem samtale, der er kommet til tiden. Og det er jo pænt irriterende, fordi vi
174 har jo et skema om, hvornår de skal komme til samtale, og så bliver det hele for-
175 skubbet, men – så prøver man at sige det til dem på en pæn måde, men det bliver
176 bare ligesom ikke bedre næste gang. Om et halvt år bliver dét det samme igen, så kan
177 man sige det igen på en pæn måde, men ja. Der kan man så sige der er noget, måske
178 med begrebet tid og det der med at være punktlig, men de større områder – for ek-
179 sempel, hvis vi snakker historie undervisning, og vi har om middelalderen og kri-
180 stendommen og katolikkens indvirkning på mennesker og sådan noget, så er det tit vi
181 bruger den der tværkulturelle sammensætning, der er i klassen, fordi nogle kommer
182 fra muslimsk baggrund og kan måske bedre sætte sig ind i, hvordan de må være at
183 leve under et totalitært og religiøst regime, hvor danske, etniske danske elever... det
184 ligger længere væk forståelsen af det, men så får man en dialog om det, eksempelvis.
185 Og så bliver det også interessant, hvis der sidder nogle i klassen, der ligesom kan
186 snakke på egne erfaringer og ikke noget, der er læst i en bog og sådan nogle ting. Så
187 på den måde, ja, der kan man sige, at jeg bruger det.

188 *S: så der sætter du kulturene i spil?*

189 TR: ja, lige nøjagtigt, men det er ikke sådan, jeg tænker i min forberedelse, at nu skal
190 jeg også sørge for, at hende, der er muslim, hun kommer ind på dét der – det kommer
191 helt af sig selv, sådan naturligt i selve undervisningssituacionen.

192 S: Okay. Altså nu siger du også selv, og det bliver jo brugt ufattelig meget ”kultur”;
193 Hvad forbinder du med kultur? Ikke en bestemt kultur, men kulturbegrebet?

194 TR: Der tænker jeg sådan noget med... Jeg tænker i hvert fald sprog, og jeg tænker
195 også vaner. Altså, apropos det der med tid... hvad er det for noget, og hvordan agerer
196 vi i det. Aftaler, tillid. Man kan sige i dansk kultur, der har vi ret stor tillid til hele
197 systemet, hvis man kan sige det sådan, uden at vi tænker på, at vi skal penge med i en
198 konvolut hver gang, vi går uden for døren og så videre. Dét, tænker jeg sådan, at kul-
199 tur i en dansk optik.

200 *S: ja. Så når nu de og du skal navigere i det, som du siger, hvor de har en anden kul-
201 tur og skal også indgå i en dansk kultur, hvad er det så for nogle ting, du gerne vil
202 lære dem?*

203 TR: det er at i udskolingen... men det kan også være etniske danskere, men mange
204 gange, der er der faktisk i starten af 7., hvor der er aflevering, så er det som om der er
205 procentvis flere fra en anden kultur end dansk, hvor der er en aflevering til den og
206 den dato, at ”åh, den fik jeg lige med” eller ” den har jeg ikke lige fået lavet, kan jeg
207 få til om en uge?”. ”Nej, det kan du ikke, fordi jeg har en deadline. Jeg har noget
208 forberedelsestid det skal rettes i. Jeg har også andre klasser”. Det er sådan nogle ting,
209 vi øver, men det er et meget konkret eksempel, kan man sige, men mere kunne det
210 være... det er også sådan noget med, måske, hvad der foregår i fritiden, der kommer
211 ind på skolens domæne. Altså, hvem må man være sammen med, og hvorfor må man
212 ikke være sammen med, og hvad kan der ske, hvis man er sammen med... altså, det
213 er jo mest folk med en anden kultur, end den danske, ikke. Men det er bunder mere
214 ud i, at det er ukendt, og så trækker man sig måske lidt, eller det gør forældrene, fordi
215 børnene, de er jo sådan set... de falder ret godt til, hvis man kan sige det sådan. Så
216 der kan være nogle begrænsninger, hvor det kommer måske et andet sted fra.

217 *S: Ja. Hvad gør du så, når der kommer en begrænsning fra forældrenes side, som på*
218 *grund af kulturel eller religiøs baggrund ikke vil have, at børnene deltager i noget?*

219 TR: ja... normalt, så er det ikke mig, fordi jeg ikke er klasselærer, men jeg ved, at –
220 for eksempel kunne det være afslutning inden juleferien – hvor der er en tradition her
221 på stedet, hvor vi går i kirke, og der skal alle deltagte. Og det er jo ikke fordi man
222 bliver kristen af at gå ind i en kirke, eller hvis det er, at man er ateist, er det jo ikke,
223 at man bliver kristen af den grund. Det er mere budskabet og traditionen, der ligger
224 deri. Så der bliver der taget kontakt til hjemmet, og så bliver det fortalt – med tolk
225 eller uden, det kommer an på, hvor gode de er til det – at det er ligesom en del af det,
226 og der sker ikke noget ved det, og det er ikke forkydende, men det er en tradition.

227 *S: ja*

228 TR: og så 99, 9 % af gangene så er... fordi man har fået afmystificeret, hvad det er,
229 der skal ske, så er der ligesom accept fra hjemmet med den anden kulturelle bag-
230 grund end dansk.

231 *S: så i prøver ligesom at gøre det ukendte kendt ved at informere?*

232 TR: lige nøjagtig. Informér, informér, informér, det er altså. Til forældremøder, hvor
233 det er alle forældrene, der er i klassen, til forældresamtale, hvor det er, at eleverne er
234 med, og den – hvad kan man sige – jævnlige kontakt til hjemmet via vores plat-
235 form... orienteringsbrev og sådan noget.

-
- 236 *S: så tænker jeg, når du siger, at der er sprog, normer, traditioner... når vi snakker
237 tosprogede, så fylder sproget kun en del af det...*
- 238 TR: det er rigtigt.
- 239 *S: og så tænker jeg, hvis du har tosprogede elever, der er dansk-tysk, dansk-svensk –
240 altså indenfor en vestlig ramme, og du har dansk-arabisk, dansk-farsi – er der en
241 forskel mellem de tosprogede grupperinger? Altså, om der er en forskel mellem, om
242 de tosprogede har en vestlig eller ikke-vestlig baggrund?*
- 243 TR: jamen, det er der. Det er der.
- 244 *S: hvori ligger den?*
- 245 TR: Jamen, det er jo også meget individuelt, men altså, man kan jo sige... nu har vi
246 haft polakker, og tyskere her på stedet. Selve det der med skolesystemet, selvom det
247 er markant anderledes i Danmark end for eksempel i Polen, så er det ligesom, at de er
248 nemmere til at fange, hvad det handler om. Hvad det vil sige at gå i skole, end hvis
249 de kommer fra eksempel Mellemøsten eller Burma
- 250 *S: ja.*
- 251 TR: for eksempel sådan noget med at møde til tiden. Det kunne også være, altså, den
252 daglige arbejdsbyrde, der ligger udenfor skolen – altså lektier, og hvor pligtopfyl-
253 dende man er med det. Der kan der godt i starten... men altså tit er de jo allerede
254 blevet – hvad kan man sige – integreret i mange år, hvis de har været her i indskolin-
255 gen og mellemtrinet. Så er det egentlig ikke så stort et problem i udskolingen, men vi
256 har jo også haft asylklasser, hvor der har været udslusning, og der har det været en
257 lidt større læs at trække for at forstå dem... for at få dem til at forstå, hvad det er, der
258 forventes i en dansk skole.
- 259 *S: Hvad betydning har det så for deres videre liv i samfundet de ting, I lærer dem her
260 i skolen med for eksempel tid og arbejdsbyrde?*
- 261 TR: ja, det ved jeg jo så ikke, men man kan jo sige, hvis man vælger at gå ud af sko-
262 len og ikke ligesom fortsætter på en ungdomsuddannelse og måske vil ud og arbejde,
263 så er det jo ret vigtigt, at man er mødestabil, og man kommer til tiden, og man over-
264 holder aftaler og så videre. Og ligesådan, hvis man skal videre i ungdomsuddannel-
265 ser, så er det jo også vigtigt for fraværs skyld, at man bestræber sig i højst mulig grad
266 på at dukke op til de tider, der nu engang er afsat. Ja.
- 267 *S: er der nogle særlige grupperinger af tosprogede, der har sværere ved det her?*
- 268 TR: at navigere i et dansk skolesystem?
- 269 *S: ja.*

270 TR: altså, jeg har svært ved at svare på det, fordi at man kan jo sige - som jeg var
271 inde på før - at når de er ender i 7. klasse, så er det, at langt, langt, langt de fleste har
272 gået her i flere år og måske er blevet sluset lidt ind i det. Men den gang vi havde
273 asylklasserne, hvor der jo også var en udslusning ret kort tid efter, de faktisk kom til
274 landet, ja, der var der altså nogle udfordringer. Men det var også sådan nogle ting
275 som bare det... at man tager sine bøger frem, at man følger med, man prøver på at
276 virke interesseret, hvis man ikke er det og så videre, i stedet for at ligge hen over
277 bordene og sådan nogle ting. Og så tænker jeg også nogle gange - at uden at jeg har
278 evidens for det - men jeg tænker bare sådan lidt små-filosofisk, at de kommer fra en
279 kultur, hvor at det måske har været en anden måde at irtettesætte på, og så kommer
280 man til Danmark, hvor det er – måske ligefrem en for dem som modtager – kan virke
281 sådan lidt laissez-faire, at det kun er verbale irtettesættelser og ikke et spanskrør, eller
282 hvad nu det måtte være, og så er der jo igen noget kultur, der spiller ind. Selvfølgelig
283 slår vi ikke i skolen eller nogen andre steder, men... så giver det måske ordet ”re-
284 spekt”, men langt, langt, langt de fleste, for ikke at sige – jeg tror ikke, jeg har mødt
285 nogen, der ikke har fanget budskabet med tiden – om at det er sådan, vi gør det.

286 *S: nu siger du også det her med, at når du så møder dem i udskolingen, har mange*
287 *været født i landet og har været igennem 10 år i dansk institutionsliv, hvor rigtig*
288 *meget sprog er på plads, de har formentlig lært at indgå i skolen med at komme til*
289 *tiden og sådan; hvad er det for en særlig opgave, du står overfor, når du står for at*
290 *skal sende dem ud af folkeskolen, ud i samfundet? Hvad skal du særligt i udskolinen-*
291 *gen?*

292 TR: jamen, jeg synes jo, det går hen og bliver relativ mere fagligt, end det har været
293 hidtil i deres skoletid. At der forventes at man kan læse et hvis antal ord i minutten –
294 nu er jeg ikke dansklærer – men at man er fuldstændig klar over, hvad det er procent-
295 begrebet er, og hvordan man regner procent regningsarter og så videre, for at nævne
296 noget, som er konkret og meget til at forstå. Ja, og så igen, at man har respekt for
297 hinanden, og man respektere hinanden for hvem man nu end er.

298 *S: Ja. Altså, så tænker jeg så, i forhold til at folkeskolen har en meget stor rolle i*
299 *integrationsarbejdet, der er så nærtstående lige nu; hvad forbinder du med integra-*
300 *tion?*

301 TR: Ja, altså... Det handler om at man tager de... at man giver hinanden fra hver
302 kultur, hvis det er to kultursammenstød. Det bedste fra sin... altså, at man får det til
303 at fungere... at man respekterer hinandens forskelligheder og måder at gribe tingene

304 an på. Altså, integration betyder vel, at man tager det bedste fra hver kultur og får det
305 til at gå op i en større enhed. Og så er der jo... Jeg tror, når man læser og følger lidt
306 med i medierne, at der er mange, der har den opfattelse af at integration, det er en
307 form for segregation. Og så bliver der noget begrebsforvirring omkring. Men altså, hvis
308 du spørger mig, hvad jeg tænker integration, det er for en størrelse, så er det noget
309 med, at man giver plads og accept til at have sin egen kultur, men at man ikke ser
310 bort fra den fremmede kultur, men at man prøver at forstå den og måske også tage
311 den til sig.

312 *S: mmh. Hvordan ville du så... I forhold til de her kultursammenstød, der så kommer
313 med tørklæder, forholdet mellem mænd og kvinder, seksualundervisning, hvor der
314 kommer de her sammenstød; er det noget, du synes skal accepteres, eller er det no-
315 get, du synes, at man i folkeskolen og øvrige institutioner skal ind og justere?*

316 TR: Ja, men altså helt personligt – det afspejler ikke min undervisning, fordi der er
317 der nogle andre mekanismer, som jeg ligesom agerer efter – men sådan helt person-
318 ligt, der synes jeg jo, at man – hvis man kommer til landet – i videst muligt omfang
319 skal prøve at tage den danske kultur til sig. Så man ligesom ikke siger ”jeg vil ikke
320 følge seksualundervisningen” eller ”jeg vil ikke følge svømmeundervisningen”...
321 Det har jeg det svært med som person, men agerer ud fra lovgivningen. At jamen,
322 ”prøv at hør her, det står i loven: du skal have svømmeundervisning, eller skal du
323 komme med en lægeerklæring”. ”Du skal deltage i idræt, du skal”... Ja, hvad var det
324 mere, du spurgte om?

325 *S: jah, mænd-kvinder...*

326 TR: ja, altså du skal, hvis det er en kvindelig matematiklærer, du skal have fulgt un-
327 dervisningen, pensummet i matematik, og så er det sådan set lige godt, om det er en
328 mand eller en kvinde, og det står der ikke nogen steder, så der har du af at rette ind.
329 Der kan man sige, man har loven i ryggen. Men det kunne også være en ting som
330 deltagelse i skolefest. Hvor der nogle sjældne gange har været en familie, der ikke
331 har sendt deres børn til skolefest. Igen, nok fordi det er det mystiske i det, det ukend-
332 te, ”hvad er det, jeg sender mine børn over i?”. Og så ringer man og man får en dia-
333 log omkring det, men hvis der så stadig ikke er accepten, så kan man sige, der står jo
334 ikke nogle steder at man skal deltage i en skolefest, og så bliver den liggende der,
335 hvor den nu engang ender. Hvis de så vælger ikke at komme, jamen, så er det jo så-
336 dan, det er, for der har man ligesom ikke lovgivningen med sig.

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- 337 *S: hvordan oplever du så, når de ikke kommer med til de her sociale arrangementer*
338 *især – hvordan det påvirker børnenes sociale omgangskreds?*
- 339 TR: Jamen, for eksempel efter en skolefest, der kunne det jo godt være, hvis der hav-
340 de været et par med en anden kulturel baggrund end dansk, der ikke havde deltaget,
341 at de søger hinanden efter selve begivenheden, men det er jo ikke, fordi eleverne
342 bliver ved med at snakke om skolefest eller fester og så videre fra morgen til aften i
343 skoletiden, så ligeså snart de kommer ind på at gå sammen i en gruppe og løse en
344 opgave, så er det jo der, fokusset er på. Så der er ikke på den måde noget ”holden-
345 udenfor” eller så videre.
- 346 *S: men kommer det til at give grupperinger?*
- 347 TR: altså, her på stedet – med erfaringerne – så generelt er der ikke grupperinger,
348 men på et tidspunkt, hvor vi også havde asylklasse, hvor man kan sige, at der var en
349 meget, meget høj andel af elever med anden etnisk herkomst end dansk, der kan man
350 jo så sige, at måske der virkelig var for mange, at vi så en tendens til at man gruppe-
351 rede sig. Men når det er på et niveau, som vi har nu efter vi ikke har asylklassen,
352 men... der er noget, der hedder modtageklasse, hvor de bliver sluset ud, når de er
353 klar til at... så er der ikke på den måde nogle grupperinger. Så det går lidt i bølgeda-
354 le, og hvis vi så skal tilbage til før al den her asylklasse oprettelse og så videre, der så
355 vi også for 10 år siden, hvor jeg startede – der kunne der også godt være nogle grup-
356 peringer. Hvad det så var, der lå til grund der, det har jeg ingen anelse om. Men man
357 kan sige at fra jeg startede – der var der heller ikke et særlig godt ry hernede – til i
358 dag, der er det ligesom blevet mere mangfoldigt, tolerant. Og så havde vi lige et
359 boom der for et par år siden med asylklasserne, hvor der måske blev for mange med
360 ikke dansk baggrund, men så blev de flyttet på en anden skole, og så var det ligesom
361 det ebbede ud igen.
- 362 *S: så det hjalp at få dem mindsket lidt i antal?*
- 363 TR: Ja, det gjorde det. Det hjalp nærmest første dag.
- 364 *S: Hvad var det der skete, dengang de var mange samlet et sted?*
- 365 TR: det kunne jo være... altså, så samledes de - hvad kan man sige – fra det land, de
366 oprindeligt kom fra. Det kunne være... vi havde nogle, der var fra forfulgt af Rus-
367 land. De holdt sammen og syntes, at Putin var et dumt svin. Og så havde vi nogle der
368 kom fra... et sted, man var flygtet af andre grunde, og så havde vi nogle, der så Rus-
369 land, som en slags befriernation. Så det var jo ikke fordi de sloges og så videre, men
370 de havde måske heller ikke så meget til overs for hinanden.

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- 371 *S: for at runde det her integrationsspørgsmål af, synes du at folkeskolen lykkes med*
372 *sin del af integrationsarbejdet?*
- 373 TR: ehm... Jeg synes, vi gør det på denne skole, og der er også kommet en ny offent-
374 liggjort rapport fra Kommunernes landsforening, hvor denne kommune faktisk fik en
375 [topplacering] blandt de 98 kommuner, der gjorde, at vi havde de... så vidt jeg hu-
376 ske, bedste karakterer hos de tosprogede, når de forlod stedet. Så hvis man måler på
377 færdigheder og karakterer, så synes jeg måske ikke, der er så meget at være i tvivl
378 om. Og hvis nu man ser på det lidt mere – hvad kan man sige – menneskelige, det
379 sociale, så synes jeg faktisk også – uden at lyde selvfed – vi lykkes med det ret godt
380 her på stedet. Men når man så læser diverse medier, så har der været en problematik
381 åbenbart i forhold til gymnasierne, hvor der er mange, der centrerer sig i nogle be-
382 stemte gymnasier, og hvad gør man så med det og lykkes det? Og de deltager ikke i
383 gymnasiefester og det ene med det andet, og det har jeg lidt svært ved at have føeling
384 med, så det er jo sådan min egen holdning. Men altså her på stedet, der synes jeg, vi
385 lykkes rigtig godt med det.
- 386 *S: nu siger du lidt de faglige resultater – det taler jo lidt sit eget, klare sprog, men*
387 *hvad er det i lykkes med socialt?*
- 388 TR: Jamen, det er jo at det... ja, hvad lykkes vi med socialt? Hvis du tænker socialt
389 med ikke-dansk baggrund og dansk baggrund? Jamen igen, at de er tolerante og for-
390 stående og respekterer hinanden for hvem de nu end er i høj grad. Det må man sige.
391 Ja.
- 392 *S: for at tage et nyt meget stort definitionsspørgsmål; når vi så snakker dansked,*
393 *som er blevet diskuteret så meget og forskellige sider kæmper om retten til at define-*
394 *re det; hvad forbinder du med dansked?*
- 395 TR: jamen, det er også lige fra vores sprog til vores mentalitet, demokratisk dannel-
396 se, madvaner sådan set også, hvis du spørger mig sådan helt personligt, til at ingen-
397 ting kommer af sig selv. At ved hver en forbedring må der ligges en flid bag. Der
398 skal udføres et stykke arbejde. Ja, hvad mere? Ja, det tror jeg, der er sådan det... Det
399 kan godt være, der er mere, jeg ikke har tænkt. Men jeg tænker ikke sådan umiddel-
400 bart, at det er hudfarve for eksempel, eller om man har brune øjne eller lyse øjne. Det
401 er slet ikke det, jeg forbinder med det. Det er mere med mentaliteten.
- 402 *S: når det så er den danske identitet, det er noget mentalt, og du så har de her fag*
403 *som samfundsfag og historie; hvordan fortæller du så om den danske identitet i din*
404 *undervisning?*

405 TR: ja, det... jeg prøver jo at få så mange... udvide spektret så meget, jeg nu kan.
406 Men det kan jo være alt lige fra - i historie og samfunds fag – fra benhård nationalis-
407 me til kultur-radikalisme og til socialismen, alt efter hvilket emne det er, men det skul-
408 le gerne, når de går ud af 9. klasse gå op i en højere enhed. At de har mange nuancer
409 med. Men man sige, at der har været meget fokus på nationalismen i de seneste år.
410 Man ser det i Frankrig, i England og også i Danmark og nogle bevægelser i Tyskland
411 og sådan noget. Og det er jo helt sikkert noget, vi snakker om og også måske – eller
412 helt sikkert – får vi også en dialog om, hvad er det, der gør, at det går sådan i bølger.
413 Er det globaliseringen? Er det decideret fremmedfjendskhed? Er det -apropos det vi
414 snakkede om tidligere – er det, fordi der er noget, der er ukendt, at man ikke føler sig
415 tryg? Eller fordi man ikke ved hvordan fremtiden kommer til at arte sig, til at... For
416 eksempel, hvis vi har arbejdet med det, går over og arbejder med mangfoldighed og
417 fællesskaber og... måske klasse inddelinger i samfundet og så videre. Så jeg kan ikke
418 som sådan sige, at jeg eller – jeg tror heller ikke, det er sådan mine kollegaer under-
419 viser ud fra en bestemt – hvad kan man sige – tankemønster. Jeg prøver at gøre det så
420 åbent som muligt.

421 *S: ja. Og til sidst, synes du så på sidste skoledag i 9. klasse, at de tosprogede elever*
422 *er og føler sig og bliver betragtet som ligeværdige medlemmer?*

423 TR: Jah, det er jo et godt spørgsmål. Men her på stedet, når de holder den (sidste
424 skoledag), så deltager alle jo og er klædt ud og har en fest med det... Og så ved jeg,
425 at de sidste mange år, der har det været sådan, at man mødes i en park eller i [mar-
426 ken] og så videre og så holde sin egen midlertidige fest, hvor jeg ved, der er nogle,
427 der ikke har deltaget, men til gengæld har de så været deltagende om aftenen, hvor at
428 man kan sige, det er klasserådet af forældrene, der har arrangeret en fest. Så er de
429 kommet der. Og så kan man jo så... Jeg har faktisk ikke reflekteret så meget over
430 det, men man kan jo så sige, der er nok en årsag til, at de måske ikke har været med i
431 parken der midtvejs. Og så kunne man jo godt stille spørgsmålet ”føler de sig så
432 fuldstændige ligeværdige og en del af gruppefællesskabet og så videre?”. Det kunne
433 man så måske blive i tvivl om...

434 *S: Ja. Det er selvfølgelig nok også noget, man må spørge dem om.*

435 TR: ja. Men det er sådan lidt svært at samle op på den, fordi så kommer de mundtlige
436 prøver, og det er jo ikke lige dér, man lige får spurgt ind. Og så ser vi dem sådan set
437 ikke længere.

438 *S: nej...*

439 TR: og det er jo klart... altså, i 8. og 9. klasse, hvis der er nogle fester og sådan no-
440 get... det er jo også meget forskelligt. Nogle med en anden baggrund end dansk del-
441 tager per definition aldrig, og der er også nogle, der gør, men som måske – hvis deres
442 kultur siger, de ikke skal drikke alkohol, eller at forældrene synes, det er en dum idé,
443 det er der også med danske, etniske danske – så kan de jo godt deltage alligevel. Det
444 ser vi også hennede, men om du sådan tænker på, om der er en overvægt af elever
445 med anden kulturel baggrund end dansk, der ikke deltager i private arrangementer...
446 det ved jeg ikke. Det har jeg ikke en fornemmelse af, fordi hvis de ikke deltager, så
447 tænker jeg ikke at det er noget, der bliver snakket om, og omvendt hører jeg det
448 nærmest kun, hvis de deltager, fordi så åbner de jo munnen og gerne vil fortælle, hvis
449 jeg spørger, hvad de har lavet i weekenden eller det ene med det andet. Ja. Men det
450 kræver ligesom – for at jeg får et billede af det – hvor mange gange de går til fest
451 eller laver noget i større sociale grupper og sådan noget, og det har vi ikke altid fø-
452 lingen med i udskolingen.

453 *S: nej... men TR, jeg tror også, at hvis ikke har noget, du gerne vil have med?*

454 TR: ja, det ved jeg ikke, hvad skulle være.

455 *S: for så har jeg fået afdækket det, jeg gerne ville. Tak!*

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