Acknowledgements

Foreword

This study was motivated by a personal observation made while working with immigrant children in an after-school activity. Several episodes indicated that some people and societal structures had somewhat low expectations of immigrant children's abilities. In addition to noticing the newspapers' on-going debate on ethnically segregated schools and areas in Oslo, apparently following the same logic, this observation was the starting point of the study. Curiosity was piqued on whether these attitudes *were* evident in a public discourse, and if so how the rationalities behind them were unfolding in the same discourse.

Eventually, this paper is to be written as an article and submitted to Journal of Occupational Science (JOS). JOS publishes original research and scholarly papers on human occupation, defined as activities that people engage in. A particular focus is on the relationship of occupation, as situated in context, and health and ill health. The aim of the Journal is "to bring important work about the form, function, performance, and meaning of occupation to an international audience" (Taylor & Francis Group, 2013). As the findings extended this work beyond the 7,000 word limit of a JOS submission, it was decided to doing this paper the most justice by initially presenting it as a regular master thesis. Except for a more explicit public health focus and introducing sections directed towards those not familiar with the field of occupational science, this paper is nevertheless written towards an audience of JOS-readers.

Abstract

Drawing upon the concept of occupational possibilities as well as a critical public health frame, this study examined the ways that immigrant pupils were discursively shaped within Norwegian newspaper articles. Discourses can influence what immigrant pupils and their families view as possible and ideal ways to participate in schooling and society, as well as what the society views as appropriate measures and guidelines to support immigrant pupils and their occupations. 20 Norwegian newspaper articles concerning immigrants and elementary schools in Oslo published in 2012 were analysed using a method of critical discourse analysis (CDA). The analysis draws on governmentality perspectives in a framework of critical public health and occupational science.

Three major discursive emphases emerged, each related to what was problematized, how problematizations were constructed, and what forms of identities and occupations were promoted as ideal means to address the problematization of immigrant pupils' educational attainment. Firstly, locating the problem in a linguistic deficiency, secondly locating the problem in a parental deficiency including immigrant culture and religion, and finally, locating the problem in spatial segregation. Overall, a particular type of ideal immigrant pupil is constructed within the texts, and solutions offered up focus on what immigrant children and their parents need to do to achieve this ideal and, at times, the supports that the educational system and government can provide. Concerns are raised regarding the ways in which contemporary discourses regarding immigrant pupils in Norwegian elementary school shape occupational possibilities in ways that may limit how immigrant children and parents, their teachers and governmental authorities view, promote and enable their health promoting participation and attainment in school.

The study contributes to the field of occupational science by critically examining how discourses in media shape particular occupational possibilities for immigrant pupils in elementary school within the Norwegian context.

Sammendrag (Norwegian abstract)

Med utgangspunkt i begrepet occupational possibilities, som på norsk kan oversettes med 'muligheter for deltakelse i aktivitet', og i en ramme av kritisk folkehelsevitenskap undersøkte denne studien hvordan innvandrerelever er diskursivt formet i norske avisartikler. Diskurser kan påvirke hva innvandrerelever og deres familier anser som mulige og ideelle måter å delta i skole og samfunn på, samt hva samfunnet anser som hensiktsmessige tiltak og retningslinjer for å støtte oppunder innvandrerelevene og deres aktiviteter. 20 norske avisartikler som omhandler innvandrere og grunnskoler i Oslo publisert i 2012 ble analysert ved hjelp av metoden kritisk diskursanalyse. Analysen tar utgangspunkt i perspektiver innenfor den teoretiske tilnærmingen 'styringsteori' (governmentality), i et rammeverk bestående av kritisk folkehelsevitenskap og aktivitetsvitenskap.

Tre diskursive fokusområder kom frem av analysen, hvert relatert til hva som var problematisert, hvordan problematiseringene var konstruert, og hvilke identiteter og aktiviteter som ble fremmet som ideelle måter å tilnærme seg problematiseringen av innvandrerelevers prestasjoner i utdanning. Det første diskursive fokusområdet plasserte problemet i manglende norskkunnskaper, det andre plasserte problemet hos mangler ved foreldre, inkludert innvandrerkultur og –religion, og det siste plasserte problemet i bostedssegregering. I hovedsak konstrueres en bestemt type innvandrerelev som idealet i tekstene, og løsninger som tilbys fokuserer på hva innvandrerbarn og deres foreldre må gjøre for å nå dette idealet og, til tider, den støtten utdanningssystemet og regjeringen kan gi. Det uttrykkes en bekymring for hvordan nåværende diskurser om innvandrerelever i norsk grunnskole konstruerer muligheter for deltakelse i aktivitet på måter som kan begrense hvordan innvandrerbarn og –foreldre, deres lærere og offentlige myndigheter anser, fremmer og muliggjør deres helsefremmende deltakelse og prestasjon i skolen.

Studiet bidrar med ny kunnskap innen fagfeltet aktivitetsvitenskap ved kritisk å undersøke hvordan diskurser i media former bestemte muligheter for deltakelse i aktivitet for innvandrerelever i den norske grunnskolen.

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1. Introduction

This paper focuses on immigrants' participation in Norwegian primary schools, a subject highly debated in public discourses within Norwegian media and policy arenas. Discourses, understood as different ways of writing and talking about particular topics, objects or processes (Cheek, 2004), are rooted within power relations and can affect what come to be viewed as ideal, ethical and 'right' ways to act within particular contexts or situations (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). This analysis draws on occupational science and governmentality perspectives in a framework of critical public health to critically examine how discourses in media might shape occupational possibilities for immigrant pupils in primary school using the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA). In addition to expanding the use of a CDA approach to examine the shaping of occupational possibilities within education, a key occupation of childhood connected to health and subsequent work possibilities, this study contributes to the occupational science literature addressing migration and occupation.

1.1 Research questions

The questions guiding the critical discourse analysis were as follows:

> Which possibilities, problems and identities are discursively shaped for immigrant children's participation in elementary school in Oslo in contemporary Norwegian media? Where is the problem situated? What are framed as solutions?

The following sections will outline background of the study and the theoretical background. Firstly through describing the empirical field, and secondly by merging public health science and occupational science, which together constitute the study's conceptual framework.

1.2 Background

Because discourses are rooted within particular contexts or situations, it is crucial to describe these contexts to be able to consider their effect on immigrant pupils' occupational possibilities. The following sections will focus on historical and political issues on immigration and education in Norway, in addition to previous empirical findings on main concerns regarding immigrant pupils' educational participation.

1.2.1 Immigrants in Norway

To understand immigration in the Norwegian context, it is necessary to take into account the development of this field during the last fifty years. Despite having national minorities and indigenous people on Norwegian territory, Norway has traditionally been perceived as an ethnically and culturally homogenous community (Stokke, 2012). Multicultural Norway is thus considered to be relatively new, with contemporary immigration starting in the 1960s. The first wave of immigrants was mainly from Pakistan, India or other non-Western countries who came to work (Kjeldstadli, Bjorli, & Brenna, 2003). In 1975, however, the government implemented a temporary immigration stop with an intention to restrict labour immigration. Exceptions were made for people who got asylum due to being persecuted in their home country and specialists in certain professions. Family reunions were also allowed (Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2004). The Schengen Agreement which came into effect in 1995 made parts of Europe more or less borderless for people's movement, and opened the door for increased labour immigration from Europe (EU, 1990), which was further facilitated with the additional expansion of the European Economic Area (EEA) in 2004 and 2007 (European Commission, 2011). Today's immigrants in Norway are basically constituted by non-Western labour immigrants from the first years of immigration, refugees from non-Western countries, and labour immigrants from other European countries, where the largest immigrant group is from Sweden. Approximately 180 000 people or 23 per cent of the capital Oslo's population are immigrants or Norwegian-born to immigrant parents (Statistics Norway, 2012a), which makes Oslo the city in Norway with the highest share of immigrants. Out of these, 1/5 are under 16 years old (Statistics Norway, 2012b) which constitute the immigrant pupil mass attending Oslo's elementary schools today.

1.2.2 Culture and values in the socio-democratic welfare state Norway

Norway is a welfare state in Scandinavia, being part of what has been characterized as the Nordic model of social democracy. The Nordic model operates within a social democratic ideology in developing and sustaining a particular way of societal organisation, extending from a mixed economy to social and gender equality and a universal welfare state (Brandal, Bratberg, & Thorsen, 2013). The Nordic welfare politics are a result of more than a hundred years of cooperation between Nordic countries characterized mainly by politics with

ideologies of the centre-left (N. F. Christiansen, Haavet, & Haave, 2006). The tax-financed public sector provides the rights and common goods that are conceived as a part of the welfare regime, such as social security through insurance and access to free higher education (Brandal, Bratberg, & Thorsen, 2013). Norway shares some features with other Western societies in terms of religious, economic, political and other social institutions' historical construction of everyday life, where work and other productive and goal oriented activities are particularly valued (Darnell, 2002; Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011). Aligned with this, the ideals of social justice, security empowerment, and community participation have traditionally been cornerstones in the Norwegian welfare state (Carlquist, Nafstad, & Blakar, 2007). Norwegian culture and values of justice and equality thus emphasize the importance of being an active citizen who contributes to the welfare state. A lack of conformity to these values might be problematic, in a framework where people who are not able or willing to be busy may be marginalised (Fortuijn et al., 2006). Being unemployed within this frame may thus have implications, such as certain ethnic groups being labelled as being lazy (Larson & Seepersad, 2003). An especially dominant feature of Nordic welfare policies is women's right to work, combined with public services to facilitate women's care responsibilities. The share of formally employed women is higher in Norway than anywhere else in the world (N. F. Christiansen et al., 2006). In addition, Norway has one of the highest kindergarten coverage rates, with almost 90 per cent of both Norwegian-born and immigrant children aged 1-5 years attending kindergarten by the end of 2011. The same rate exclusively for children with immigrant background is just below 60 per cent (Statistics Norway, 2012c). Kindergartens are partly public funded and partly financed by parent payments regulated by a maximum price.

The governing of Norwegian elementary education is a shared responsibility between The Norwegian Parliament, the Ministry of Education and Research and the municipalities, who have the operational and administrative responsibility in lower and secondary schools. They are also responsible for providing day care facilities for school children outside of regular school hours for children in 1st to 4th grade, called after-school clubs (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2007a). In 2007 Oslo implemented 'free school choice', which makes it possible for children to apply for attendance at another school than their local school. This is especially directed towards upper secondary schools, but in Oslo a separate regulation has made it easily applicable for primary school pupils as well.

Although there is reckoned to be broad consensus across the political parties in Norway in terms of maintaining the welfare state, there are disagreements on how and to what extent the welfare state should be exerted. More right-wing parties within Norway have traditionally emphasized freedom of the individual, privatization, the market economy and limited public regulations. The left-wing parties on the other hand, have emphasized welfare as a public responsibility and governmental regulation of the economy and commercial activity (Overland, 2008). Since the late 1970s, there has been a global tendency of shift away from state involvement in the provision of universal social protection, health services, and education funded through taxation and social insurance, towards more individualistic models of welfare connected to neo-liberalistic tendencies (Blas et al., 2008). Despite the recent international 'decline thesis' of the left, the continuity and vitality of social democracy in the Nordic region seem to stand strong (Brandal et al., 2013).

1.2.3 Politics on immigration and education

Equality of opportunity in education and work, growth and justice are important and explicit political goals for the last years' Norwegian governance (Government of Norway, 2009), which can be seen in both immigration and educational policies. The main goal for Norway's integration policy is stated to be:

> (…) to ensure that all residents are able to utilise their skills and resources and to participate in society, regardless of background. Employment is a key to participation and economic independence (…) Gender equality is an important part of the integration policy (Norwegian Ministry of Labour, 2013).

Integration seems to be closely linked to education and employment made possible by equal access to active participation in society, with especial emphasis on gender equality.

Active participation in society is an emphasis also found in educational politics. The policies state that schools shall be inclusive and suitable for all, and that all pupils shall have the same opportunities to develop their skills (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2006). Directed towards immigrant pupils, the policy plan 'Equal education in practice!'[1] aims for

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[1] Norwegian: 'Likeverdig opplæring i praksis!'.
[2] National tests are carried out in the beginning of the school year for 5th and 8th graders, and reflect the

better teaching and greater participation of linguistic minorities in kindergartens, schools and education, and present cultural and lingual diversity as a resource more than a problem:

> (…) cultural diversity not only enriches every single one of us; the immigrant population also provides vital resources to society through cultural knowledge and linguistic competence (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2007b, p. 7).

White papers and regulations concerning education are all parts of "an active policy to reduce the differences in society" (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2006-2007, p. 1). A social equalisation agenda is expressed as making the probability of succeeding in the education system less dependent on family background. In sum, these strategies emphasize an equal, inclusive and multicultural educational system that meets the pupils' various needs, matching the overall political goals of opportunity, growth and social justice (Government of Norway, 2009).

1.2.4 Main concerns regarding immigrant pupils and their participation in education

Despite the government's emphases on equal opportunities in education and on cultural and linguistic diversity as a resource, the results from the National tests[2] in 2012 showed a positive correlation between parental level of education and achieved test results. Pupils who had parents with tertiary education were more likely to achieve a higher level on all tests, compared with other pupils (Statistics Norway, 2013a). There was also an overall difference in educational attainment between immigrant pupils and other pupils. The proportion of immigrant pupils and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents who achieved the lowest level in 5th grade reading and mathematics tests was 47 and 40 per cent and 41 and 35 per cent, respectively, while the proportion of other pupils who achieved the lowest level in the same tests was 25 and 24 per cent (Statistics Norway, 2013a). The socioeconomic gap in educational attainment is particularly significant between linguistic minority and majority pupils in the Norwegian school (Dale, 2008). The educational and financial resources of the parents are often brought up as an important reason, as immigrant families, on average, are overrepresented in the lower socioeconomic groups of Norway. At the end of 2012 the

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[2] National tests are carried out in the beginning of the school year for 5th and 8th graders, and reflect the competence objectives of the curriculum in 4th and 7th grade (Primary school). The tests contain reading in Norwegian, mathematics and reading in English, and have been conducted annually at all Norwegian schools since 2007 (Statistics Norway, 2013a).

registered unemployment rate among immigrant men and immigrant women was 5.7 and 6.4 per cent, respectively, compared to 1.9 per cent among men and 1.5 per cent among women in the rest of the population (Statistics Norway, 2013b).

Previous studies have addressed multiple factors trying to explain and solve the educational gap between immigrant pupils and other pupils. Firstly, Øzerk (2003) found that teachers tend to have consistently lower expectations of linguistic minority students, which become problematic knowing that high expectations of the students are a vital precondition for children and young people actually learning (Jenner, 2004). Teachers' impact in educational attainment was also addressed by Bonesronning, Falch, and Strom (2005), who used longitudinal data from all Norwegian primary and lower secondary schools. They found that student body compositions with a high share of visible minorities were associated with low supply for certified teachers. A finding implying that the schools with most immigrant pupils get less skilled teachers than the majority dominated schools.

Secondly, the gap is connected to spatial segregation. Oslo is socio-economically segregated into mainly an eastern and a western part (Hagen, Djuve, & Vogt, 1994), whereas the majority of the immigrant population live in the eastern part where persons with low socio-economic status are concentrated (Blom, 2012). The school divide has been additionally strengthened due to a tendency among the ethnic majority to move out of neighbourhoods with a high proportion of ethnic minority inhabitants (Sundell, 2008). The result is local primary schools with high proportions of immigrant pupils, which causes concerns in the public debate. To explain the segregation, Andersson, Osth, and Malmberg (2010) addressed attitudes towards and perception of immigrant pupils by examining the relation between the increasing number of visible minorities and school segregation. They found that school segregation is higher in regions with large visible-minority population, which they link to majority parents' preference for majority-dominated schools (Andersson et al., 2010).

However, there are findings questioning the underpinnings of teachers' and parents' apparent perception of minority-dominated schools as unattractive. Fekjaer and Birkelund (2007) examined the effect of ethnic composition on the educational achievement and succeeding educational choices of almost 5000 pupils from 25 upper secondary schools in Oslo. What they found was missing evidence of a negative effect of ethnic composition, and actually a small but positive effect on both attainment and probability of higher education of attending a

school with many minority students (Fekjaer & Birkelund, 2007). Although these numbers are from upper secondary pupils, there is reason to believe that the same effect is partly found among elementary school pupils as well, which will be further elaborated in section 4.3.3. Bakken (2003) found an overall higher motivation among minority pupils to do well in school; they spent more time on homework, were more exposed to mobility pressure from their parents and more often intended to get higher education than other pupil groups.

As far as main policy responses to the gap of educational attainment are concerned, they concentrate around measures primarily within the educational system:

> The Ministry believes that future efforts to level out social differences should focus attention on factors within the education system, which can promote better learning for everyone, rather than on external circumstances which the education system can do little about (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2006-2007, p. 15).

Priority areas and measures are competent pre-school teachers and schoolteachers, knowledge about learning and teaching through research, and early childhood interventions including full day-care provision, language stimulation before school and free core time in the kindergartens. The focus is on enabling the possibility of participation regardless of financial means, and that school authorities are responsible to ensure that the pupil is guaranteed a good educational programme (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2006-2007).

The explanation of the educational attainment gap between minority and majority pupils is part of a complex picture, addressing factors such as teacher supply, parents' preference, spatial segregation and school quality. As articulated by Calasanti (2002), individual attitudes and actions do matter but they always occur within a context. Both parents, teachers and policy-makers are constantly a part of a socio-historical context, where various types of social authorities can shape expectations for occupations for particular individuals and collectives (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). Different and taken-for-granted ways of writing and talking about immigrant pupils, namely discourses, can influence what immigrant pupils and their families view as possible and ideal ways to participate in schooling and society, as well as what the society views as appropriate measures and guidelines to support immigrant pupils and their occupations.

1.3 Conceptual framework: Public health science and occupational science

The Master Programme in Public Health Science at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB) emphasizes surroundings, environment and activities as determinants that promote health in the population, as well as the traditional areas relevant for public health science (Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2013). In this paper the emphasis is on *activities*, which in the field of occupational science are termed *occupations*. Education, or more specifically school attendance, is a health promoting occupation for children in school age. What's more, education is a key social determinant of health, with a known positive association between education and health across countries (Detels, Beaglehole, Lansang, & Gulliford, 2009). This paper deals with children's health in a broad perspective of health through merging public health science and occupational science, which both will be elaborated in this section.

1.3.1 Public health science

Public health science is a social and political concept aimed at improving health, prolonging life and improving the quality of life among whole populations through health promotion, disease prevention and other forms of health intervention (WHO, 1986). The newly implemented Public Health Law in Norway defines the main objective of the public health work in Norway to be "to contribute to a development of the society that promote public health, hereunder counterweight the social differences in health" (Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services, 2011, §1). Aligned with these national objectives, it is claimed that the greatest contemporary public health challenge in a global scale is to ensure that there is action to eliminate the unjust gaps in health, which have proven to be persistent within and between both wealthy and poor nations (Nutbeam & Wise, 2009). The social differences in health refer to a systematic correlation between people's socioeconomic status (SES), i.e. a total measure of education, income and occupation, and their health outcomes, whereas low SES is connected to poor health and high SES is connected to health and well-being (Detels et al 2009). There are indications that in Norway, socioeconomic health inequalities not only persist, but may even have increased during recent decades, at least in relative terms (Grøholt, Dahl, & Elstad, 2007), which makes it more relevant than ever to work towards decreasing Norway's unjust gaps in health.

With the backdrop of counterweighting social differences in health, this paper aim to focus on children's health, where also the Norwegian government has its focus in a newly proposed White paper on public health:

> It is about facilitating for a societal development that gives good conditions for health. We have a special responsibility for children and youth. The government believes that the main effort must be put here (Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services, 2012-2013, p. 8).

The government emphasizes how societal development, such as welfare, is strongly connected to differences in living conditions and development of health.

1.3.2 Health and health promotion

The understanding of health in public health is connected to Antonovsky (1979)'s term salutogenesis, which points to factors supporting human health and well being, rather than a pathogenetic focus – factors that cause disease. WHO (1946) has defined health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity". Although pointing out that health is more extensive than the absence of disease, this definition has been criticized to be somewhat utopic. A more reachable but all the same broad understanding is to see health as having the resources needed to cope with demands in everyday life (Hjort, 1982). Health promotion is defined as "the process of enabling individuals and communities to increase control over the determinants of health and thereby improve their health" (Nutbeam, 1986, p. 113). Following these definitions, health promotion is to enable people to make use of their resources.

All those factors that exert an influence on the health of individuals and populations are health determinants (Detels et al., 2009). With a broad understanding of health, it becomes crucial to address a broad range of health determinants. According to Wildavsky (1977's)'s '10-90-rule', only 10 per cent of health promotion occurs within health services. The remaining 90 per cent relates to factors outside of health institutions, also called social determinates of health. Aligned with this understanding, it is stated that "health is created and lived by people within the settings of their everyday life: where they learn, work play and love" (WHO, 1986, p. 3). Since health is created where people live, health promotion should be addressing these contexts (Naidoo & Wills, 2009). Thus, in order to counterweigh social inequities and promote

children's health, it might be effectual to address school as a health-promoting arena – a point that will be elaborated in the next section.

1.3.3 The health promoting education

Firstly, education is a key social determinant of health; it is a known positive association between education and health across countries. Not succeeding elementary school can create marginalised and less empowered participants of the society, for instance by giving a limited access to further education and work life, which furthermore is connected to a poorer health outcome (Detels et al., 2009). Elementary school completion, more specifically, is foundational for further educational attainment. Persons with higher education in Norway have the highest employment rate in OECD-countries with 90% (OECD, 2012), a fact that strengthen the importance of education in terms of future possibilities in the Norwegian working life. In addition, school is a major arena for health promotion. This is partly explained by how young people's school experiences influence the development of their self-esteem and self-perception. The aim is for young people to be in charge of their own lives, while the role of the school is to develop self-esteem and self-awareness (Naidoo & Wills, 2009). This may be connected to Antonovsky (1979)'s 'sense of coherence', which refers to a sense of comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness of life situations and their correlation to positive health outcomes. Seeing health as a resource, it is thus a prerequisite to take into account people's self-perceived confidence of possessing the resources needed to succeed when aiming to promote positive health factors. Transferred to a school context, it is about giving everyone the same opportunities to maximize their potentials and reach their goals in education.

Labonte, Polanyi, Muhajarine, McIntosh, and Williams (2005) criticize public health studies' reliance on data to the exclusion of theory and absence of human agency. Following this perspective of critical public health and adding the agency perspective, this study also drew upon occupational science to understand education as an occupation.

1.3.4 Occupational science

Occupation is broadly defined as the occupying of place and time in a complex whole of experience, purpose and attached meaning (C. H. Christiansen, Clark, Kielhofner, & Rogers,

1995). The whole concept of occupation is grounded in a belief that humans are occupational beings, thus occupations are seen as a human right and fundamental to participation in society (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004). Choice and control in occupational participation is enabled by empowerment, and lack of occupational choice may cause occupational injustice (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004). Occupational justice encompasses both individuals and group differences and concerns for enablement of participation in society as well as distribution of rights and good. The focal point is on relationships between occupation, health, and quality of life (Stadnyk, Townsend, & Wilcock, 2010). Following these framings, a disadvantageous position in the elementary education, understood as impeded access to participation, might impede the school participation's health promoting aspects. The difference between an advantageous and disadvantageous position in school are thus connected to the range of possibilities for own occupational engagement. Occupational engagement, however, is part of a complex sociocultural context (Galvaan, 2012). And although several studies of social inequalities have been conducted in the field of public health, the political context in which health and intersectoral policies affect social inequalities has been less studied (Friedman & Starfield, 2003).

1.3.5 Merging public health and occupational science through occupational possibilities

"One cannot talk meaningfully about the social determinants of health – nor begin to impact on them – without recognizing that they reflect underlying social processes" (Labonte et al., 2005, p. 8). Likewise, enablement of people in developing their occupational potential is connected to policies promoting empowerment of all participants in a particular issue (Stadnyk et al., 2010). This is where the term 'occupational possibilities' becomes relevant. Occupational possibilities refers to "the occupations people view as ideal and possible and which are promoted and made available within specific socio-historical contexts", and that are "shaped by political, social and cultural influences" (Rudman, 2005, p. 149). It is thus about which possibilities people have and, perhaps even more, the possibilities people *perceive* themselves to have, all embedded in their contemporary socio-political context. A deeper understanding of occupational possibilities may reveal ways to promote occupational justice for marginalised or potentially marginalised groups (Galvaan, 2012).

Following the importance of socio-historical contexts, the governing of society in general and education system in particular are vital to consider when aiming to promote children's health. It has been claimed that a strong welfare state providing people with access to the social determinants of health is one of the best means to promote health (Blas et al., 2008; Nutbeam & Wise, 2009). In Norway, the importance of a comprehensive grounding of health promotion has gained increasingly attention in the politics over the last years (Norwegian Ministry of Health and Care Services, 2011, 2012-2013). The context of politics and governance provides directions for how institutions in the society may be organised. If applying Wildavsky's 10-90-rule in the context of social inequities, all the institutions of the society are responsible for 90 per cent of the social inequities in health (European Commission, 2011). Despite the acknowledgement of public policy as an important determinant of health, it has been questioned why there remains a continuing absence of debates about the ways in which the underpinning politics, power and ideology influence people's health (Bambra, Fox, & Scott-Samuel, 2005). In contrast to a focus on individual behaviours and life style choices, traditions of critical public health has developed more comprehensive paradigms that analyse the effects of a complex collection of social and political factors on health outcomes (Detels et al., 2009). Following a critical public health perspective, research should aim to deconstruct how historically specific social structures and ideological assumptions might create, reinforce and legitimize conditions that undermine the health of specific populations (Labonte et al., 2005). This perspective recognizes that a model of social organization significantly shapes the options individuals have and their possibilities for changing (Detels et al., 2009).

This study aims for a deeper understanding of occupational possibilities discursively shaped for immigrant pupils in Norwegian elementary schools, and addresses possible social differences in children's health through a critical examination of political and ideological underpinnings of the public discourse in a school context. The study is theoretically guided by critical public health and occupational science, and methodologically guided by governmentality-informed critical discourse analysis (CDA). The latter makes up the first part of the next section, which will elaborate on methods theory and implementation.

2. Methods theory and implementation

The method used in this paper was a critical discourse analysis (CDA) informed by governmentality. One way of gaining insight into ideological and social structures is to examine the public discourse, in this case by a CDA of newspaper articles, informed by a governmentality perspective. Before elaborating on using media as a tool of governmentality, some limitations on the extensive fields of CDA and governmentality is needed.

2.1 Discourse and CDA

The term discourse has a complex nature and is characterized by the diversity in definitions, which are dependent on its theoretical underpinning (Cheek, 2004). The definition of discourse in this paper will rely on Foucault's postmodern thought where a discourse:

> (…) provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about (Kress, 1985, p. 7).

In sum, discourse can be understood as different and taken-for-granted ways of writing and talking about particular topics, objects or processes (Cheek, 2004). Because discourses are rooted within power relations, they can affect what comes to be viewed as ideal and 'right' ways to act within particular contexts or situations (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). To examine the power relations in connection to newspaper representations of immigrant pupils, it is vital to consider how the problem, and related proposed solutions, have come to be defined – in addition to who has the power to define it and who the discourse benefit and *not* benefit (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). Several explicit methods may be used in CDA, as long as they are systematic techniques that provide insights into the way discourses and power relations underlie how 'reality' has been constructed, and how this is connected to broader social and cultural developments and structures (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004; Cheek, 2004; Jørgensen & Philips, 1999). This paper has the same understanding of CDA as Ainsworth and Hardy (2004), in terms of a method with a critical perspective to interrogate social phenomena and systematic techniques that provide a framework to explore material effects. Different discourses give the subject different and possibly conflicting positions to speak from. The constitution of subjects is therefore an important focus in the concrete analysis (Jørgensen &

Philips, 1999). CDA can assist in purposefully unpacking how social identity is constructed, as well as the effects of such identity construction (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004).

2.2 Governmentality

The focus in this paper will be restricted to those aspects of governmentality that have been used in writings about occupational possibilities, without going deeper into the extensive governmentality theory in general. Secondary sources will be drawn upon, such as Rose (1993) and Rose, O'Malley, and Valverde (2006) which has been done by e.g. Laliberte Rudman (2005) in a study with similar research questions. Governmentality scholars view power as productive, operating in terms of specific rationalizations and directed towards certain ends that become apparent within them (Rose et al., 2006). Governmentality theorists claim that political power operates by working to shape and promote certain socially constructed subjects or identities through several political, social and cultural factors (Dean, 1995; Rudman, 2005). The governmentality perspective recognizes that a whole variety of authorities govern from different positions following different objectives (Rose et al., 2006). In this sense, the power is enacted not through top-down mechanisms of coercion, but through producing truths for people that subtly shape the ways they come to understand and act upon themselves (Rose, 1999). An analysis of governmentalities is one that seeks to identify these different styles of thought by asking questions such as: Who or what is to be governed, why, how and to what ends (Rose et al., 2006)? One way of accessing these 'taken-for-granted' truths is to address and problematize dominant discourses in society.

2.3 Media as a tool of governmentality

Newspapers can be seen as a way into understanding dominant discourses circulating in society in multiple ways (Nafstad, Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps, & Rand-Hendriksen, 2009; Rudman, 2005). Newspapers as the data material were mainly chosen as media plays a vital role in shaping subjectivity through language. As Rose (1999, p. 28) points out: "Language is not secondary to government; it is constitutive of it". However, governmentality is not primarily concerned with language as a field of meaning, but rather with knowledges or regimes of truth. Media is a big part of this 'regime of enunciation' and a field of conflict over

who can speak, according to what criteria of truth and authorized in what ways. In analysing the way a word or a text functions in connection to other things, one can identify what it makes possible, and the affects and passions that it mobilizes (Rose, 1999; Rudman, 2005). Media strongly contribute toward creating and shaping ideologies, both as producers and mediators of these ideologies. In turn, these ideologies may shape society's services and welfare systems, which directly impact people's wellbeing (Nafstad et al., 2009). However, it is important to remember that media's influence on how societies and people develop and understand themselves is a part of a complex process, with no clear cause and effect relation (Gripsrud, 2002).

Integration of immigrants is a hot topic in Norwegian media, and increasingly so. An analysis of 80 Norwegian newspapers carried out in 2009 indicated ways in which immigrant and integration issues are presented in media. Of printed newspaper articles with immigration or integration as their main topic, 71 per cent were considered to be focused on problems, 18 per cent to be focused on resources, while 11 per cent considered being neutral (IMDi, 2009). A critical discourse analysis of contemporary newspaper articles concerning immigrant pupils and education might critically reflect on how these texts shape possibilities for occupation and identity for immigrant pupils.

Until now, there has been limited examination of the ideological implications of public health analysis (Labonte et al., 2005). Important steps in creating the possibility for change of eventual inequitable occupational possibilities may be critical analyses of how occupation is taken up politically within processes of social organization and control, and how this shape normative expectations and occupational possibilities regarding what particular occupations should and can be engaged in (Laliberte Rudman, 2013).

2.4 Data source selection

20 articles from Norwegian newspapers concerning immigrants' participation in elementary schools were analysed with the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA). The CDA was conducted with the theoretical backdrop of governmentality, combined with a framework of occupational science and critical public health. This section addresses how data sources and texts were selected, in addition to the guiding theoretical framework and the process of

analysis. A more extensive discussion of limitations of the method is part of the discussion in section 4.1.

Due to the Oslo-focus of the study, the aim was to select newspapers representative of the Oslo area. The data is published articles from four Norwegian newspapers: 1) Norway's largest newspaper 'Aftenposten' (lit: 'The Evening Post'), 2) 'Aftenposten Aften' (hereafter: 'Aften') which is Aftenposten's separate evening edition focused on Oslo County, both originally right-wing newspapers, 3) the more left-wing 'Klassekampen' (lit: 'The Class Struggle') and 4) 'Dagsavisen' (lit: 'The Daily Newspaper') which is the former party organ of the Norwegian Labour Party. Both Aften and Dagsavisen are Oslo-based newspapers with most stories and readers from Oslo, which were included due to this paper's Oslo focus[3]. With a rational of circulation size, Norway's two tabloids with largest circulation could be included. Still they were excluded due to their more sensation-focused and polarised newspaper language, which may have impeded the texts' way of representing the 'common opinion' in a most valid way as possible. The selected newspapers represent different political points of views, also elaborated in Blakar (2006), which enables a broader covering of the political scale and thereby hopefully covering some different discourses circulating in the society.

2.5 Text selection

The selected texts were newspaper articles published between 1 January and 31 December 2012. This time frame was chosen to be able to discover the contemporary discursive construction of immigrant pupils and their participation in elementary education. Relevant articles were found by searching in the media monitoring service Retriever's electronic archive ATEKST. The search included the keywords 'school* AND immigr*'[4]. In total 429 news articles were retrieved. The number of texts was scaled down four times in a multistage sampling process according to adjusted inclusion and exclusion criteria. In every sampling a scheme was used to categorize why articles were excluded or included. In this way the content of each article was tracked, which made a guideline of possible needs to change inclusion and exclusion criteria and/or the research questions. The more stringent inclusion and exclusion

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[3] The last edition of Aftenposten Aften came out 20 December 2012 (Aftenposten).
[4] Norwegian: 'skole* AND innvandr*'.

criteria were parts of a process of refining the focus of the article selection to most closely align to the research questions and enable a focused, in-depth data pertaining to the topic of elementary school and immigrant children. During the final analysis additional two articles were excluded as they proved not to provide rich data in terms of answering the research questions. Thus, the total number of analysed articles ended up being 20.

The 20 texts fulfilled the following inclusion criterion: 1) Articles with school and immigrants in primary school as the main topic. The excluded articles fulfilled these exclusion criteria: 1) Articles concerning school issues outside of Oslo, 2) Articles where the main topic was not immigrants *and* school, 3) Articles concerning all school attendance above Primary school (above 7th grade). Newspaper articles are referenced with numbers, with full references provided in Appendix I.

2.6 Process of analysis

Each article was systematically analysed with a fixed data analysis sheet with questions informed by governmentality theory. The scheme originate in a scheme used in a previous media discourse research (Rudman, 2005; Rudman & Molke, 2009), but was adjusted according to this study's focus. Questions central in the analysis were: What are constructed as the problems to be solved in discussion of immigrant children and education, and where is the problem located? How are immigrant children constructed? What occupations are the pupils called upon to participate in? What are the ideal ways for immigrant children, and their parents, to participate in education? Who is defining the problems and/or the ideal, and who will benefit or not benefit? The complete analysis scheme is provided in Appendix II.

Between the third and the fourth article sampling, the initial data analysis sheet was pilot tested by analysing two randomly selected articles. At this point relevant concepts from governmentality theory were repeated to maintain the theoretical underpinning. In addition, this repetition enabled a critically assessment of the data analysis sheet according to its relevance to the topic, and to the relevance of each article. The piloting evolved a need to further focus articles primarily concerning immigrant children and elementary school, as articles without this focus did not provide rich data for analysis. The data analysis sheet was accordingly edited: The questions considered most irrelevant for the research questions were

removed, and some were reformulated to better connect the theory to the research questions as well as to the subject of elementary education of immigrant children. To narrow the focus around the text, visual analyses were omitted.

After analysing each article, main themes and discourses in the texts were compiled and identified by using an editing analysis style (Malterud, 2011). The process was one of switching between considering the texts as a whole and identifying smaller parts as meaningful units by abstracting, deconstructing and reconstructing the content. Main themes were confirmed and refuted by going back and forth between the sections and the overall considerations of the textual content. Each text was read several times with focus on different aspects of content and form. In the process, several discursive lines developed and their underpinning rationalities were identified and discussed. The whole process was guided by theoretical guidelines, analytic feedback and a reflexive journal, aiming to make the textual analysis as valid as possible. Additional schemes were made to identify the frequency and placement of different statements and discourses. In addition, these schemes revealed patterns of who were having power to define problems, solutions and ideal occupations in media discourses of immigrant children's school attendance.

3. Findings

Three major discursive emphases revolving around the problematization of immigrant pupils' educational attainment emerged from the analysis. The emphases related to what was problematized and how, and what forms of identities and occupations were promoted as ideal means to address the problematization. The first emphasis locates the problem in a linguistic deficiency, the second emphasis pertains to a parental deficiency including immigrant culture and religion, and the third highlights the issue of spatial segregation. Within each problematization, both supporting and conflicting discourses were identified and constitute the following presentation of the findings. Each discursive emphasis will be outlined according to their key problematizations and their solution frames, following the three research questions proposed prior to and during the analysis: Which possibilities, problems and identities are discursively shaped for immigrant children's participation in elementary school in Oslo in contemporary Norwegian media? Where is the problem situated? What are

framed as solutions? Within the discussion, these findings are considered in relation to the rationalities underpinning the different discourses, to who's benefit and to what ends. Firstly, however, it is necessary to identify who 'the immigrant pupil' is within these texts, that is, the subjectivity shaped through the texts, to be able to discuss the newspapers' discourse on possible and ideal, as well as non-ideal, identities and occupations regarding immigrant pupils' educational attainment.

3.1 Subjectivity of the immigrant pupil

The newspaper texts outline several main characteristics of the immigrant pupil, shaping who the *idealised* – and non-idealised – immigrant pupil is. These subjectivities are connected to the promotion of particular types of occupations as possible and ideal for the 'immigrant pupil'.

The analysis identified three main characteristics of the 'problematic' immigrant pupil emphasized in the texts, namely having poor Norwegian language skills (in 14 out of 20 articles), having non-Western background (11/20) and having parents with low socioeconomic status (SES) (9/20). Less dominating features explicitly mentioned are pupils with other religious beliefs than Christianity, i.e. mainly Islam (6/20), being coloured (2/20) and being criminals (1/20). In addition there is a main divide between immigrants born outside of Norway and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents, whereas the first group is included in all articles while the latter is included in 17 out of 20 articles. This last finding implies that 'the immigrant pupil' in Norwegian newspapers most often comprises both children born in Norway with two parents born abroad and those born abroad of two foreign-born parents. Only one article points out the diversity in 'the immigrant pupil', as seen in this quote from a politician representing the Green Party:

> –The discussion *(of integration)* itself is lead off track by this confusion of people who have lived here several decades with people who recently have arrived the country (6).

3.1.1 The ideal immigrant pupil – the integrated school winner

'The ideal immigrant pupil' is generally shaped as one who is hardworking, doing well in school and occupied with activities involving interaction with Norwegian peers after school hours. For example, one article brings up a recent finding that some minority pupils are doing increasingly *better* at school than pupils with Norwegian background. As a representative of minority pupils doing well, a Vietnamese girl is fronted as 'the school winner'. When asked why pupils with minority background do so well in school, she answers:

> –I read a lot and memorize my homework. I wish to do it well at school, she says. What's your dream for the future? –I want to become a doctor, the 11-year old girl says" (12).

'The school winner' seems to have high motivation for doing well at school and work hard to reach the goal of getting higher education. In the same article, a teacher's view of hardworking immigrant pupils is presented. The teacher explains the positive development by referring to the minority pupils' 'confidence' in the school system:

> Teacher Birger Næss brags about his multicultural school. He also sees that pupils with minority backgrounds do it increasingly better at school. –What I see is that the pupils have become confident in the school system, which gives result in their grades, Næss says (12).

The goal of becoming 'confident in the school system' might imply a gap between the school system and the immigrant pupils where their success in school depends on degree of confidence in the system. An underpinning rationality might be that the system is rather fixed, while the minority pupils represent the changeable item being responsible of 'fitting into' it.

The focus of adapting into certain ideal ways of being is also seen in the ideal occupations promoted. It seems that integration is most successful when the immigrants are able to adjust to the Norwegian society through participating in 'Norwegian' occupations, which is more or less explicitly shaped as the ideal way of integrating in 20 of 20 articles. An article (3) published around Norway's national day reports from the celebration at the minority-dominated Rødvedt School, emphasizing that despite the school's high proportion of immigrant pupils the celebration is as traditional as in all other schools:

> The program at the many thousands schools in Norway this national day is rather traditional. Children's parade in the local community, (…) school band music, national anthem (…). And

of course ice cream, hot dogs, soda and cakes in unknown amounts. Rødtvet School is no different in that sense (3).

The excerpt refers to several typical activities commonly expected to be performed by elementary school pupils during the national day. In the same article (3), a 5th grader who has parents of Indian heritage is exemplified due to her engagement in all these occupations, especially participating in the school band, illustrated by the article's framing of her as "the trumpet player" (3). Thus it seems the ideal immigrant pupil is one who is 'as Norwegian as possible', and working towards this involves engaging in occupations understood as 'typically Norwegian'.

Contrasted to this emphasis on adapting to Norwegian systems and occupations, 3 of 20 articles promote an alternative discourse which stresses that immigration is valuable because it contributes to a multicultural city, as this statement from a Labour Party politician exemplifies: "–Children that grow up without multiculturalism will have a lasting handicap when they are going to meet the world later on" (1). The shaping of 'multiculturalism as a resource', however, is rarely concretized, in terms of what these resources are and how they can be utilized to improve immigrant pupils' participation in education. An Ethiopian mother makes one exception though. She points out a reciprocal learning possibility of having children attending a school with high proportion of immigrant pupils and living in an immigrant-dense area:

> –I think it's very good for the children to grow up in a multicultural environment. (…) We learn from each other, and we as immigrants learn a lot from those who are born here (3).

Still, the dominating discourse depicts an ideal immigrant pupil being highly motivated for school, interacting with Norwegian peers, and engaging in 'typical Norwegian' occupations.

3.1.2 Who is the school *loser?*

In contrast to the high-achieving and participating immigrant pupil, the *non-ideal* immigrant pupil is presented as an outsider. In worst-case scenarios the non-ideal immigrant is a criminal or/and a religious extremist and thereby not a part of the Norwegian society, but this description is only seen in one article (16). However, immigrants as outsiders in the society are presented as an unfortunate scenario in the context of successful integration in other

articles as well, but in a more subtle way. For instance the Minister of Children and Equality is quoted in an article concerning a newly implemented integration policy, saying that:

> –We want to make sure that children and youth become a part of the great community, so that as many as possible feel that they are a part of Norway and not turn their back against the society (18).

Occupational engagement outside of school with Norwegians is here presented as means of integration. The ideal occupational engagement promoted is mainly leisure occupations that include interaction with Norwegian peers, such as playing in school band, attending after-school clubs and playing after school hours, and are directed towards active participation in society, such as working towards good results at school and acquiring language skills. Engagement in these types of occupations and thereby being (or becoming) active citizens seem to be juxtaposed with being 'part of the great community', i.e. society, which further is a criterion of a successful integration.

3.2 Locating the problem in a linguistic deficiency

In several articles, lack of Norwegian language skills is seen as a problem for school and teaching and, ultimately, as a key reason for immigrant pupils not performing as well as other children. For instance in one article, an Oslo politician who is asked about her opinion about Oslo's high share of immigrants, states:

> –If you for instance have got a high share of children not speaking Norwegian, this will of course be problematic for both school and teaching (6).

As this excerpt exemplifies, the problem is often presented as situated in the gap between the immigrant pupils' lack of Norwegian language skills and the schools' resources to meet these pupils' extra needs. It differs in where the emphasis is; either in lingual minority pupils for representing a great challenges for teachers and in need of extra resources, or in the society's ability to adjust for this extra needs. These different constructions might promote either individual or societal responsibility for integration, respectively.

3.2.1 Solutions to linguistic deficiency

Proficiency in Norwegian language is presented as a prerequisite of immigrants' participation in school in 12 of 20 articles. For example, in an article about a city part of Oslo with an especially high proportion of immigrants the leader of an immigrant association is interviewed about integration, and says: "–(…) language and communication are key factors in successful integration (2)".

Roughly, there are two competing discourses emphasizing different approaches to reduce the gap between the immigrant pupils' language skills and the schools' resources. The first discourse, seen in 6 of the 12 articles shaping language skills as the main problem, focuses on measures to strengthen schools' resources to meet the challenges with high shares of immigrants. The importance of highly skilled teachers is emphasized, in addition to improved language teaching at schools:

> The government tantalizes the municipalities with 31 million Norwegian kroner in development funding if they will make good projects to improve the integration, for instance by improved Norwegian language training (17).

The other main discourse, also seen in 6 of 12 articles, promotes the importance of interacting with Norwegian peers outside of school hours in order for children to develop their language skills. Play and organized occupations together with Norwegian peers in kindergarten and after school hours are especially highlighted, as shown in this article about the government's newly implemented pilot of free core time in after-school clubs:

> Several children show deteriorated Norwegian language skills in the transition from kindergarten to school because they don't meet Norwegian-speaking children in play and interaction after school hours (17).

One rationality underpinning this discourse is that the parents' financial resources and formal education level lead to inability to support language learning and participation in after-school clubs. A different rationality implies that the problem is situated in immigrant parents' understanding and prioritizing of the importance of their children's attendance in kindergarten and after-school clubs to gain proficiency in the Norwegian language. This can for instance be seen in an article from a city part of Oslo with high proportion of immigrants, where a Norwegian living there is interviewed:

> —The challenge (…) is the lingual poverty when children don't attend after school clubs but go straight back home and don't have access to Norwegian children's television, but instead watch programs from their home country (2).

The non-participating immigrant children are presented as a result of their parents' *choice* to hold them back from participation in arenas where they can interact with Norwegian peers. Thus immigrant culture seems shaped as a barrier for children's participation in language improving occupations, such as playing and interacting with Norwegian peers in arenas organized by the public.

Following these findings, it seems that there are two solution frames aligned with different rationalities. Firstly, the solution of governmental action to improve the system to meet language needs. Secondly, the need for parents to change and make the right choices regarding their children's occupational participation.

3.3 Locating the problem in deficient parents

A second discursive emphasis relates to immigrant parents. The parents of immigrant pupils are presented as having an essential role in ensuring their children's integration and educational success, as well as being the main issue negatively impacting on their children's probability of succeeding in school, in 10 of 20 articles. The parents' influence is problematized in various ways, whereas the key conflicting discourses evolve around two focuses; one related to the parents' financial resources and the other relating to the parents', and especially mothers', lack of formal education and employment. The latter is connected to immigrant culture, including gender equality and religion.

3.3.1 The poverty issue

In 6 of the 10 articles with parents as the main problematization the problem is situated in financial resources of immigrant families, often presented as a barrier for the children's participation in after-school activities, exemplified here by a Socialist Left Party politician: "Poverty among parents means that a lot of children do not attend after school clubs and participate in cultural activities" (5). Participation in after-school activities is as mentioned

connected to language proficiency, and seen as a prerequisite for educational attainment and successful integration. However, the problem of poverty is also closely linked up to issues of education and employment as means of income, which is part of how immigrant parents are problematized as deficient.

3.3.2 The problem of uneducated and unemployed mothers

Uneducated or unemployed parents are shaped as the main problem in 5 of 10 parent-related articles, whereas three of these emphasize the importance of formally educated and employed immigrant women. Both education and work are framed as crucial for participation in society. The focus on women's participation is pointed out by the Minister of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion in an article regarding a recently presented white paper on integration:

> –The key to a successful society where women are of equal worth, are equal positioned in the society and have the freedom of choice, and where their children are socially included from an early age, is to be found among the women. (…) The white paper emphasizes the importance of heightening the employment among immigrants and women in particular (17).

According to this statement, mothers are shaped as the key facilitator of their children's integration. Several articles emphasize that immigrant women should be out working and encouraging their children to interact with Norwegian peers, rather than staying at home and with children after school. The value of equality and freedom of choice is also highlighted. Contrastingly, *fathers* are not problematized in any articles. It differs whether the problem of deficient immigrant women is situated in immigrant culture or immigrant religion, but both views are emphasizing the importance of gender equality, exemplified by the mentioned Minister in a discussion about multicultural societies: "–We cannot accept death-threats and vilification of homosexuals, or that women are being kept away from work life" (18).

This discourse has an underlying notion that the portrayed immigrant parents are from cultures where women traditionally have a less active position in the working society compared with men, and where home-staying mothers are more commonly accepted than in the contemporary Norwegian society. This notion is also illustrated by a statement from the Minister, in the context of claiming that the expectations of immigrant women are lower for women than men: "–It is expected that they stay home with a lot of children" (17). Religion is explicitly problematized in 3 of 20 articles, but at the same time seen as a characteristic of the

immigrant pupil in 6 of 20 articles. Even though not emphasized as the main problem, these numbers imply that religion is framed as an integral part in the 'typical immigrant culture', as exemplified by this concern of religious pressure when discussing integration of immigrant children:

> In addition she (*the Minister of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion*) thinks it's important to ensure that the religious pressure against children and youth does not become too strong (18).

This shaping might include immigrants of certain cultural and religious backgrounds, mainly Islam and non-Western cultures, and excludes others, for instance Western immigrants. Whether it is immigrant men, culture or religion, or a mixture of all that 'keep women away from work life' seems unclear. Without highlighting one, it seems that all three are intertwined, and that they all represent constraints to children's educational attainment.

In sum, immigrant parents' formal education and employment, participation and engagement in their children's school attendance and after-school activities, and their level of imposing their home country's culture and religion on their children are all factors impeding immigrant pupils' access to educational success.

3.3.3 Situating the problem of unemployed, stay at home immigrant mothers

The importance of work occupations is roughly framed in two ways. Firstly as a way for mothers to become independent and integrate, which also enable them to contribute to their children's integration. Secondly, work is framed as a goal for children's education. The emphasis on school attainment as a way into a future working life was seen when describing the 'ideal immigrant pupil'. The weighting of mothers' independence is also related to their children's integration, here in terms of participation in kindergarten and after-school clubs. Home staying mothers are framed as having less motivation to send their children to public caring services, since they have the possibility of providing the caregiving themselves. There seems to be two different locations of the problem of uneducated and unemployed women. The first emphasizes immigrant women as impeded by conditions given in their context. On the one hand by men and culture as seen in the excerpt where women are 'kept away from work life', and on the other by insufficient regulations or practices from the government's

side, as seen in this excerpt concerning the 'free school choice' (which allows parents to move their children away from their local elementary schools):

> Today the choice is given to the parents who get responsibility for their child's success or fail in the educational system (21).

Both anglings disable the mothers to make 'the right choices' concerning their children's educational participation and integration. The second situating of the problem depicts parents as not being informed or educated enough to contribute to their children's educational attainment, as seen in this statement from a Liberal Party politician:

> –We know that it is in those city parts that have a particularly high share of, especially non-Western, immigrants there are some extra challenges in terms of giving information about the importance of the children to attend kindergarten and after-school clubs and get good following-up of their school work (10).

The parents seem to lack comprehension of how important interaction with Norwegian peers is to their children's educational success. It might also be an implication that problem is located in lack of valuing formal education by these parents. The underpinning rational in both framings seems to be that there are colliding values between immigrant culture values and Norwegian values, whereas the Norwegian values work most advantageously for immigrant children's educational attainment. An upbringing characterized by foreign cultures thus works disadvantageously for immigrant children's school performance, where favourable conditions for upbringing include participation in kindergarten and after-school club attendance and interaction with Norwegian peers. Since Norwegian society rarely is problematized, the problem seems to be situated in how immigrant culture and religion do not fit with Norwegian society.

3.3.4 Solutions to deficient parents

When problem is situated in financial resources the solutions tend to address governmental means, such as free kindergarten or after-school clubs, as seen in this solution promoted by a Socialist Left Party politician: "(…) a major investment in free half day access to all children in the kindergartens and a free whole day school" (5). However, it is often implied that the effect of governmental measures depends on parents' *choice* of making use of the public services being offered. The Minister of Education and Research states that: "–It's a huge

difference between those who make use of the services the after-school club provides and those who don't" (18).

The same emphasis on choice is also seen in the context of engagement in the local community. Father of the earlier mentioned 'school winner' is engaging in volunteer work on the national day and sets by this an example to be followed: "As father of a daughter who plays in the school band it is his task to manage the fish pond this national day" (3). When problem is situated in uneducated and unemployed women the solutions seem to be mainly occupational; the women need to get out of home and into the workforce. Government is part of this solution as well, by providing programs designed to meet the women's need for formal education and employment:

> This is partly the reason that the government wants to make "new chance", a project helping immigrant women into work, to a permanent program (18).

But again it depends on the women's choice to participate or not. In sum, is seems that both commitment to being a good parent and integration are demonstrated through occupation.

Even though the problem is located as often in financial resources as in uneducated and unemployed immigrants, the *solutions* seem to focus on changes in immigrant culture, attitudes or occupations, seen in 8 of 10 articles concerning parental issues. Changes in Norwegians' attitudes, cultures or practices are in comparison seen as part of the solution in 3 of 10 articles. An underpinning rational for this framing might be that culture is located in the parents, and the mother in particular. Since the parents' culture often is shaped as an impediment for children's integration to the Norwegian society, the children come across as apart from their culture and readily able to take up Norwegian culture if parents would create space for this. By promoting working mothers and free after-school programs, the rational seems to be that the public services, representing the Norwegian society, should be in charge of the upbringing. In this sense, the value of parents' caring for their own children and familiarizing them with their culture of origin and parental language is not recognized to the same extent, at least not as far as success in school and integration is concerned. Solutions are therefore either for the parents to change their cultural values or occupations, or for government to implement means that set limits or decrease the influence of parents' cultural and religious influence and increase their interaction with Norwegian peers and culture. In

sum, the ideal seems to require change of parenting to fit the context of a socio-democratic society, where educated and working citizens are important parts.

3.4 Locating the problem in spatial segregation

The spatial division in Oslo built on ethnicity, i.e. spatial segregation, is explicitly shaped as the main problem related to immigrant pupils' educational attainment in 9 of 20 articles. Either issues of schools with high proportions of immigrant pupils or issues of immigrant-dense areas are problematized in all nine articles. This implies that the main problem related to spatial segregation connects to consequences of immigrant-dense areas and schools, as exemplified in this statement from a Progress Party politician:

> –Areas and city parts with high shares of immigrants has some extraordinary challenges, such as higher use of social support and Child Protective Services. It is also a challenge that some schools have a very high share of pupils with non-Western background, something that makes the integration work harder (7).

It must be taken into account that this politician is representing the party promoting a more strict immigration policy than exists in Norway today. However, the same notion of challenging schools and areas is seen in numerous articles, only in a more subtle way. For instance a journalist is debating that Norwegian politicians avoid sending their own children to schools with high proportion of immigrant pupils:

> It is mainly a thoroughgoing characterization of Oslo that those governing the city and the country don't send their children to typical immigrant schools (13).

The implied problem seems to be that schools with high proportion of immigrant children, namely 'the typical immigrant schools', face challenges that may lower quality of education, and thus Norwegian politicians and others do not want their children to attend these schools. The root to the problem of spatial segregation is mainly constructed around two focuses. One addresses how societal structures and parents' socioeconomic status (SES) create spatial integration. The other addresses parents' choice to live in the same areas as others with a similar ethnic background, and/or have their children in as resourced schools as possible.

3.4.1 Situating the problem in the gap between immigrants' SES and social structures

The first discourse frames the problem of spatial segregation in the gap between societal structures and immigrants' SES. The underpinning rational is that immigrant families overall have poor financial resources, as seen in section 3.3.1 regarding the poverty issue of parents' deficiency. The emphasis on SES is often intertwined with the issue of spatial segregation, implying that lack of financial resources causes the immigrants to have poor mobility in several arenas. One main problem connects to the high costs on residents in certain parts of the city, exemplified in this excerpt from an article discussing issues connected to immigrants' low SES: "A large share of minorities lives in Oslo, and they are having a hard time at the housing market" (17). Likewise, the arrangement of free school choice is depicted to be a structure making it harder for immigrants to participate, as seen in this statement from a journalist questioning the consequences of free school choice:

> The capital's great class divide and the fact that many of the poorest people belong to the immigrant population give Oslo extraordinary challenges. Challenges that could have been dealt with if it had not been for us implementing free school choice and by that give away on of the school authorities' best means to equalize biases in the pupil composition (21).

Despite the focus on society's insufficient facilitations, it seems like the journalist is pointing towards an underlying notion that parents' choices are a contributing factor to spatial segregation.

3.4.2 Situating the problem in parents' preference for ethnic belonging and resourced schools

The second discourse of the problematization relates to both Norwegian and immigrant parents' choice to settle down in certain areas, due to either ethnic belonging or educational quality. Firstly, Norwegian parents are shaped as the problem through their decision-making based on preferences for settling in areas with greatest ethnic 'belonging', as seen in this statement by a Progress Party politician: "Fathers (…) had moved out of the area because they didn't want their children to grow up as minorities in their own country" (14). This preference for ethnic belonging is also seen in immigrant parents, where the issue of language proficiency is central. An article presents an immigrant woman who has moved her children to a private school:

> Her daughter went her two first school years at the local school in Groruddalen. There 80 per cent of the children had immigrant background (…) the parents reacted to her poorly Norwegian language speaking and using bad Pakistani words at home (20).

This excerpt implies that immigrant-dense schools have impeded educational quality compared to other schools, as seen in the problematization of 'typical immigrant schools' in section 3.4.

3.4.3 Solutions to spatial segregation

The solutions connected to areas and schools with high proportion of immigrants are branched into two main arguments. The first addresses the problem of immigrants' low SES, while the second weights the need for governmental means to avoid parents from moving.

3.4.4 Addressing low SES

By situating the problem of spatial segregation in immigrants' SES, the immigrants are framed to be non-participating due to their lack of financial resources. Therefore the solution focuses on how to narrow the gap between SES and requirements for societal participation. The two emphases differ in *where* to narrow the gap; the first one by changing societal structures, and the second by means to raise immigrants' SES.

The first emphasis is on what the government can do to integrate immigrants into the Norwegian society despite their low SES, as seen in this statement from a Socialist Left Party politician:

> –To achieve better equalization we need more small houses in Groruddalen and Søndre Nordstrand and more apartments in Western parts of the city (10).

The rationality of this statement is that a more varied housing makes it more affordable to live in western city parts, which will give a more diverse mix of people and enhance the integration. Other solutions aligned with this discourse are those promoting free kindergartens and after-school clubs, as seen in section 3.3.1 regarding finances as reason for immigrant parents deficient upraising.

The second approach emphasizes means to raise the immigrants' financial resources, mainly by implementing programs aiming to educate and employ immigrant women, as exemplified in section 3.3.4 of parental deficiency.

3.4.5 Addressing parents' preferences

Solutions addressing parents' preference for ethnic belonging and resourced schools have several emphases. The main conflicting emphases are to decrease the segregation with governmental restrictions, or to strengthen the 'challenged schools' to make them more attractive for resourced parents. One solution is implementation of private schools in the eastern parts of town, with the rational of hindering resourced parents to move by giving them a 'good enough' school in their local community:

> From the autumn 2014 it might become easier for families from Groruddalen to find an alternative to the public school in their local community (20).

The underpinning rational of this solution seems to be that resourced parents will move their children if given the opportunity.

Another approach directs towards strengthening the resources at the 'challenged schools', as emphasized in one of the solution frames of language deficiency. For example by making it more attractive for highly skilled teachers to work at the schools in question:

> The teacher quality is the one variable that has greatest effect on the pupils' learning outcomes (…) The Education Agency follow this by raising the salaries to principles and teachers at the most challenging schools (15).

By promoting means to improve the situation as it is, the latter solution frame might have an underlying acceptance of the segregation. The focus is on making the existing segregation less significant for children's school attainment, instead of trying to decrease the spatial segregation as seen in the first solution frame.

4. Discussion

While the findings branched into three main areas of focus, the discussion will follow the three research questions and merge main tendencies across the focus areas with the theoretical framework and previous empirical findings. Following the questions' structure, a discussion of identities and possibilities discursively shaped will be followed by a comparison and critical discussion of the various problematizations and solution frames. With the theoretical framework of critical public health and occupational science, and methodology of governmentality-informed CDA, focus will be on the various types of rationality underpinning the discourses, and how these may work advantageously or not for immigrant pupils' educational attainment. In addition, focus will be on how the discourses work towards certain ends, which might be connected to broader societal and political structures. First follows a section discussing methodological limitations.

4.1 Methodological limitations

Qualitative research, as all other research, has its methodological limitations. A method is neither valid nor invalid, it is the data, accounts, or conclusions derived by using that method that are more valid or less valid. Especially emphasized here are different types of validity in the process of describing, interpreting, and explaining phenomena of interest. Since the researcher's *understanding* or account is a fundamental concept for quality research (Maxwell, 1992), it is of utter importance to strive for a systematic and fair research process when dealing with qualitative data. Criticising the positivist-based validity criteria, Maxwell (1992) propose five understandings and corresponding types of validity from the qualitative researcher's point of view. The first four are found most relevant for this study, and will outline the methodological discussion in this section. The emphasis will be on what kind of threats to validity needing to be considered, in addition to possible ways the specific threats might be addressed, and how this is applicable to this study.

Firstly, Maxwell (1992) talks of descriptive validity, which concerns the factual accuracy of the researcher's account as pertains to its grounding the data. In the case of this study, descriptive validity relates to whether the selected articles provide a picture of the media discourse of immigrant children's school attendance, and whether the findings presented as

clearly linked to the texts. The fact that all articles were translated from Norwegian to English, and therefore may have lost certain nuances, is a threat to this kind of accuracy of the data. In addition, there are many ways to limit the presented newspaper discourse on immigrant pupils, which with different search terms and criteria of inclusion and exclusion might have provided different data. A way of addressing this type of validity is to check if different observers produce different data or accounts of the same events (Maxwell, 1992). The sampling process was thoroughly documented by tracking the content of each included and excluded article and writing detailed descriptions of the process. Both strengthened the descriptive validity by making the account transferable and possible to crosscheck with other observers. Constant feedback from the two co-authors on both the translation and sampling process aimed to make the researcher's account as accurate as possible.

The second type of validity concerns the plausibility of the interpretations of the data, namely interpretive validity. Similar to descriptive validity, interpretive validity also pertain to the researcher's construction of the world, but different from the first, interpretive validity must be based on the conceptual framework of the people in question (Maxwell, 1992). An interpretation of an excerpt from the newspaper discourse based on the researcher's point of view, rather than one that is grounded in the actual data is a threat to this kind of validity. As mentioned, this study was motivated by a personal observation of low expectances of immigrant children's abilities, which might be a pitfall of only interpreting findings in accordance with this view. To address this validity threat, interpretations were subjected to continuous critical reflection in a reflexive journal, where the researcher's preunderstandings were especially kept in mind. Alternative and conflicting interpretations of the data were consciously searched for, aiming to diminish the researcher position's influence and strengthen the validity of the study. Also, the theoretically guided analysis sheet contributed to a transparent research process, and confirmation and disconfirmation from co-authors were means to improve a systematic and fair process.

The third validity type is theoretical validity, which explicitly addresses the theoretical constructions the researcher brings to, or develops during, the study. It is thus a question whether the chosen theoretical framework offers a valid explanation of the phenomena; both through the validity of the concepts the theory employs, and the validity of the suggested relationship between these concepts (Maxwell, 1992). The first has resemblance to construct validity (Cook, Campbell, & Day, 1979). In case of this study, it is a question whether

governmentality-informed CDA in a framework of critical public health and occupational science may give a valid explanation of medias' discursive shaping of immigrant pupils' occupational possibilities in education. Theoretical validity mainly depends on degree of consensus about the terms used to characterize the phenomena (Maxwell, 1992). The choice of theoretical framework in this study has its rational in a previous study connecting discourses and occupational possibilities (Rudman, 2005), and on how a deeper understanding of occupational possibilities previously has been connected to ways of promoting occupational justice for marginalised or potentially marginalised groups (Galvaan, 2012). However, there is not one 'true' reading in CDA (Cheek, 2004), including the reading in this paper. A discourse analysis grounded in post structural and postmodern understandings of the world is concerned not only with the text itself, but how the text has been constructed in terms of their social and historical context (Cheek, 2004). As a researcher this author is also a part of and affected by today's social and historical context, which was object to conscious reflexion in the mentioned reflexive journal.

The forth type of validity relates to the finding's transferability beyond the context of a specific study, namely generalizability or, more appropriately for a qualitative study, analytic generalizability (Maxwell, 1992). This is the same kind of validity commonly known as external validity (Malterud, 2011). As Cheek (2004) points out, the research results in CDA are not generalizable as descriptions of how things are, but as how a phenomenon can be seen or interpreted. Qualitative research is usually not designed to allow generalisations to wider populations, but rather how theory may be useful in making sense of similar persons or situations (Maxwell, 1992). Aligned with this, the aim of this study is not to generalize the findings in a national or global setting, but to say something about media's shaping of immigrants' occupational possibilities in education in a restricted area of Norway, during a certain time period, namely Oslo anno 2012. The study is based on a certain sample of articles from a certain sample of newspapers, which both could have been done differently and probably obtained different data material. Also, the same study in different historical and political settings would most likely have provided different results. Still, findings may contribute to discovering some broader taken-for-granted ways of discursively shaping immigrant pupils that might influence what immigrant pupils and their families view as possible and ideal ways to participate in schooling and society, as well as what the society views as appropriate measures and guidelines to support immigrant pupils and their occupations. Policies informed, reinforced and shaping these discourses may restrict

occupational possibilities that work disadvantageously for this group and thereby reproducing the social differences in health. Although this study is not directly transferable to other Western countries, it does raise awareness of how issues related to migration and education are problematized within a context in which socio-democratic values as productivity and equality stand strong, but that is also beginning to be influenced by a global shift towards neoliberalism. Although problematizations may vary across contexts, this study raises insights into how occupation can be problematized and, in turn, how occupation is offered up as a solution to societal problems.

4.2 Which possibilities, problems and identities are discursively shaped for immigrant children's participation in elementary school in Oslo in contemporary Norwegian media?

Discourses influence what's being taken for granted as possible or ideal ways to do and be (Rudman, 2005). By depicting immigrant pupils' ideal and possible identity and occupations in a certain frame, there will be identities and occupations falling outside of this frame that may then be excluded as less ideal, less possible and less available. Occupational possibilities are as mentioned the occupations people view as ideal and possible and which are promoted and made available within specific socio-historical contexts (Rudman, 2005). A limited framing of immigrant pupils' occupational possibilities in school might thus limit how themselves, their teachers and governmental authorities view, promote and enable their participation and attainment in school.

Different discourses give the subject different and possibly conflicting positions to speak from, and the constitution of subjects is therefore an important focus in the concrete analysis (Jørgensen & Philips, 1999). Aiming to answer the first research question, this section will critically discuss how ideal and non-ideal identities, i.e. subjectivities in governmentality terminology, and occupational possibilities are discursively shaped for immigrant pupils' participation in elementary school.

4.2.1 Homogenization of immigrant children

Immigrant pupils are overall discursively shaped as a 'problematic' homogenous group with roughly the same prerequisites and needs. This problematic, non-ideal is a 'challenging' pupil in danger of becoming an outsider of the society by not participating in any of the idealised occupations, which somewhat fit well with the notion that people who are not able or willing to be busy may be marginalised (Fortuijn et al., 2006). What's more, the non-ideal immigrant pupil may be framed as responsible for 'failure', due to the pupil's lack of ability to take up right occupations (Huot, Laliberte Rudman, Dodson, & Magalhães, 2012). In contrast, the ideal immigrant pupil is constructed as hardworking, high achieving and engaged in leisure occupations involving interaction with Norwegian peers. Indeed, there is an implication that the ideal means 'being as Norwegian as possible'. This finding aligns with Norwegian culture and values that emphasize the importance of being an active citizen who conform to the welfare state, in addition to Western notions of particularly valuing work and other productive and goal oriented activities (Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011).

However, there are some texts that do not differentiate different types of immigrant pupils, and where 'the immigrant pupil' comprises both children born in Norway with two parents born abroad and those born abroad of two foreign-born parents. Relating to these two main divides of immigrant pupils, the gap in educational attainment is made more complex knowing that the Norwegian-born pupils to immigrant parents actually have a similar completion rate of secondary school as the majority pupils (OECD, 2012). The diversity most likely extends further than this dualistic divide as well, as explicitly pointed out in one article (6). There is a divide in the newspaper articles on whether immigrant pupils' backgrounds are focused on or not. The texts presenting ideal and successful immigrant pupils tend to make explicit the difference between Norwegian-born to immigrant parents and immigrants born abroad, and emphasize the first group's common features with ethnic Norwegians. Contrastingly, the more problem-focused texts more often speak of immigrant pupils as one group, and emphasize immigrant pupils' lingual and cultural deficiency.

4.2.2 Multiculturalism versus assimilation

In essence, the findings depicted the ideal immigrant pupil as 'Norwegian' as possible. The framing of successful integration thus relates to the ability of assimilating into the Norwegian ways of doing and being. As several texts imply, educational attainment requires an ability to become confident in the school system – whereas degree of confidence seems correlated with the possibility of succeeding in school (12). Aligned with this finding, a previous study of Norwegian newspapers' representation of immigrants implied that successful immigrants most often are described as Norwegians, especially when it comes to sporting and cultural success. If an immigrant has committed a crime however, the focus is more on their non-Norwegian background (Lindstad & Fjeldstad, 2005). By marking some differences in constructing subjectivities, such as national identities, others are obscured, such as class or local differences. It is found that one-dimensional description of young people's identities is insufficient to grasp their biographies and identity processes, which need to be connected to a plurality of categories (Fangen, Johansson, & Hammarén, 2012). Contrasting the view of assimilation, multiculturalism is sometimes presented as a resource in terms of reciprocal learning of each other's cultures (3). However, the term 'multiculturalism' is rarely concretized. Supporting this finding, Norwegian political documents are increasingly emphasizing multiculturalism as an advantage and promote facilitation for multiculturalism, but without relating to the actual content of the term (Bore, Djuve, & Tronstad, 2013).

4.2.3 Limited subjectivities

A discourse that strengthens the view of 'problematic' immigrant pupils might work disadvantageously for these pupils' school attainment, knowing that teachers' expectations are important for learning (Jenner, 2004). Previous research findings suggest that teachers often view immigrant pupils as a homogenous group. Teachers tend to have insufficient knowledge about minority pupil background (Pastoor, 2005), have lower expectations of minority pupils (Øzerk, 2003) and be more focused on the barriers of a multicultural pupil group than beneficial possibilities (Gjervan, 2004). In addition there is a tendency of low supply for certified teachers to immigrant-dense schools (Bonesronning et al., 2005). Although Norway's equal educational system is premised on commitment to meeting all pupils' various needs, inadequate knowledge may lead to insufficient adjustments for minority pupils, for

instance by giving slowed down progression instead of bilingual training, which is a risk of provoking behavioural difficulties or poor educational development (Schultz, Hauge, & Støre, 2008). Expectations based on a problem-focused shaping of immigrant pupils' subjectivities may impede these pupils' right to adjusted training and limit their possibilities for educational attainment.

In sum, the findings indicate a limited shaping of immigrant pupils' subjectivities and ideal ways to participate in education, and what successful integration of immigrant pupils looks like. By a limited construction of individual biographies, some differences between immigrant pupils are marked and some may be obscured. Empowerment of minority pupils should be based on multiple-identity choice making, and must take better account of these pupils' own experiences (Børhaug, 2012). An educational practice based on a homogenous subjectivity may lead to school policies that insufficiently correspond to the needs of pupils *not* fitting into the framed subjectivity.

4.2.4 Limited occupational possibilities

According to the findings, the ideal occupations for immigrant pupils' educational attainment and integration are play and organised leisure occupations together with Norwegian peers, such as kindergarten attendance, after-school clubs and organised leisure occupations. The underpinning rational is that interaction with Norwegian peers will improve their language skills, as well as lead them to being less influenced by their parents' culture and reduce spatial segregation. When it comes to children's activation, there seems to be difference in what types of occupations that are framed as commonly accepted. Organised leisure occupations such as children's sport outside of school is described as an institutionalized part of Norwegian society, where "there is no longer any discussion about whether children should belong to the voluntary sport movement" (Skirstad, Waddington, & Safvenbom, 2012, p. 313). While nine of ten youths in Norway at one point or another have been member of at least one organisation, on average five of ten school-aged children with Pakistani or Somali background *don't* participate in any form of free time activities (Kavli, 2007)[5]. However, almost seven out of ten children with Pakistani background in the age of 6-9 years attend Koran-school, whereas more than half of them do so on a daily basis. In addition, parents with

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[5] These numbers do not include participation at Koran-schools.

Pakistani background also had a higher share than other minority groups in explaining that their children did not participate in organised activities due to schoolwork and other commitments after school hours, such as Koran-school (Kavli, 2007). There is an overall exclusion of these kinds of religious or unorganised occupations in the texts, which might imply that these are non-ideal, or at least it is assumed that learning through these occupations does not connect to success in Norwegian schools.

4.2.5 Occupational marginalisation

Occupational marginalisation occurs when people have impeded opportunities to participate in occupations and to exert choices related to occupational participation (Stadnyk et al., 2010). Aspects of the assimilation discourse, emphasizing the ideal of being as Norwegian as possible, might make immigrants feel marginalised by not being respected for their ways of being and doing. Fangen, Alghasi, and Frønes (2006) found that Somali immigrants in Norway often experience humiliation in encountering different public offices. The humiliation was linked to a perceive lack of empathy and respect in these institutions, and receiving advice that immigrants interpreted as 'you must adopt our way of doing things, which again is better than your way of doing things'. In the same way, the identified assimilation discourse promotes these children's marginalisation from those occupations connected to their parents' culture and religion. In addition to a limited and marginalised subjectivity, this discourse might have implications for family relations, by promoting generational tensions due to changes in values and activities. Similarly, a study of immigrant families living in Sweden found that these families often negotiate multiple cultures and identities through family-orchestrated occupations. Their experiences speak to a different set of nuances than discourses which define *the* immigrant family, which tend to have fixed categories and linear processes of integration or marginalisation (Farias & Asaba, 2013).

In sum, the findings indicate that the subjectivities and occupational possibilities discursively shaped for immigrant children's participation in elementary school are not unproblematically achieved. A limited shaping fails to take into account that immigrants are a diverse group with adequately diverse needs and motivation. Promoting a problematic immigrant pupil might affect these pupils' possibilities to educational achievement, knowing that people from categories that are subordinate in the hierarchy of society tend to adopt depreciatory images of

themselves (Fangen et al., 2012). Even if some of the obstacles to their advancement are reduced, they may still have difficulties in taking advantage of their own opportunities (Taylor, Gutmann, & Taylor, 1994). In that case free kindergartens and after-school clubs, language training or increased teacher quality might be insufficient in improving immigrant children's school attainment, if there are other forms of exclusion, such as subtle ways of watching, talking of or relating or not relating to immigrant pupils that limit their occupational possibilities (Fangen et al., 2012). Aligned with previous conclusions (Farias & Asaba, 2013), there seems to be need for a greater understanding of the complex relationship between occupations and identities during the processes of immigration to fully address barriers or motivators to immigrant children's school participation.

4.3 Where is the problem situated?

Three main emphases of the problems' location related to immigrant pupils' educational attainment were identified, namely linguistic deficiency, parental deficiency, and spatial segregation, each with a range of underpinning rationales. This section will critically discuss these rationales by comparing them to previous studies, and see how the texts' answers to the second research question might inadequately address problems related to immigrant children's school attendance.

4.3.1 Language

The finding of language deficiency as a prerequisite to immigrant pupils' successful school participation is supported by a more extensive media analysis conducted in 2009, showing that having good Norwegian language skills is the factor most frequently mentioned by the Norwegian population (82 per cent) as an important aspect of being well integrated (IMDI, 2009). However, research implies that there are other factors more fundamental of understanding the gap in educational achievement between minority and majority pupils. Bakken (2003) found that growing up in families with poorer financial resources, lower education and poorer access to books and computers at home are more decisive factors. Consisting with this, Huot et al. (2012) problematize the seemingly obvious solution of language learning by pointing out that integration involves a process of 'starting over', which entails a negotiation of performances in social interactions. This negotiation, enacted

primarily through occupation, is influenced by differential access to forms of capital. By focusing on language as the capital crucial for integration, other capitals related to broader social systems and structures, such as cultural differences or racism, may not be adequately addressed (Huot et al., 2012). Both findings challenge explanations of lingual conditions being the main reason for minority pupils' school performance. By promoting language as the main issue regarding minority pupils' school attendance, the solutions depend on the immigrant pupils' possibility to gain proficiency in Norwegian language, preferably by interacting with Norwegian peers in arranged after-school occupations. If their possibility to engage in these occupations is restricted by other barriers, immigrants' 'inability' to succeed in school and achieve successful integration might be problematically framed as a result of personal failures. Thereby expectations for success may be placed primarily upon individual migrants without explicitly acknowledging the structural barriers they face (Huot et al., 2012).

4.3.2 Parents' involvement

Although the problem of parental deficiency is located partly in financial resources, the solutions focus on changes in immigrant culture, attitudes or occupation, particularly those of mothers, implying that an upbringing characterized by foreign cultures is problematic to immigrant children's educational attainment. The location of problems in immigrant parents, however, may be an inadequate reflection of reality. Immigrant parents are often a contributing factor for immigrant pupils doing *better* in school; minority pupils are more exposed to mobility pressure from their parents, spend more time on homework, and more often intended to get higher education than other pupil groups (Bakken, 2003). In addition, high motivation among minority children might partly be due to expectations from their parents, whose immigration often was motivated by a wish to create a better life for the next generation (Ogbu, 1991; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Quite opposite of the media discourse, the educational attainment gap would probably be greater without definite expectations from immigrant parents, which seem to be significant contributors to minority pupils' educational motivation and achievement (Bakken, 2003).

The findings show conflicting discourses on whether the problem of immigrants not attending kindergarten is situated in mothers' 'wrong choices' or parents' SES, with related solution frames addressing either employment and education of women or free kindergartens.

However, research shows that reason for a more prevalent insecurity among the minority parents when it comes to their children's kindergarten attendance often is poor or lack of communication between parents and kindergarten (Kavli, 2007). Factors promoting a positive attitude, especially for Somali and Pakistani parents, are bilingual assistants with Muslim background and information given in a language mastered by the parents (Kavli, 2007). Although education and/or employment of the women may lower the lingual barrier, neither of the solutions seems as the most adequate way to facilitate increased kindergarten attendance among immigrant children.

4.3.3 Spatial segregation

The problematization of spatial segregation and 'typical immigrant schools' seems to build upon a presumption that immigrant children cause difficulties at school. The consequences are framed to be impeded educational attainment for immigrant and majority population children, as well as a slower integration process. This discourse is however made disputable by weak support of ethnic composition's negative effect, and actually a small but positive effect on both attainment and probability of higher education of attending a school with many minority students (Fekjaer & Birkelund, 2007). The suggested reasons for this are among others that minority students' contact with other students in the same ethnic group prevents 'dissonant acculturation'. Dissonant acculturation has been described as a process where the younger generation distances itself from the culture of their family's country of origin and instead seeks a western lifestyle. The problematic aspects of this distancing is that it is often associated with revolt and disrespect for traditional values supporting family cohesion, school motivation, and work ethics (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Thus, avoiding schools with a high proportion of minority students, because of their ethnic composition, does not seem to be a necessary strategy for immigrant parents who want to ensure their children's educational success (Fekjaer & Birkelund, 2007). Although focusing on gender relations, Kanter (1977) argues that minorities are usually regarded as representatives ('tokens') of their group, instead of individuals (Kanter, 1977). Applying the same rational on minority pupils, one would expect that attending a school with high proportion of minority students actually might be beneficial for minority pupils. Due to the high number of minorities, they will probably be treated more as individuals and less as 'tokens', which is connected to reduction of performance pressure, more soft group boundaries and larger subjectivity frames (Fekjaer &

Birkelund, 2007). However, as cultural complexity is a growing feature of Norwegian societies, exposure to different ethnic groups at school may be a valuable experience for students in future life (Fekjaer & Birkelund, 2007). Therefore, both majority and minority pupils might benefit of a policy that resulted in more mixed ethnic schools.

Although the above argumentations mostly focus on issues *not* covered by the newspaper discourse, there are of course elements in the discourse that cover important parts of the problematization. But overall, the discursive shaping of problems related to immigrant pupils seem to be based on rationales that are challenged by findings of other barriers and motivators affecting these pupils' school attendance, which are not addressed. This insufficient reflection of problems might reinforce the notion of immigrants being individually responsible for successful integration without explicitly acknowledging the structural barriers they face (Huot et al., 2012).

4.4 What are framed as solutions?

Across the focus areas, several of the solutions tend to include a change in how immigrants engage in occupations. In problematizing the language deficiency, one of the main solutions was for immigrant children to attend kindergarten, participate in leisure occupations after school hours, and engage in occupations categorized as 'typical Norwegian'. All with emphasis on interaction with Norwegian peers and becoming a part of the Norwegian society. Parts of the solution frames connected to parental deficiency and spatial segregation also require occupational change, in terms of changing the occupation of parenting. Formal education and employment of women are particularly highlighted in both. In sum, it seems that commitment to being a good parent and integration are demonstrated through occupation.

4.4.1 Activation of immigrant children and mothers

The ideal seems to be activation of immigrant children and mothers in positive, productive ways, integrating them into the Norwegian society through occupations – in essence actively 'become a part of the great community' (18). The non-ideal alternative is framed as pacification, in terms of not gaining proficiency in Norwegian language or participating in after-school activities, and unemployment – in sum 'turning their back against the society'

(18). It seems that passive equals not doing Norwegian occupations, a framing that devalues and neglects the occupations that immigrant mothers are engaged in. This fits well with a Western idea of a daily life that involves active pursuit of individual goals, and where work and other productive and goal orientated activities are particularly valued and an important part of identity (Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011). Aligned with previous findings in Western societies, unstructured activities and time are often seen as a potential source of deviant behaviour (Larson & Seepersad, 2003). Norway has as mentioned a strong work ethic and gender equality. People with a strong work ethic tend to believe that unemployment and poverty are a result of idleness and poor money management, whereas wealth is due to hard work, honesty and saving (Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011). Unemployed immigrant women may therefore be depicted as irresponsible and unable to integrate when for instance choosing not to make use of government's programs to become formally educated and employed. However, there might be other factors needed to take into account to fully comprehend the immigrant families' barriers to occupational engagement. For instance, strong moral norms promoting that women with young children should work solely at home may count to such high degree that a lower standard of living is chosen in preference to a working mother (Kavli, 2007). In this case, religion and cultural values may count more than the Western idealisation of productive and goal oriented occupations. What if the women's religious beliefs, rather than wrong choices given their new context, prohibit their participation in work life and to send their children to kindergarten or after-school activities?

Men, religion and culture are all depicted as barriers to immigrant women and children's work towards being active citizens, and solutions address means to reduce these barriers. However, it is rarely problematized how it might be other factors for immigrant pupils or immigrant women to consider that are not met by implementing free after-school services or means of employment. Questioning policy-based conceptualisations of successful integration, Huot et al. (2012) analysed Canadian government documents and found that integration was characterized by an over-emphasis on economic productivity. Although the government takes on the responsibility of providing means to facilitate for active and employed immigrants in several texts, the tendency of individual responsibility is present through pointing out immigrant's choice to make use of the services or not. This follows findings that expectations for success in integration primarily are placed upon individual migrants without explicitly acknowledging structural barriers they may face (Huot et al., 2012).

In sum, the solutions ask children and women to change their identity and the occupations that they do, which may be juxtaposed to changing their fundamental values and beliefs, as it is through daily occupation that individuals to a great extent develop their occupational and social identity (C. H. Christiansen, 1999). If the only option of successful integration is to change fundamental values and beliefs, the promoted occupational possibilities might be experienced as rather limited. Demands for successful integration that are extended to changing one's occupations and identity may be connected to occupational justice and equity as:

> Rather than sameness, occupational equity and fairness demand respect for differences that arise in different, individual capacities, and different meanings derived from both personal and cultural meanings (Wilcock & Townsend, 2000, p. 84).

Thus opposite of solving problems related to immigrant children's school attendance, the promoted solutions might create occupational injustice and marginalisation, which further are connected to a poorer health outcome (Detels et al., 2009). Still, the solution frames are ambiguous and not without conflicting rationalities, which will be attended to in the next section.

4.4.2 Competing rationalities – tension of national welfare and global neo-liberalism at play in media discourses

The CDA's identification of competing discourses might give insights into the way discourses and power relations underlie how 'reality' has been constructed, and how this is connected to broader social and cultural developments and structures (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004; Cheek, 2004; Jørgensen & Philips, 1999). In the findings there are competing rationalities in the solution frames, providing different structures for immigrant subjectivities and solutions. Some of these seem aligned with a political tension between the national strong-standing welfare state discourse, and an opposing discourse of neoliberalism. This is for instance seen in solution frames to the problematization of lingual deficiency. When placing the problem in schools' lack of resources or the parents' financial resources, the solutions are restricted to extra funding from the government to provide for better teacher training at the "challenged" schools and for free after-school activities. When addressing immigrant culture and religion as a barrier for children's participation, however, the solution is more individually focused, demanding a change in immigrants' choices, values and occupations. The first solution may

be more consistent with a welfare state model – in which the state puts more money into the system to meet needs and the immigrant has limited responsibility. The second may be more neoliberal by locating the solution in changes that require activation by the individual immigrant. Rationalities of neoliberal discourses connects to shift of emphasis from social to private responsibilities, which is linked to mobilisation of responsible citizenship (Ilcan, 2009). Another example is the promoted measures to facilitate participation in after-school occupations for immigrant pupils and formal education and/or employment programs for immigrant women. This framing may be seen as a media representation of a world of opportunity waiting to be seized by the active individual, which earlier has been connected to neoliberal emphasis on productivity and independence (Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011; Rose, 1993; Rudman, 2005).

Overall, a rationality based in social welfare discourse appears most pervasive in the texts, although the opposing rationality of neoliberalism is evident. This may be linked to a contemporary political reality in Norway, although the limited sample of newspaper articles might be insufficient in drawing valid connections. The key characteristics of neoliberalism, such as negating the role of responsibility of the state through privatisation of public programs and reduction of welfare programs (Rudman & Molke, 2009), are not yet adopted at state level in Norway. Yet, the findings show discourses of neoliberalism oppose to welfare rationalities exist within the media. This may reflect Norway's larger positioning in a global context in which neoliberalism exerting growing influence, and the contemporary increasing support of Norwegian right-wing parties[6].

On the other side, the dominating discourse of welfare might be problematic too. A welfare and socio-democratic discourse emphasizes collective responsibility, equality and conforming to the system (Brandal et al., 2013; Kantartzis & Molineux, 2011). According to this discourse, citizens who are thrifty and adapt to values of productivity and equality have the right to common goods and support from the welfare state in return. People who fail conducting to conformity, however, might be excluded from this safety net. In the frame of a welfare discourse immigrant parents have to understand what's best for their children, in ways that align with the context of a socio-democratic society, where educated and working citizens are important parts. The ways of participating is foremost through hard and goal oriented

schoolwork, attendance in after-school activities, and employment. In this sense, occupations are fundamental to participation in society. Immigrants seem to become fully participating citizens when they are included either by their engagement in paid work or by recognition of their economic and social contributions (Whiteford & Wright-St Clair, 2004). Although immigration and education policies are built on socio-democratic values such as equality and productivity where the overall objective is inclusion, these policies might have opposite effect. It is found that structural or political factors, such as restrictive immigration policies, organisation of the welfare system and integration policies, are factors that might lead to socio-political exclusion (Fangen et al., 2012). Also, research questioning minority pupils' position in education calls for greater social justice, where the goal is an anti-racist education that seeks to develop the minority pupil's capability sets. Suggested means to reach this goal are to discuss critically the value of equality on the one hand and how to include differences at school on the other (Børhaug, 2012).

4.5 Who are the agents of 'truth'?

The last part of the discussion will focus on whose voices are being heard in newspapers' discursive shaping of immigrant pupils. As governmentality scholars view power as productive, operating in terms of specific rationalizations and directed towards certain ends, power is enacted not through top-down mechanisms of coercion, but through producing truths for people that subtly shape the ways they come to understand and act upon themselves (Dean, 1995; Rose, 1999; Rose et al., 2006; Rudman, 2005). The governmental perspective thus recognizes that a whole variety of authorities govern from different positions following different objectives, but often tied together via a larger political rationality (Rose et al., 2006). Examining the power relations in connection to these discourses is thus a question of identifying who has the ability to define the 'truth' via being positioned as experts.

The excerpts indicated a majority of politicians when it comes to being the 'agents of truth' in the public discourse. Politicians are often presented as the experts to integration problems, defining the ideals in 14 of 20 articles, while there is relatively absence of immigrant voices, only seen in 4 of 20 articles, which is also reflected by the excerpt in the findings. The

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[6] Which are more to the left than in many other western countries, e.g. USA, and thus mostly aligned with neoliberal ideology.

underrepresentation of immigrant voices in media discourses is also found by IMDi (2009), where 2 per cent of the sources and interviewees in the largest newspapers had immigrant background. When immigrant voices *are* heard, it is in the context of being and acting 'Norwegian'; emphasizing the importance of Norwegian language to integration (2), celebrating the national day (3), doing as well as Norwegian pupils at school (12) or promoting religious tolerance (20). The politicians on the other hand, are in several of the articles interviewed according to a question and answer format, presenting them to be the ones being the experts. This format of fixed questions to be answered also gives the newspaper significantly power to set the agenda. Whether fronting politicians as the experts is an adequate way of covering problems and solutions related to integration might nevertheless be a question worth discussing.

The missing immigrant voice is especially evident in the articles concerning immigrant women and the importance of including them into the workforce. In these texts politicians promote the values of independence and of active citizens, and by this speak on behalf of the women. Other reasons for women staying home, such as these women's religious beliefs, or the other occupations these women engage in are rarely addressed. Solutions asking immigrant women to change their identity and their occupations may be connected to limited occupational possibilities and occupational injustice. In a framework of occupational justice, is it emphasized need for creating spaces for the voices of those who are marginalised or experience injustice. For example, discursive spaces created by a critical deconstruction of dominant systems might help those who have experienced occupational injustice find voice and speak out against inequity (Molke, 2009). Further, these spaces might help efforts to construct a world that respects occupational difference, and enable those who have been marginalised and rejected by particular truth systems to participate (Townsend & Whiteford, 2005). As long as discourses are not problematized and spaces not created, however, the missing immigrant voices remain missing.

5. Conclusion and future considerations

The study critically examines how discourses in media shape particular occupational possibilities for immigrant pupils in elementary school within the Norwegian context. In

addition to expanding the use of a CDA approach to examine the shaping of occupational possibilities within education, this study contributes to the occupational science literature addressing migration and occupation.

The starting point of this study was to see school as an arena for counteracting social inequalities – both in terms of education as a key social determinant of health, and how equal possibilities for participation in school are closely connected to health and well being. Discourses can influence what immigrant pupils and their families view as possible and ideal ways to participate in schooling and society, as well as what the society views as appropriate measures and guidelines to support immigrant pupils and their occupations. A greater understanding of how and what occupations are socially promoted as ideal for immigrant pupils in a media discourse may thus enable a greater understanding of how social and political contexts influence the ways these pupils engage in occupations (Rudman, 2005). Media also strongly contributes toward creating and shaping ideologies that underpin society's services and welfare systems, which directly impact people's wellbeing (Nafstad et al., 2009). To gain a deeper understanding of immigrant children's occupational possibilities in Norwegian elementary schools, a governmentality-informed CDA of contemporary newspaper articles problematizing these children's school attendance were conducted.

Overall, the discourses regarding immigrant pupils in elementary school seem to promote ideal identities and occupational possibilities not unproblematically achieved for immigrant pupils and their parents. Immigrant pupils are overall discursively shaped as a 'problematic' homogenous group with roughly the same prerequisites and needs for educational success. An educational practice based on a homogenous subjectivity may lead to school policies that insufficiently correspond to the needs of pupils *not* fitting into the framed subjectivity. Although some voices in the texts speak up for multiculturalism, ideal occupational engagement is mainly for immigrant pupils to interact with Norwegian peers through engaging in 'typical Norwegian' occupations. The main rational underpinning for this discourse is the importance of adjusting to Norwegian society. Such limited frames of subjectivity and ideal occupations may fail to take into account the diversity of immigrant pupils, and thereby contribute to occupational injustice through limited occupational possibilities.

Linguistic deficiency, parental deficiency, and spatial segregation emerge as Norwegian newspapers' three major discursive emphases revolving around the problematization of immigrant pupils' educational attainment. Rationales underpinning across the framings are a collision between immigrant cultural values and Norwegian values, whereas Norwegian values are framed as most advantageous for immigrant children's educational attainment. Several emphases' underpinning rationales are challenged by research implying that these problem framings do not sufficiently acknowledge the structural barriers immigrant children and their parents face (Huot et al., 2012).

A high share of the solution frames tends to include a change in how immigrants engage in occupations. Particularly highlighted are immigrant children's interaction with Norwegian peers in after-school activities, and formal education and employment of immigrant women. Both have the underpinning rational of becoming a part of Norwegian society through activation, and that commitment to being a good parent and integration are demonstrated through occupation. In the same way as the framing of ideal subjectivities and occupations, these framings may promote immigrant children's marginalisation from those occupations connected to their parents' culture and religion.

The findings also imply links between political factors and occupation. A strong welfare state providing people with access to the social determinants of health is claimed to be one of the best means to promote health (Blas et al., 2008; Nutbeam & Wise, 2009). Thus, there might be need to raise concerns about the opposing neo-liberalistic tendency found in the media discourse. On the other hand, there is reason to problematize the dominating welfare discourse as well. In the frame of a welfare discourse immigrant parents have to understand what's best for their children, in ways that align with the context of a socio-democratic society, where educated and working citizens are important parts. This might unintentionally contribute to an occupational marginalisation of immigrant children and their parents if not confirming to these values and occupations.

The claimed agents of truths, and the dominating voices in the media discourse, seem to be politicians. Whether fronting politicians as the experts is an adequate way of covering problems and solutions related to integration might nevertheless be a question worth discussing.

Overall, concerns are raised regarding the ways in which contemporary discourses regarding immigrant pupils in Norwegian elementary school shape occupational possibilities in ways that may limit how immigrant children and parents, their teachers and governmental authorities view, promote and enable their health promoting participation and attainment in school.

A critical deconstruction of how historically specific social structures and ideological assumptions might create, reinforce and legitimize conditions that undermine the health of specific populations is the first step towards changing these conditions (Labonte et al., 2005; Laliberte Rudman, 2013). The next step might be to create new discourses about immigrant pupils, in media, academic, practice and policies that promote a greater diversity of occupational possibilities (Rudman, 2005). Applying an occupational perspective to understandings of integration processes may facilitate a more holistic understanding of the integration experiences of newcomers (Huot et al., 2012). This understanding implies a need for more critical research of public discourses and occupation, perhaps on a larger scale, aiming to reveal ways to extend occupational possibilities and promote occupational justice for the marginalised or potentially marginalised group of immigrant pupils.

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APPENDIX I

References to newspaper articles

1. Abdirashid, M. (2012, 30 March). An iron curtain divides Oslo (Norwegian: Et jernteppe splitter Oslo). *Aftenposten*, p. 27.

2. Mellingsæter, H. (2012, 3 May). This is Oslo's first city part of immigrants (Norwegian: Her er Oslos første innvandrerbydel). *Aftenposten Aften*, pp. 6-7.

5. Borgen. M. (2012, 24 May). –Not the ethnical diversity that is the challenge (Norwegian: Ikke det etniske mangfoldet som er utfordringen). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 13.

6. Marcussen, H. E. (2012, 24 May). –It is concerning minority or majority to a small extent (Norwegian: Det handler i liten grad om minoritet og majoritet). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 13.

7. Hagen, C. I. (2012, 24 May). –It might develop parallel societies (Norwegian: Det kan utvikle seg parallelle samfunn). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 12.

10. Berge, T. (2012, 24 May). –Need small houses in Groruddalen and Søndre Nordstrand (Norwegian: –Trenger småhus i Groruddalen og Søndre Nordstrand). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 13.

12. Vestreng, T. H. (2012, 16 June). School winner from Vietnam (Norwegian: Skolevinner fra Vietnam). *Dagsavisen*, pp. 14-15.

13. Hagesæter, P. V. (2012, 25 July). Two school examples (Norwegian: To skoleeksempler). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 2.

14. Meidell, P. (2012, 9 October). The result of a deliberate policy? (Norwegian: Resultatet av en villet politikk?). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 23.

15. Stavrum, K. L. (2012, 11 October). Schools under investigation (Norwegian: Skoler under lupen). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 2.

16. Åserud, P. (2012, 17 October). Prejudices or experience? (Norwegian: Fordommer eller erfaring?). *Aftenposten Aften*, p. 25.

17. Gedde-Dahl, S. & Stokke, O. (2012, 27 October). Free core time in after-school clubs for minority children (Norwegian: Gratis kjernetid i SFO for minoritetsbarn). *Aftenposten*, p. 9.

18. Rønvold, I. (2012, 27 October). Women and children first (Norwegian: Kvinner og barn først). *Dagsavisen*, p. 8.

20. Branvold, Å. (2012, 19 November). Muslim families are joyful about the plans of a new Christian school in Groruddalen: Choose the private school (Norwegian:

Muslimske familier jubler over planene om ny, kristen skole i Groruddalen: Velger privatskolen). *Klassekampen*, pp. 6-7.

21. Skurdal, M. (2012, 30 November). Torn between two choices (Norwegian: Valgets kval). *Klassekampen*, p. 2.

APPENDIX II

Analysis Scheme

IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN THE NORWEGIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL:

DATA ANALYSIS SHEET

Article id number:
NEWSPAPER:
TITLE:
INGRESS:
DATE OF PUBLICATION:
DATE OF ANALYSIS:
CONTEXT:
PLACEMENT IN NEWSPAPER:
TYPE OF ARTICLE:

Where is the problem situated? And what are framed as solutions?

Problematization

·   What are constructed as the problems pertaining to elementary education of immigrant youth?

·   **Where** is the problem located (i.e. individual, society, individual-society relationship)?

·   What **individual problems** are to be alleviated (reduced)/ what **individual goals** are to be achieved?

·   What **social problems** are to be alleviated (reduced)/ what **social goals** are to be achieved?

Which possibilities, problems and identities are discursively shaped for immigrant youth's participation in elementary school in Oslo in contemporary Norwegian media?

Governmental technologies, subjectivities, and practices of the self

·   **Who are included** when the term "immigrant" is used? Who are not?

·   Type of **self-self** relationship is described/assumed/promoted: How are immigrant pupils constructed (e.g. their needs, weaknesses, strengths, potential)? What does the article say pupils should do (e.g. study harder, establish relationships with Norwegian peers, etc.)?

·   Type of **self-other/self-society** relationship is described/assumed/promoted: What are the ways for immigrant pupils, and their parents, to participate in elementary school and interact with various types of others mentioned (e.g. teachers, principals, other parents, etc.), and how

should elementary school be shaped for immigrant pupils? How are immigrant children supposed to relate within broader society, what are they supposed to be working towards[1]?

· What **occupations** are the pupils called upon to participate in (e.g. after-school clubs, language lessons, etc.)?

· What characteristics of the 'immigrant pupil' are described/assumed/promoted as **ideal**?

· What types of practices of the self, occupations, relationships, and characteristics appear to be downplayed, presented as **non-ideal or excluded** (e.g. exclusion of dads / exclusion of other types of occupation, stay at home mothers, etc.)?

Power relations

· Who is defining the problems and/or the ideal?

· Who is proposing the solutions?
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· Who is likely to benefit from the discourse?

Discursive features
A) Text – What are key characteristics of the ways in which the text is structured? Is there something significant in how the text is structured/presented?

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[1] It is relevant if the article refers to how the child/parents should relate to society; for example, the child is to work towards becoming like other Norwegians, to being successful in the workforce etc. (has to do with how education becomes a way to promote particular types of integration of immigrant children).