

THE CAPE VERDEAN SLUM AREAS IN PORTUGAL, INTEGRATION OR SEGREGATION? HOW DOES THE SCHOOL PREPARE THE YOUNG CAPE VERDEAN IMMIGRANT GENERATION TO INTEGRATION IN THE PORTUGUESE SOCIETY?

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Abstract

Children do not ask for immigration. Tests show that immigrant students do less well than native students at school. Have their future possibilities become worse, while their parents wanted to get better conditions? How does school enhance their capacity to be equalised with native co-students?

According to a Canadian professor, Jim Cummins, the way to go is to respect their mother tongue, their cultural identity and values and build upon this as a fundament for further education in cooperation with their parents and in an open communication between teachers and students. Is this the way to go to give the immigrant Cape Verde youth in the slum areas in Lisbon a starting point for a better future?

Keywords: Cape Verde students as immigrants. Challenges for migrant students. Language support in school. Migrant children in school

Introduction

In my study period in Lisbon 2008 I visited some slum areas in Amadora with Cape Verdean inhabitants in majority. I was also introduced to the ACIDI centre for immigrants in Lisbon (The High Commission for immigrants and Ethnic Minorities). Then I was struck by the seemingly wide difference between ACIDI's ideal goals for immigrants and the living situation presented in the shacks. The Council of Ministers has presented a plan for the immigrant integration (Resolution no 63-A-2007, May 3rd, (later called "Integration Plan"), including all aspects that have to be taken into account from work, housing health, education to citizenship etc. It is a wide and important area to develop. In this limited work, I want to concentrate about the school situation to see how the schooling seems to give next Cape Verde generation in the slum areas a good platform for integration. I choose the Cape Verde group because the history of the people interests me. They have served the Portuguese country first in Cape Verde, thereafter in Portugal, and now they are defined as immigrants or "ethnic minority" (Horta,2002:161). In that aspect they are not the only ones, so in this field an analyse might be relevant to similar immigrant groups of students.

The children of immigrants have not asked to move, the motivation for parents is generally to get better possibilities for their life. It is difficult to see if life has improved for the immigrants living in slum areas. From other studies one knows there is always a wish from immigrant parents that their children will do well at school. The International Student Assessment (PISA, 2006) shows, however, that students of immigrant parents and those with low socioeconomic background generally do less well than native students. One may therefore ask if the immigrant children are the losers. By now integration between inhabitants living in the Lisbon or Amadora areas of shacks seems to be a remote aim. As the children represent the future there are vital reasons to have a look at the school situation.

In addition to receiving the immigrants Portugal acknowledged 1990 the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (later “Child Convention”), and thereby accepted to try to fulfil the intentions. A central right underlined in the Convention is the right for the child to his or her own identity, (art.8). In the short edition it is related to the nationality, name and family relations. In article 29, however, the obligation is widened to a formulation that

“ ---education of the child shall be directed to the development of respect for the child’s parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values—, for the national values of the country in which the child is living; the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own.”

This is based on the idea of developing mutual, cultural respect. Migrants’ rights are even more directly expressed in article 30 where it is said that a child belonging to a minority shall not be denied the right “--- to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.”

To get a perspective on the teaching of immigrant students in Portugal it is relevant to look for experiences and theories in the literature. One source I find as most interesting. A Canadian professor, Jim Cummins, wrote an article in 1986 in *Harvard Educational Review* (HER) with the title “*Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention*. Fifteen years later, in 2001, the article was republished in HER. As immigrant students are from “dominated” societal groups, the interaction with educators will either “empower” or “disable” the students he maintains (2001:659). Using the concept “empower” he wants to “signify the collaborative and reciprocal nature of the ways educators, communities and students negotiate identity and power (ibid:649). His theories are apparently still relevant. Main elements in his “empowering” program are the impact of language and accept of cultural identity, the school’s cooperation with the parents and power relations between the students and teachers. In my opinion Cummins points at the same elements of importance as the Child Convention, article 29 above, adding the power element. Following the aim of the Child Convention to develop mutual respect, the dominated or he immigrant, group, has to be empowered.

The responsibility of the school is to develop the children’s possibilities to “the fullest potential” according to the Child Convention (1989, art.29, part 1a); the same is in the interest of the immigrant population and the host society as well. What is “the fullest potential” for children in a socioeconomic deprived area with or without raising the living standard is difficult to define, so this discussion is left out here. Immigrant integration is, however, the main aim of the Integration plan from the Portuguese Council of Ministers (2007). This includes equal opportunities in education, work, health, housing etc. and “participation and joint responsibility in all areas of society,--“ (ibid:6). About education it is more specifically said (ibid:16): “To develop diverse strategies to help the integration of student children of immigrants into schools, namely by taking into account the age levels of students, language ability and length of stay in Portugal”. To compare with the Norwegian *Report No. 49 “Diversity through inclusion and participation- responsibility and freedom”* from the *Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development to the Storting (2003-2004)*, one find similar formulations, but also following goals for migrant children growing up in Norway: “(to-) cope with school and education on a par with others” and “(to-) experience belonging and acceptance of what they are”. The ideas of what integration means, are seemingly quite similar in both countries, including the importance of education. However, the PISA results have already showed that the migrant children in both countries do seldom “cope with school and education on a par with others”. One might perhaps ask if the PISA test is constructed to show the capacity of students in a multicultural school, which is the situation in most of the participating countries. A perspective of “empowering” the Cape Verde students might shed a light on important future challenges, some special for the group,, and others more general for migrant students.

The Research process

It was time-consuming to find relevant literature in English about the Portuguese school situation. One article by Ferreira and Cardoso (2004) caught my interest. It clarified the students' reasons to drop out of school and thereby gave a picture about how they experienced school situation. Education is a relevant, general topic, but the impact on the children as future citizens when families migrate, ought to be of great interest. The impression I got of the school situation is built upon a combination of analysing literature, some interviews with teachers and student teachers in Norway and Portugal, and my own former experience from teaching. It also seemed important to have a look at the history of the Cape Verde population in the hundreds of years of colonialism. Iben Jensen says in an article about intercultural communication that we can not communicate outside history or outside the social or global systems we are part of Jensen,(2006; 91). With my Nordic or European eyes I find it difficult to really understand which impact the turbulent historical background together with the dynamics with other factors have had for the Cape Verde inhabitants in the slum areas. In the connection of being integrated, the development of language and culture, included the way of living, seems to be of most importance. Then the Portuguese policy to give the Cape Verdeans the open areas together with the historic luggage they had brought might be decisive to their future.

The research questions are concentrated around three aspects:

How are the language situation and the cultural identity of the immigrant students mirrored in school?

In which way are parents included in the education of their children?

How might the power relation be between the migrant students and teachers?

The background for the main research questions lies in Cummins' theories and in the obligations the Child Convention prescribes about developing "respect for the child's parents, cultural identity, language and values—". However, it is possible to find these elements in parts of other literature as well, being important both for children and adults. I want to find out which importance the accept of language and cultural identity might have for the students from a general goal of "empowering" them, which place this has in the Portuguese school policy and the Council of Ministers policy in the Integration plan, how the real and also challenging situation in school seems to be. The inclusion of and cooperation with parents in school is not obvious in all cultures. This is more and more included in the policy of immigrants in western countries. Apparently Cummins underlined the importance already more than twenty years ago. How this can be taken care of in the Cape Verdean slum areas is important to discuss in the aspect of their culture and the wanted future of more integration.

Cummins defines awareness of "power relation" as a most decisive feature in the empowerment process. In a more everyday language one might preliminarily characterise it as accepting attitude teacher of the that permeate the whole teaching activities. Cummins defines the teacher as the one who has the power to strengthen the immigrant students belief in own capacity. For the Cape Verde students this might be an impetus to development. As a summary it is interesting to discuss the situation as a totality of power relation to interrelated possibilities and challenges in the areas of language, cultural identities and cooperation with parents. Looking at what is happening just these years in different countries, I realise that the situation for immigrants and the political consciousness of the important immigration policy is developing. This will also mark some of the documents or research work presented in this connection, if we, for example, compare the Portuguese National Curriculum of Basic Education, from 2001 (later Portuguese Curriculum), with the Integration Plan from 2007. Some situations that were correctly described yesterday might be changed today.

A historical background for the immigrant Cape Verde population.

The aspect of more general interest could be the Cape Verdean history from being colonised to becoming immigrants seen from their own point of view, but we have to rely on the available history. The African population of Cape Verde was in the earliest part “imported” as slaves from different part of Africa. . It seems to be a bloody start of the colonisation history (Lobban jr, 1995:10 fvd.). But throughout the colonisation history, the slaves from being a majority became a minority of the Cape Verde dark population (ibid:67 fvd.). Though being colonised they developed their own Creole language and culture which Lobban calls “The Crioulo Cultural Synthesis”. The official language was Portuguese, and the Creole language had a similar structure, but with sounds and words from African languages infiltrated. This became their “mother tongue”, the everyday communication language (ibid:70 fvd.).

This part of the population also developed their own cultural expressions in for example, music or literature, though as being colonised they had to be careful of what was expressed. “Generally”, Lobban says “- the Portuguese made little or no effort to preserve African culture” (ibid:55). Cape Verde was dominated for centuries by the coloniser, especially is the situation of the women to be mentioned. They could easily be sexually abused, got less schooling, had often heavy work and lower wages. The males could emigrate and did so, to different parts of the world and left the women to care for themselves and children (ibid:83). Mapril and Araújo summarise the period like this (2002:204): “During the colonial rule, Cape Verde remained largely neglected by Portuguese authorities.” Most probably this could be said about other colonisers in other parts of the world as well. Mishra and Hodge have described the relation between a coloniser and the colonised like this: “The colonised never know when the colonisers consider them for what they are, humans in full possession of a self or merely objects” (1992:278). Today we know something about the effect to one’s self-esteem of being suppressed, anonymised or abused. One may “learn” dependence, perhaps self-contempt or have to raise one’s back in one or another way. Both attitudes seem to have existed. No wonder that there arouse movements like the *African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde* which was supported by the *Democratic Union of Women* (1961).

The other side to remember is the development the last 30-40 years: The democratisation of Portugal 1974 (Texeira et al.(2005:7), Cape Verde becoming independent 1975, and the wave of family reunification. This meant that the earlier imported workers from Cape Verde could live with the family. One would believe that these events would change the attitude to the former colonised people. Nevertheless, Rocha-Trinidad et al. tell that African immigrants got the lowest position (1993:59-60). Portugal got EU membership 1986 and consequently had to face European influence on the policy. The EU Human Rights (1988 and following) supported the democratisation and as said, Portugal ratified the UN Child Convention 1990. The new immigration policies did not start until the adherence of the Schengen agreement in 1991 with a “Coordinating Secretariat for Multicultural Education Programmes/Among Cultures”, (Texeira et al.2005:9). Some of the Secretariat program had to (in short version):

articulate and ensure communication among the various intercultural education projects
encourage an intercultural dialogue in the schools and in the community which can enhance the diversity in the schools --in conjunction with parents, students and local governmental authorities.

deal with the problem of academic failure

launch literacy programmes for adults

promote school campaigns dealing with children’s rights

acquire more in-dept knowledge of the areas and schools affected by violence or racial conflicts and to take preventive measures

encourage activities with Human Rights, solidarity and respect for others. (Rocha-Trindade et Sobral, 1993:63)

Here one finds both schooling for children, intercultural dialogue to enhance the diversity in schools, cooperating with parents, programmes for children's rights etc. The next step in the general policy for immigrants was taken in 1995 as the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities was presented (Mapril and Araújo, 2002:198). The plan already mentioned, the Integration Plan, is dated May 3rd, 2007. This shows a development in the Portuguese policy as to immigrants. The question is always how the intentions are operationalised as to the target group.

How are the language situation and the cultural identity of the Cape Verdean immigrant students mirrored in school?

In this part I will present the language and the cultural identity question separately. I want to point to aspects of language competence in different theories, which status the language education for immigrant children has in Curriculum Plans and other official documents, and discuss which possibilities Cape Verdean students from impoverished areas seems to have at school. Thereafter I will present the importance of cultural identity from the same aspects, generally, the place in plan documents and in reality.

Aspects of the language situation

Culture is a concept that is defined in different ways. Language is part of the culture and expressing different sides of the culture like music, dance or painting. It is also a tool for communication, for understanding and problem-solving. The language often tells about a person's nationality, or place of living in one's childhood, and may be evaluated as a sign of a person's or group's status. It might tell about the cultural and personal identity. It is easy to find examples. Norway has one official language, but in two editions, near related. The one, nynorsk (New Norwegian), constructed 1851 on rural dialects after the country in 1814 became independent from Danish supremacy, the other, bokmål, (Language of Books) the more urban one, marked by the official Danish language, and continued to be used after the Danish period. Even being officially equalised, the quarrels and competitive discussions even now, between the groups the more rural one "defending" what they called the "right" language, show how near language, the mother tongue is associated to one's identity or social ranking. The language from a minority group might have less status than the language in the majority group.

There has been a general policy in many countries until the late 60s (Cummins, 1986/2001: 658) to give all education in the language of the host country. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1997:219) gives examples from a period when Finnish children in Sweden were taught completely in Swedish by Swedish teachers with no knowledge of Finnish. She refers to different research work, and says: "Finnish children often reacted with silence, extreme shyness, being mute, (Takač, 1974) or with physical violence or playing truant (Toukoma, 1973). They were highly overrepresented in special classes (Kuusela, 1973)". The idea at this time was that the more the children were exposed to the language in the new country, the earlier they learned the language used in school. It seems to be self-evident that it is difficult for children to learn in a language they do not understand. It also shows that understanding and being understood have an impact on the whole personality.

Then the question for countries with immigrants is to know how to develop the necessary language competence in the country's language to give children the equal possibility to education or later work. The first language competence we often think of is the ability to understand oral language and to express oneself in a manner that can be understood. The social aspect of the language is important, the will and ability to communicate in everyday situations. To master the language as a tool includes an understandable grammar proficiency and use of adequate words. In education this competence is developed to reading

and writing, abilities from the simplest form to the capability to understand information and to present understandable solutions in different subject questions. As to relevant understanding of the content of words or concepts, it is important in all communication, not least in the acquisition of more complicated theoretical questions. This understanding develops through experiences, explanations and communication. Anne Høigård (2006:190) writes:

In understanding minority children's language development, it is useful to discern between two kinds of language competency. The one is to be able to use the language in fluent everyday speaking, the other consists of being competent to use the language as a tool for thoughts.

Cummins (1986/2001: 671) gives examples from a school in California where Spanish speaking children with a Spanish pre-school program performed later on better at school in both English and Spanish than the Spanish children who started with English. This is still a big question of debate. Høigård (2006, p.191) refers to a Swedish language researcher, Kenneth Hyltenstam, who has summed up agreements from research work. Research shows that it takes 5-7 years to develop the second language as a language for thinking and learning, and the children need support for the language development in this period, even if their oral language is fluent.

With this in mind it is of interest to see which aspects seems to be taken into account in the Portuguese official documents for migrant children to develop the bi-lingual capacity.. Language as a part of and supporting the identity and cultural development, besides being a tool for communication and further on a means of understanding the world around combined with experience and education.

In the English version (2003) of the Portuguese Curriculum of Basic Education (Portuguese edition 2001), I find some rather general formulations that might give the possibility to include immigrant children's need for language support. The introduction p.11 reminds about the situation with more children and young people whose first language is not Portuguese. It is implied that there has to be developed guidelines for specific curriculum activities in this connection. As to develop Portuguese competence besides being competent to use it varied and correctly, following aim is presented: "To value and appreciate the Portuguese language either as the native language or host language" (ibid:19). One of the goals of general competences for foreign languages expresses this (ibid:15): "At the end of the basic education, the student should be able to use foreign languages in order to communicate in a suitable manner and to structure his/her own thinking." Under the heading "Foreign Languages" (ibid:39) I can not find if this relates to certain predefined language possibilities or not. It is referred to a European Framework of References for Languages that gives this definition:

Pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purpose of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a social agent has proficiency of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures.

Under "Some guiding principles" (ibid:45) it is said:

Learning foreign languages in the 1st cycle ought to promote the awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity. The opening up of the school that plurality will result in the creation of receptiveness to other languages and cultures – potentially present in the surrounding environment – the establishment of relationship between those and the mother tongue and the sharing of experiences with other ways of being and living.

If I were a teacher in the Portuguese school without any more knowledge of the school's goal or practice, I would see a possibility to give immigrant children special support inside the class, if I managed to differentiate, but not necessarily being obliged to do so without further regulations.. So far I interpret the intentions of the curriculum plan to prescribe an open but not precise attitude to the multicultural situation in schools. It seems to be a national, not multicultural school that is described in the Portuguese Curriculum of 2001.

There is, however, a Law no.6 from the Minister of Education 2001 which says in article 8 that schools must (my underlining) “provide specific activities for the learning of Portuguese as second language for pupils whose mother tongue is not Portuguese (ref. Ferreira et al., 2004:83). The Integration Plan (2007:21) has an article 52 with the aim of developing Portuguese as a second language, and refers to what is called “guiding documents”: “Portuguese language as a second language in the Portuguese Curriculum, The National guidelines and the availability of diagnostic assessment tools for defining the linguistic competence and school profiles of students and their correction”. It seems as there are obligations of enhancing the language education in Portuguese as a second language for immigrant children. It is not said anything about how, if the education has to go through supporting their mother tongue in a phase. Nevertheless, the ACIME centre and also the private association for Teachers APEDI develop material to support the teachers in their education of immigrant children.

The Norwegian Curriculum Plan for the elementary school gives a picture of the wanted Norwegian school. As to the situation for immigrant children you have to search in general formulations like “all pupils shall have equal possibilities regardless of gender, social, cultural or linguistic background”. The first foreign language is English, the second varies, according to the school’s capacity. In addition, however, there are special defined measures and goals restrictions in ministerial documents, a strategic plan for “Equal Education in Practice” and two small curriculum plans, the one securing migrant children support in their mother tongue when needed and the second about later possible tuition in the Norwegian language in different subjects.

To compare, it seems as if both countries in the general Curriculum plans mainly present a mono-cultural plan which immigrant children have to follow, though with the aspect of developing the pupils’ capacity to get an international understanding more generally, not really in the aspect of migrants. Thereafter it might look as if Norway has chosen to go through supporting the mother tongue education to competence in the National Language. The question for the Cape Verdean children is then if the Creole language is regarded as their mother tongue or it is Portuguese, since the official language of Cape Verde is Portuguese. Esteves and Caldeira refer to Ferreira (1997:27) and maintain that this is possible since the bilingualism of Cape Verde was formally accepted by the Parliament of Cape Verde. (2001:103).

Already in 1985 the Portuguese Institute of Distance Learning made a national survey about the effect of return migration on school population (Rocha-Trindade et. al. (1993:60 fvd.). This was a group having Portuguese citizenship, but having lived abroad with their children for some time. Students did for example not manage the Portuguese language, did not understand the teachers, their class-mates, could not express their knowledge in writing or use the Portuguese language in different disciplines. Some of the Cape Verde population had Portuguese citizenship at this time and some had lost it in the independence of the country. Nowadays the situation may be even more complex for Cape Verdeans, including illegal ones.

As the Ministry of Education already in 1991 presented intercultural education projects to enhance intercultural dialogue and ethnic diversity in schools, one might expect that the situation ten - fifteen years later was quite another. The mentioned Law no 6 (2001), shows that the language question is still relevant for immigrants. So in 2004, Ferreira et al. presented why Cape Verdean students do not succeed compared with other minority groups. Even if the school is compulsory, many students drop out and give different reasons for that. Summing up reasons like missing classes, difficulties in school, failed a year, language problems and difficulties with teachers, 54% mentions these reasons. Teachers say that the linguistic reasons are the main explanation of failure (Ferreira et al., 2004:81 fvd.). For most of the Cape Verdean children Creole is their mother tongue, whether Portuguese is the official language of Cape Verde or not. Creole is used in the families in the slum area. Teachers

regard Creole as a Portuguese dialect Ferreira et al. maintain, and therefore they do not regard themselves obliged to consider which lingual support they could give the students. The linguistic differences in words and pronunciation Lobban jr. (1995:70fvd.) described as characteristic traits between the Creole and Portuguese language, is more than enough to disturb the concentration in children. Furthermore the Portuguese language built upon at that time would now be characterised as archaic (Esteves and Caldeira, 2001:102).

If it is correct that formalities do not hinder accept of Creole as the children's mother tongue and at the same time teachers overlook this aspect and explain school failure with language problems, it could have been interesting to know which measures they prescribe to avoid that.

As one knows that it takes time to learn a second language to a higher competence than using it orally, a following-up policy could also be relevant.

The importance of Cultural Identity

In the history of different emigrant groups it is easy to see how important symbols of the cultural identity have been, have strengthened the feeling of being someone, of belonging to a group. The National symbols, the flag, even the colours of it is important, speaking the language, singing and dancing, having the possibility to worship, sharing national dishes, activities or ceremonies like these we can still find among the Norwegians or Slovenes in USA even if they emigrated more than a hundred years ago; and we find some of the same among the Cape Verdeans in Lisbon (Esteves and Caldeira, 2001:102 fvd.). They may present their music in Rossio Square, show their dances or sell their dishes or other products. This supports their living and feeling of cohesion and by presenting themselves they enhance their self-esteem. Cultural identity is, however, something more. It can be defined as their whole way of living, social structure, gender attitudes, values of importance etc. As one wonders why this group of Cape Verdeans have ended in slum areas for a rather long time, it is perhaps of importance to have a look at other elements than food or music as the aim is to at least integrate next generation in the Portuguese society as these are accepted. Without repeating the whole story or trying to give complicated explanations, I want to put forth some questions. Living in a socioeconomic poor area has an influence on the children's possibilities. Being colonised for a long time their parents might develop an attitude of dependency, what Cummins calls "learned helplessness" (1986/2003:666). It is said that Cape Verdeans arrived in Portugal at a time when Portugal was not prepared to deal with immigrants (Mapril and Araújo,2000:200). It seems as if this group somehow has stopped after caring for housing in the initial phase. Is this because of the general bad working conditions, health or housing in shacks? One might ask if it is a post-colonial culture, an attitude that the children possibly take over. The other question I want to present is about the importance of gender roles. Lobban jr. told, in the Cape Verde history (1995:83) about women being responsible for the family's situation when men emigrated, women being hardworking and also exposed to sexual abuse. In an interview with a professor in Lisbon, she said that there were many mono-parental families in the slum areas, that is, single mothers. They were responsible, cared for their children and had a paid work. Men, husbands were changing partners. It is difficult to say if this family structure has become part of the culture as a result of the circumstances in the colonial time.

The general policy for the Council of Ministers is "Immigrant Integration" as the title of the plan from ACIDI tells. There are used phrases as "culturally enriching the country (ibid:5) or to recognise the immigrants' "economic, social and cultural contribution--" (ibid:6). One of the principles includes "--accepting the cultural and social specifics", but also sets the limits by adding: "supporting mutual respect and obeying the laws of the host country". Active participation by immigrants and joint responsibility in all areas of society is wanted according to the plan (ibid:6). Equal opportunities are important and discrimination is

rejected either it be ethnic, or related to language, religion, or gender (ibid:6). Measures 113-118 (pp.37/38) are describing detailed precautions to take care of the gender equality aspect, giving information about and involvement in securing women's rights, support working possibilities, education and professional training etc.

Equality and non-discrimination are main values underlined in the Integration Plan. To operationalise this in school for example it is wanted to "motivate teaching staff to understand the specific socio-cultural backgrounds of the students"; and to establish "appropriate pedagogical strategies for diverse situations", and finally to "develop a firm relationship within the family context of the students" (ibid:17). There is also a wish to promote and support education projects about independent cultural aspects to support teaching sciences positively as a factor of social integration. Some of the integration aspects are actualities for the education in schools, some of more general character for different parts of society. Measure 102, p. 34 is directed to media, saying that media ought to "give space to programming/information that demonstrates the existence of cultural diversity in Portuguese society, placing importance upon the cultural and linguistic expression in the resident migrant communities in Portugal." This might have an impact also for the education.

As mentioned the Portuguese Curriculum reminds of the growing numbers of immigrant children in the introduction. This does not seem to have any consequences for the teaching in other subjects than language. The Curriculum says (p.11): "However, it is equally important to emphasise that the educational experiences provided to these students should aim to develop the competences contained in this publication." Minority students are not mentioned in the rest of the text as far as I see. On the other hand there is a "warning" in the framework of historical competence for all levels that students should be able to: "show respect for other peoples and cultures". (ibid:90). There are many possibilities to enlighten the situation for Cape Verde children as well as other immigrants. In "Learning experiences" (ibid:94) it is suggested that students should participate in "Surveying the countries where students' relatives are immigrants", not the other way round. A good teacher should be able to handle this in the perspective of "countries where relatives come from", even it is not said explicitly. Other mentioned themes are: "Portugal from authoritarian to democratic" (ibid:99) or "other cultures in the students' community"(ibid:96). A cultural aspect could be integrated in music or physical education as well.

Also the Norwegian Curriculum has a general formulation (p.5): "The education has to impart knowledge about other cultures and exploit the possibilities to enrichment what groups of minorities or Norwegians with other cultural background give." The school's responsibility to equality is emphasised by saying that the teaching has to be adapted to everyone, independent of age, gender, cultural or linguistic background (ibid:34) and even more discussed in the Action plan: "Equal Education in Practice (2004-2009). Even with good intentions, the dilemma for both the Norwegian and Portuguese school is that immigrant children have to learn a new language besides all other subjects. In Norway they are secured an introduction course and supplement of mother tongue education, but nevertheless, in the next run, when regarded sufficient language-qualified, they have to follow their age group in the ordinary school, however, still with some possibility to extra support. A presentation of the immigrant children's culture is not specified.

In an interview with two experienced Norwegian teachers at a school for immigrant children arriving country without language competence. This school had all nationalities presented at the walls so the children and parents could see they were thought of. I asked the teachers to give priority to some challenges in their education task. The first four they ranged like this: 1) Language. 2) Social competence. 3) Mathematics, 4) Being general oriented. This represents the two main subjects in school, language and maths, and the general ability to fall in and be able to handle a new school situation in a new country. It was hinted that children from one special country had a tendency to try to solve disagreements physically. In the

mentioned survey over school drop-outs of Cape Verde students (Ferreira et.al: 2004:81), 5.1% of the respondents mention “disruptive behaviour” as a reason. Apparently it is not only a verbal language that has to be learnt, but also the way of behaving in social settings according to the country’s practice. Then the mutual cultural acceptance is tested. “Ambivalent behaviour” Ferreira et al. call it as school norms differ from the norm in migrant families or among their friends. One might also be wrong in assuming underlying reasons of for example bullying. Fandrem et. al. (2008: 23) has made a comparison about reasons of bullying among native Norwegian and immigrant boys. The main motive in native Norwegian boys is power and the main motive in immigrant boys is affiliation, wanting to get friends. Neither did the researcher find differences in the level of aggressiveness between the two groups, which was unexpected. Behaviour and non-verbal communication is also a sort of language, telling about cultural background and way of living, wishes, open for interpretation or misinterpretations and social evaluation.

Even if the women are presented with a capacity beyond expectance (Lobban, 1995, Marques et al, 2001, Perista et Fernando, 1997) it seems like the family structure is problematic different between the Portuguese families and the Cape Verdean families. This culture together with the general living conditions in the shacks seems to be a hindrance for the Cape Verdean youngsters to get integrated with Portuguese children or youngsters outside school. This may also be a hindrance to develop a bicultural identity if there are not taken special precautions at school. As the Portuguese Curriculum is more National than Multicultural this has to be taken care of by the teachers. The drop-out results showed that 10,7% of the respondents did not find that the school prepared them for the future or they were not interested. Ferreira et al. (2004:84), concluded that the school is not interested in the Cape Verde children. They don’t see them as “personal, social, cultural and curricular richness”. The dilemma is to start where they are, and at the same time prepare them to a Portuguese future. The reasons given for drop-outs might tell that the content possibilities in the Portuguese Curriculum is not utilised in an immigrant including manner.

Interviewing students in teacher training colleges in Norway and Portugal, with the speciality of migration give other signs. I found a rather including attitude to integration. They believed in a common interest of living peacefully together, but saw some problems in gender or possibly also religious questions. One respondent, however, seems to be a bit inconsistent in the answers. She wanted to transfer values like friendship, love, help, gratitude and she thought these are common values in both groups. In religion there were no problems, she thought there are the same values. Nevertheless she also says that she wants them grow up with the same values that her parents, grandparents and teacher taught her, they were correct, and she grew up in a correct way. On my question if the children or parents did not agree, she would say to the children that the parents were wrong. “If the parents don’t agree with me, then I talk with the children and say I am right, you are wrong, and you have to choose what you want to do.” This respondent makes me wonder how many thinks like her: we all want peace and love, but in reality “my values are the right ones”. Music, dance and food are exotic elements outside my house, but culture expressed through the way of living, social attitude, special values are difficult elements in the integrating process.

In which way are immigrant parents included in the education of their children?

Cummins (1986/2003:665) gives many reasons for cooperation with the parents of immigrant children. “In reality” he says, “most parents of minority students have high aspirations for their children and want to be involved in promoting their academic progress.” He refers to a two years research project from 1982 in London in a multiethnic area, where parents of two groups of children in one school were asked to let the children read for them, while two groups in another school got extra instruction of an experienced teacher. In addition there was a control group without any special program. The result was that the group who was

reading for their parents made significantly greater progress than any of the other groups, even the ones with extra instruction. Another result was that the children showed better behaving and became more interested in school learning. In an interview with 2 teachers in Norwegian schools with approximately 20% immigrant children widen this perspective. A bilingual Turkish/Norwegian teacher with 13 years of experience says “If the students are followed up by the parents, they will do much better.” The other pointed at the importance of the parents’ greater understanding of the students’ or pupil’s situation for both parts. To prolong this perspective, most likely this understanding will ease intergenerational challenges as students move against becoming bicultural.

In Portuguese policy the cooperation with parents has an important place. In the Integration plan (2007:16) the involvement and welcome of immigrant families is a goal to clarify the parents’ role in Portuguese schools. This is also emphasised for the teachers (in measure 36:19). It underlines the importance of the teacher, their understanding of the specific socio-cultural backgrounds of students. Included in this it is significant “to develop a firm relationship within the family context of those students.” Intentions for the family situation, work employment, housing and health are more detailed described, also to the best for children at all age levels. The Portuguese Curriculum plan is not specific in questions of cooperation.

To compare with Norway this cooperation is an obligation for all parents and teachers, formalised in the Act of Education and the Regulations to this law. The Norwegian Curriculum plan also describes the reasons for and the mutual obligation of the cooperation about the children’s cognitive and social development and general well-fare. This is the formal side of it. On the one hand both parts also in Norway are dependent on mutual will to understanding, and even the most idealistic teacher may say: “There is always something more ---“, signalling the feeling of shortcoming.

The school’s possibility to cooperate with the Cape Verde parents seems to be rather meagre according to Ferreira et al. (2004). The family situation with divorce and single parents, unemployment or working mothers with little time to participate in the children’s life makes both the general, daily life situation troublesome, and even more the possibilities to look forward to a better future for the children, even if they had the wish. With a reputation of dysfunctional families, bad socioeconomic status and a housing situation where children have no space for school work it is easy to imagine that teachers “reinforce the stereotype about these families” as Ferreira says (“and have low expectations about these children and reduce their chances of being successful at school “(ibid:82).

Then it was inspiring to talk with the two Portuguese students and the teachers in Nov. 2007, about cooperating with parents generally. They wanted to cooperate with the immigrant parents. “We have to talk with the family to know how the family lives, their labour” one says. “It is important for the children to feel that the parents like the schools and to be occupied with the schools” one teacher says, and another stress that it must be wanted to include the parents. There are ideas like inviting them to the school to participate in the classroom. It is not quite clear to me how far it is practiced, but these students were quite confident that this they would manage. The recipe was knowledge about the families, their way of living and religion, information and dialogue in important questions and inviting them to tell the students about their culture. I have, in Cape Verdean areas, seen the pride of some grandmothers as they discovered the technique of reading, a result of voluntary, unpaid work by teachers, and I have met a young student who had constructed his own computer, also with voluntary assistance. I got the information that people became old in the shack area. If the system still fails for a long time ahead, grandmothers and voluntary work shows possibilities to support the next generation so far. However, the Integration plan, and possible consequences in a following-up policy, the belief and idealism of the young student teachers and the voluntary supporters point at future possibilities.

How might the power relation be between the migrant students and teachers?

A summative discussion.

The word of “power” is well known from politics. Then it is a question of domination, the ability to operationalise and implement a political program, and this dominating power is evaluated differently if one agrees in the program or not. Ichak Adizes (1991) analyses the power relation more generally out from a wish to make changes in a relationship. In this connection I find it clarifying to present his description of four elements:

1. Responsibility, your obligations in your work,
2. Authority, the right you have to define how to implement actions or choose teaching policy
- 3) Power, the possibility to punish or reward and
- 4) Influence, without deciding for others, but try to move them in this or that direction.

To use these concepts to the teachers’ situation, it is easy to say that the responsibility of the teacher is to develop the students’ possibilities according to the plans or regulations given by the society or the nation’s commitment to the Child Convention. He has the authority within given regulations to define teaching methods or activities that may give the wanted development for the students and the power to punish or reward, to hinder or support, say “yes” or “no” as to the registered signs of development. Lastly he has a possibility to influence more indirectly, in the way he organises the teaching situation, communicates with the students, inspires, supports etc. To choose his teaching style is also part of his given authority, so the concepts might be interrelated. The student is the object of the activities and the development or “empowerment” of the student is the aim.

In Cummin’s presentation (1986/2003) it is a question of the dynamics, the power relation between two parts, and in this case is the influential arena the school or the society and the partners the immigrant students in relation to the teachers or to native students. The difference of dynamics in a machine and dynamics between people is that the last one never stands still and constantly receives other influences as well. What disturbed Cummins was the under- achievements he found among immigrant students, and which we find today. He wanted to put a light on the importance of the human relationship in the education (1986/93:650).

As we know the goals of the development for immigrants in the new Integration plan from the Council of Ministers and experiences in school, it is relevant to see if Cummins’ theories may put an adding light to the situation in the fields of language, cultural identity and cooperation with parents. He says: “–students from “dominated” societal groups are “empowered” or “disabled” as a direct result of their interactions with educators at schools (ibid:659).

The conditions to empower the students’ language competence are:

To incorporate minority students’ language and culture into the school’s program.

To encourage minority community participation as an integral part of children’s education.

To motivate students to use language actively to generate their own knowledge

To be advocates for minority students rather than legitimising the location of the “problem” in the students.

The teachers’ obligation is to develop proficiency in Portuguese is crucial for individual development according to the Portuguese curriculum (2001:31). An aim is also to develop mutual respect in accordance with the Child Convention (art.29).

Teachers say, as mentioned, that the main reason for Cape Verdean children failure are linguistic problems. It seems as if the teachers have not taken their responsibility seriously, used their authority by choosing wrong teaching methods and been ignorant of the importance of the Cape Verdean students’ native language. Neither the Cape Verdean language or culture is directly incorporated in the school’s program (cfr. a) above). As they define the result being

a consequence of the students' deficit, they use their power and place the responsibility outside themselves (cfr. d) above). If the situation in school today is like the drop-out situation signalised in 2001/2002 according to Ferreira et al.(2004), it is obvious that the Cape Verde students are not empowered. How can they and the native students develop a mutual respect for the language and cultural identity if they do not know anything about it or it is discussed in school?

It seems as if it is necessary to fight against stereotypic images for all cultures. The Integration plan presents measures against spatial segregation, social exclusion, discrimination and racism (2007:28-31). Horta (2002:160) says that the Cape Verdean is "a priori illiterate, hungry, exotic, powerless and in need of state's assistance.2". In Media, she says (p.167), the "black youths" are presented as "criminal gangs living in ghettos" where there is a connection between "race, crime, poverty and crime". On the other hand Cape Verdean associations point at the valuable part of their culture to prevent criminal behaviour and quarrels between the immigrants and the host society (Mapril et Araújo, 2002:218). They cite a former president of the Cape Verde Association in Lisbon "A rootless person is nothing". It is said to be a fundamental task of the Cape Verde country's new constitution (1994) to preserve and develop the Cape Verdean culture in communities abroad (Carling, 1997:6). Other Cape Verdean associations underline that the youngsters have to know they have two roots, The Cape Verdean and the Portuguese (ibid:219). The teachers might and might not be influenced by stereotypes of the culture or the immigrants' own perspective.

Cummins is clear in the responsibility he ascribes to the teachers (1986/2003:653): "Educators are capable in determining for themselves the social and educational goals they want to achieve with their students because they are responsible for their role definitions they adopt in relation to culturally diverse students and communities." He also points at the process of the students defining their identities "in interaction with their teachers, peers and parents" and he says: "However, this process of negotiating identities can never be fully controlled by forces outside of the teacher-student relationship itself." It is the same processes that have to be developed between the school and parents who represent the minority community (ref.c) even if their roles in the communication process are different. Also in this question it is necessary with mutual respect. According to my interview with the student teachers there are possibilities ahead and a will to have a dialogue.

To develop the relationship of communication between teacher and student it is obvious that the teacher has to acknowledge that the Cape Verdean students have a language and cultural identity to build upon in the development. Mutual communication implies mutual respect and understanding and gives possibilities to Adizes' element of influence (1991:58), which equalises them as human beings and give power to both parts,. This is in accord with the general policy of Portugal, The general intentions of the Portuguese Curriculum opens for this, even if the different plans give more possibilities than direct support, perhaps presented in later material. . What Cummins makes quite clear is the teachers' professional responsibility to give the students possibilities to develop, and how crucial it is to communicate with students, accepting their linguistic and cultural background as a valuable fundament for the development. In a summative article about which resource the cooperation between teachers and migrant parents can be, it is said :to have a triple effect, for the parents, the teacher and the student. (Lea, 2012) .

If the schools both in Portugal and Norway manage to move in the direction of the ideal, then hopefully, the Child Conventions aim of developing respect for parents, language, cultural identities and values is attended, the PISA results for Cape Verdean students improved and the stereotypic image changed in both countries.

Loose ends

It has to be pointed at some aspects and dilemmas that are not discussed, but touched in this connection. If one considers the country's future to become a multicultural country, how has this to be mirrored in the content of the school? Imagine a school class consists of children from 15 nationalities, half or two thirds of the children are Portuguese. Where has the balance be between the national elements of knowledge and the intercultural elements?

Another dilemma is the balance between respect for the values and culture of different immigrant groups, not that much for artistic expressions which may be defined as exotic, as for way of living and social codes. Is it by the legislation like now? Interpretations of Democratic ideals, Human Rights or Children's Rights might be just as diverse as interpretations of religious values, even inside one religion. Will the future teachers say, like the student teacher: "My values are the right ones"?

To go back to the Cape Verdean shackle towns and its children, who are the future of Portugal. The consequence of the status of these areas is a challenge even if one finds a "social capital" (Porta et al, 2006) in the Cape Verdean associations. So far it seems as if NGOs might be the bandage of a wounded environment, and then the balance between

Cummins' prescription with a dynamic process of dialogue for mutual understanding, shared responsibility and thereby empowerment, seems worth to be transformed to and used in many challenges, even if it is time-consuming.

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