





BILIUM – Bilingualism Upgrade Module (Part I)

AUSTRIA

Institut Weltsprachen Mag. KG
www.weltsprachen.at

CROATIA

Udruga “Kalinka”
www.kalinka.hr

CZECH REPUBLIC

MKI “Klic”
<http://klic-mki.org/>

DENMARK

Voluntary association for children and young people “Multibyen”, Copenhagen
www.multibyen.dk

FRANCE

Union des Russophones de France
www.russophonie.org
Russian School of Paris
www.alye-parussa.fr
Association “Russies étonNantes”
<https://stoupenki.wordpress.com>

GERMANY

Foreign Languages and Multimedia Centre
University of Greifswald
<http://www.phil.uni-greifswald.de/fmz/projekte/bilium/partner.html>

ITALY

Chernobyl 2000 O.N.L.U.S
The Ivan Turgenev School of Russian Language and Culture
Turin
www.scuolarussatorino.it

THE NETHERLANDS

RusSchool Association
www.RusSchool.nl

SPAIN

“Raduga” Association, Barcelona
www.radugabcn.com

SWEDEN

The Russo-Swedish Cultural Association in Gothenburg
<http://www.ryskweb.se/>

SWITZERLAND

University of St Gallen (HSG)
www.alexandria.unisg.ch

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The London School of Russian Language and Literature, London
<http://russian-school.co.uk/>





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BILINGUALISM UPGRADE MODULE – BILIUM (LEONARDO DA VINCI, 08.2012–07.2014)

The BILIUM project was initiated in August 2012 for the purpose of exploring the basis for creating an education module and possibly a curriculum for pedagogic professionals working with bilingual children at pre-school in transition to primary school. These include pedagogic staff in local authority schools, kindergartens and supplementary heritage language schools, and also freelance pedagogues working with children in the field of language development.

The project is considered necessary in order to improve the competitiveness of the education sector of Germany and other European Countries and to achieve the goals of the EU on language diversity, as well as to overcome the generation gap. We need to support children's language development and the qualifications of people working with them, irrespective of whether they are natives or migrants. The challenge for the future is to re-organise work programmes in kindergartens with regards to what effect the special communication and interaction needs of bilinguals have on the professional education of staff, and to change organisations' attitudes to IVT and VET programmes. Therefore, the project will create a competence programme for the purpose of increasing the willingness for cross-cultural learning.

The project seeks to embed the topic of bilingualism and the development of skills and competences in vocational and professional education. Methods and didactic techniques will be extracted from various approaches in order to improve the qualifications and career development of pedagogic staff in their professional duties and to support their employers in assisting them by using what has been learned.

Multilingual ability is becoming increasingly a key skill in terms of personal development opportunities, inter-cultural understanding and the global consciousness of people in Europe and throughout the world. The process of the socialisation of young children is traditionally associated with the system of pre-school education. Developing the child's individual characteristics should involve preparing him or her for the demands of a dynamic, globalised world.

Modern scientific research has proved that a child's brain is easily able to acquire two languages at the same time. Professor Dr. Petra Schulz of the University of Frankfurt maintains that the best place for bilingual language acquisition is the kindergarten. Several research projects have been dedicated to this issue for more than ten years now: e.g. the DFG Project 'Erwerb der komplexen Syntax des Deutschen bei monolingualen und bilingualen Kindern' (*Acquisition of the complex syntax of German in monolingual and bilingual children*) (Rosemarie Tracy), University of Tübingen; 'Language Impairment in a multilingual society: Linguistic patterns and the road to assessment', EU Cooperation Project COST IS0804.

Challenge in Germany and Europe

The project has been initiated to deal with the major challenges of the countries of the European Union.

a. Multilingualism. – According to a resolution of the European Council in 2008 (www.ec.europa.eu/languages/.../2008_0566_en.pdf), the promotion of multilingualism is a subject of major importance in Europe. The EU has set a goal for all citizens of Europe to be able to speak one or more foreign languages. Children brought up bilingually have the advantage of speaking and thinking in two different languages and cultures, under the guidance of professional support. The aim is to develop both languages equally. Because a learning routine is already in place, the acquisition of a third and fourth foreign language





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and culture becomes easier. In addition, this project seeks to attain the operational goals of the Lifelong Learning Programme by improving linguistic diversity and augmenting the knowledge of minority languages.

b. Integration into society – improving European citizenship. – The project focuses on teaching staff working with children from families with a migrant background from the former Soviet Union. As the project members are aware that Russian is not yet an official European Union language, we want to highlight the fact that the target group is one of the largest migrant groups in Europe; in 2009 in Germany alone the number of people from the former Soviet Union constituted 14% of all immigrants, thereby occupying the second place, after Turkish immigrants (source: Statistisches Bundesamt figures published in <http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/grafiken-zur-migration-in-deutschland-wer-kommt-wer-geht-der-faktencheck-fotostrecke-60502-3.html>). It is a vital group as Germany still faces a population influx, notably contractors with working permits and Jewish immigrants, entrepreneurs, families (Russia and Ukraine together: more than 25,000 in 2012 (http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Broschueren/bundesamt-in-zahlen-2012.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)).

c. Economy. – European countries have close economic links with Russia; its biggest trading partners in Europe are the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, France and the UK. Even in the case of smaller countries such as Austria, Switzerland and Sweden, Russian-speaking professionals and highly educated specialists play an important role in their economic success. A large number of companies are, therefore, dependent on trading with Russia. Bilinguals, knowing two languages and cultures and having grown up in two worlds which they understand perfectly, can build bridges and, through early sensitisation to interculturality, can overcome mental barriers and act as mentors for others.

d. Demographic change and integration into the labour market. – As all developed European countries are facing a dramatic demographic change, we are all dependent on migration to bridge the generation gap. Not only must the high potential of immigrants be developed, but also structures are needed to support underprivileged migrant families, in order to establish an adequate HR structure for our industries' demands in the future. Russia is one of the most important trading partners of the European Union. But above and beyond this, there is also a close partnership in areas such as security, justice, science, education, culture and energy (almost 45% of the EU's demand for gas is supplied from Russia http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/RussischeFoederation/Wirtschaft_node.html).

There is also a large number of immigrants e.g. in Switzerland, where the Russian-speaking population is almost 30,000 <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index.html>, and where we find a lot of businessmen, artists and students.

It is necessary to consider the specific cultural and communication demands of the target group.

In urban areas such as the Ruhr and Rhine-Main districts in Germany there are some migrant self-organisations (MSOs) already running officially accredited kindergartens. In the larger cities a huge number of multilingual courses are offered, even for Russian-speaking children. Most of them have developed programmes by themselves through the process of trial and error and have already set them in motion. The same situation is apparent in many other countries of Europe. There are at least 300 supplementary week-end Russian language schools in the countries of the European Union. In the UK alone, for example, there are 30 such schools and nursery groups (10 being in London), according a study conducted in 2010 by the London School of Russian Language and Literature – the first Supplementary Russian School in the UK, which itself has already been running for 16 years.





Needs

In order to change the programme, organisations will need to implement the following:

I. Requirements of local authority management in the area of education:

- ♦ HR planning; particularly choice and criteria for trained staff of migrant background, development of new job profiles,
- ♦ Vocational training,
- ♦ Further training of staff of non-migrant background, further qualifications in different subjects of bilingual pedagogics,
- ♦ Familiarisation with different concepts of bilingual pre-school education programmes.

II. For head-teachers of kindergartens:

- ♦ Familiarisation with different concepts of bilingual pre-school programmes,
- ♦ Development and adoption of different didactics and methods of teaching.

In addition, Education Departments should look into the necessity of organising cooperation with the heritage language supplementary schools.

Aims of the project

Aim 1: To analyse the situation of bilingual teaching and learning in the countries of the participants. To put them into a common European context.

Aim 2: To devise a working programme for the structuring and systematisation of:

- ♦ Scientific research, in particular the acquisition of language, psychology and the cognitive aspects of language learning, from universities in Germany, Switzerland and Denmark,
- ♦ Applied programmes of migrant self-organisations: teaching culture (Italy), child-parent programmes (teaching parents how to develop language skills in the family), period of transition from pre-school to school (Sweden),
- ♦ Systematic professional training (Denmark), adapting working programmes to kindergartens and the impact on vocational training (Germany).

Working groups in Germany, Denmark, France and Italy will conclude relevant and much needed approaches to professional training for the target group.

Aim 3:

- ♦ Extraction of relevant modules/content and selection of methods and procedures from the three working groups,
- ♦ Adaptation of methods and procedures to meet the demands of the target group and countries,
- ♦ Dissemination of results to:

a. Associated partners,

b. The public, through conferences and publications and specialised magazines.

Aim 4: Transfer and implementation of the results especially for the partners in Germany and Denmark as they are organisations of professional education. To ensure sustainability, the associated partners will receive training and the teaching material will be published.





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GERMANY

Law and Legislation

The potential of natural multilingualism with regard to the legal situation in Germany is underestimated. Natural multilingualism is mostly promoted at school level by means of native language education and partly in the nursery. Educational legislation in Germany is determined by the federal states. Consequently, each federal state has its own educational laws and different regulations concerning native language teaching. Furthermore, many consulates offer the opportunity to learn the native language and provide lessons for this. However, the main goal of dual language learning is missed, because only children and young people with citizenship of one country are admitted to lessons. Because education is regulated by each federal state individually, the promotion of natural bilingualism in Germany is not uniformly standardised and is, in parts, confusing. While some federal states have a broad funding programme, others offer little or no promotion in the area of natural multilingualism. In pre-school institutions, natural multilingualism is only sporadically supported. Trans-national arrangements do not exist.

Baden-Württemberg

Native languages are only recognised to a very limited degree as being equivalent to a first or second foreign language. “Foreign students” can take the language test required for high school in their native language. However, this is not possible at secondary schools, where the number of “foreign students” is significantly higher. Additional tuition in the native language of up to five hours per week can be given by the consulates, who bear responsibility for this themselves. Participation is voluntary. These courses are supported by the school administration. However, they are not subject to their supervision. Facilities must be provided by the schools. The courses can be financially supported by the state.

Bavaria

To judge from the current educational laws of the federal state, no promotion or support of natural multilingualism is evident. Consulates continue to offer native language lessons as an extracurricular course.

Berlin

No information about the situation of support for native languages and natural bilingualism in the law concerning education has been found.

Brandenburg

Additional native language lessons can be supported if there is a minimum group size of twelve students and if the schools are adequately staffed and organised. De facto, the Regional Centres (RAA) e.V, as a freelance supporter, in financial collaboration with the Ministry, has undertaken this task. Currently, there are 44 groups of different nationalities working in Brandenburg. Russian is offered as a regular foreign language at many secondary schools; and in border areas even Polish. However, it has been reported that pupils of those native languages have not been allowed to participate in language lessons at secondary schools, and especially at high school. A special situation exists in the Sorbian settlement area, where the (autochthonous) Sorbian language is offered from class one to 13.

Bremen

No information about the situation of support for native languages and natural bilingualism in the law concerning education has been found.

Hamburg

The law concerning education in Hamburg provides for the possibility for “foreign students” who only attend a German school from year three onwards, or even later, to choose





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their own native language as a subject at secondary school instead of a first foreign language. However, this opportunity was only taken up by some secondary modern and comprehensive schools with respect to the Turkish language. This changed some years ago. Nowadays Turkish is offered as a second foreign language from year seven onwards.

Native language education is provided in the consulates of the former recruitment countries in Hamburg, for which they bear responsibility themselves. Lessons are held by teachers from Greece, Italy, Croatia, Morocco, Portugal, former Yugoslavia, Spain, Turkey and Tunisia. The Federal Office for Schools, Youth and Vocational Training (BSJB) provides the classrooms free of charge and contributes half of the costs.

Hessen

The range of modern foreign languages is wide – so are the choices pupils can make in this compulsory field. New guidelines allow for the choice of a native language as equivalent to a second foreign language. As a first foreign language, this is provided for only as an exception. Native language is a part of the regular education or curriculum and is under full supervision of the Department of Education and Culture of Hessen. According to information from the Hessian Ministry of Education and Culture, these lessons are now no longer compulsory education, for which guardians usually need to sign up their children. Native language education consists of two to five hours per week in years one to ten and is given in ten languages. However, this offer is not sufficient for the student to exercise his/her right to native language education.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern

Native language lessons are not provided, either in primary or in secondary schools, for children and young people whose native language is not German.

Lower Saxony

There is a comparatively wide range of native language teaching offered in Lower Saxony. It is under the supervision of school authorities and pupils whose mother tongue is German are also allowed to attend these lessons. Lessons can include up to five hours a week, and may also include special education in the mother tongue of the pupils. In primary and secondary schools these lessons are offered for students of Greek, Italian, Moroccan, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Tunisian and ex-Yugoslavian origin (teaching in Farsi, Vietnamese and Arabic is also allowed in principle, as well as lessons for students of non-Moroccan and non-Tunisian origin). At the request of parents, “native language lessons” may be offered (provided that there are enough participants and suitable or qualified teachers are available), although this language may not be recognised as an official language in the country of origin.

Kurmanci Kurdish is offered at some locations. As far as possible, these lessons should be continued at the secondary level, but there is also the opportunity to attend lessons offered in lower secondary education. There is also the possibility to provide a coordinated bilingual promotion of literacy for students with significant deficits in the German language.

North Rhine-Westphalia

North Rhine-Westphalia plans additional lessons for pupils, in which they learn their mother tongue at elementary school as well as at high school (Sekundarstufe I). However, the numbers of participants have been decreasing since the second half of the 1980s, because more and more pupils decide on other forms of learning, e.g. in bilingual schools, as foreign languages or instead of a compulsory language.

Rhineland-Palatinate

Native language lessons have up to now only been offered to “foreign children” at elementary school and are limited to pupils of Greek, Italian, ex-Yugoslavian, Portuguese, Spanish,





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Turkish, Moroccan and Tunisian origin. Lessons are given only in the official languages and are to be integrated (as far as possible) as additional lessons into the daily lessons. Voluntary study groups may be formed at secondary modern schools. However, the conditions for native language lessons have deteriorated since lessons are no longer provided in the morning but are part of the afternoon lessons. Furthermore, preparatory lessons have been abolished. The majority of children whose first language is not German have access neither to remedial teaching nor to native language lessons due to the lack of offers in the places of their residence. Up to now there have not been any commonly defined regulations for the recognition of native language skills.

Saarland

Lessons in native languages can be offered in Saarland by Consulates as supplementary lessons, provided there are a minimum of 15 school students.

Saxony

Native language education can be provided within the scope of obligatory education as well as in the form of additional lessons by the Consulates. In secondary schools and high schools native language education can be offered instead of the second foreign language (teachers are to be paid by the Free State of Saxony).

Saxony-Anhalt

No information about the situation of support for native languages and natural bilingualism in the law concerning education has been found.

Schleswig-Holstein

Native language education is provided as additional lessons in the afternoon (4 to 5-hours). These lessons are supported by the Consulate of the countries of the languages that are taught (Greece, Italy, Turkey, Tunisia, Portugal, Spain and Croatia). What is peculiar in Schleswig – Holstein is the special offer for autochthonous minorities. The subject “Frisian language” is offered in most elementary schools in Frisian-speaking areas. In Danish private schools Danish as well as German is taught. Nevertheless, programmes for bilingual or intercultural teaching are not considered to be all that important.

Thuringia

Lessons in native languages can be offered in Thuringia as supplementary education provided there are a minimum of 15 school students.

In summary, it can be stated that there is room for further support for natural multilingualism and more commitment in policy-making is needed.

Science

Within the framework of the BILIUM Project, a table has been created listing current research projects, courses, conferences and publications on multilingualism, bilingualism and second language acquisition in Germany. Various universities, institutes and other initiatives were primarily involved in this.

Firstly, a detailed evaluation of the projects was carried out.

It was clear which age groups of migrants the projects tended to concentrate on during the research. These ranged from pre-school to young adulthood. For the pre-school age the day care centre (KITA) is the first supporting institution. In cities and urban areas with a high migrant population, the main focus of city councils and municipalities is on promoting migrant children.

The goal is to make the German language more accessible to pre-school aged migrant children (from 4 to 7), thereby creating an ideal starting point for their future education, so





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that they are not disadvantaged because of a lack of language knowledge. As a long-term result, young immigrant children can gain the same qualifications for their future professional development as native speakers.

In particular for this age group, different projects have been carried out or are still in progress. One of these projects is the 'Rainbow Transfer' project at the University of Koblenz-Landau. It is funded by the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Culture. The aim of this project is to develop a method for the conversion of results from previous studies in the field of integrated multilingual language support for children at the elementary level.¹

For its realisation, processes for target-orientated self-instruction have been started at five child care centres (which have a high number of children of migrant background).

The first phase is accompanied by research. In addition, this work will be documented; the results will be analysed and evaluated in terms of a future multipliers programme for the state of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Another project, at the Technical University of Dortmund, also focuses on the pre-school age. The project *Vocabulary work and vocabulary development in multilingual children in transition from pre-school to school* is sponsored by the city of Dortmund. It is organised in cooperation with the Dürenerstrasse Family Centre and other child care centres in Dortmund.

The aim of this project is to re-design language teaching in primary schools.² Since this is a longitudinal study, the project is already in progress in day care centres.

The first two years are spent in the day care centres, and the last year proceeds at school. In the first two years, children of a migrant background in the day care centres are supported in the native language as well as in the second language, especially in the area of vocabulary and phonology. These skills, gained over two years, will be reviewed subsequently in the first year of primary school.

Undertaking this review will show to what extent progress has been made in the support of language acquisition, language teaching and oral narrative competence in the day care centre.

In this case, close collaboration with the children's parents is necessary, so that even after the time spent every day in day care centres certain exercises for language development can be practised at home. These exercises are discussed with the parents in advance and match the particular method of learning. In both projects it becomes apparent that a prolonged language support is necessary to achieve success, especially in the elementary areas.

The subsequent investigation group, middle and high school students (9-18 years), were involved in projects particularly in the field of bilingual teaching. The aim of this tuition is to promote the use of, and develop skills in, a second language, and to understand subject teaching in a foreign language. Here too, an interesting selection can be made.

The pilot project 'Bilingual education in secondary schools in Westphalia' was organised on the initiative of the Ludwigsburg University of Education. This project is particularly interesting because bilingual education is offered in middle schools (and not, as is usually the case, in high schools).

The project is supported by the Cornelsen Foundation Teaching and Learning. The origins of the project date back to the early 90s. In 1992 and 1993 a decree was passed for the ex-

¹ <http://www.uni-koblenz-landau.de/landau/fb5/bildung-kind-jugend/paedagogik-der-fruehen-kindheit/forschung/laufende-projekte/regenbogen>, ges. am 11.02.2012 um 10:52.

² http://www.studiger.tu-dortmund.de/index.php?title=Forschungsprojekt_%22Wortschatzentwicklung_und_Wortschatzarbeit%22, ges. am 11.02.2012 um 11:43.





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perimental Bilingual Middle Schools with the establishment of a German-English bilingual department. In the following year there was also a decree for Dutch.

A total of 29 secondary schools with a bilingual German-English department were established. Four bilingual German-Dutch departments were also established. This experiment has been documented and evaluated at regular intervals.

The final report on this trial was published in 2001. Important findings for students as well as teachers emerged from this trial. In a comparison with regular teaching it was found that foreign language and communication skills in the bilingual department are developed to a much higher standard.³

As the scope of lexical and structural elements, as well as argumentative speech, is quite extensive in comparison with instruction in regular education, there is a greater willingness to make new deductions in the target language. Moreover, the ability to take part in conversations about everyday life and socially relevant issues in the second language is developed earlier than in regular teaching. It was also noted that learning social skills and work methodology was more effective. It is clear that the performance of students in the bilingual subject classes matches the quality of regular classes.⁴

The results showed that teachers who were involved in the experiment showed a higher degree of motivation and innovation.⁵ This refers mainly to the design of appropriate teaching materials. However, for non-trained teachers it was far more time-consuming and labour-intensive, as it was new territory for them.

In another project the focus is more on the subject of migration. The initiative 'Migrants Make School' espouses the intercultural opening of classes in Baden-Württemberg. The initiative is promoted by the Ministry of Baden-Württemberg. The project tries to create regional networks. These networks are designed to work interscholastically between school types. This means that school administrations, teacher training colleges and State seminars on Teaching and Teacher Education all cooperate with each other.⁶ The focus is on raising awareness of special resources for teachers of migrant backgrounds. The exchange and qualification opportunities of people with and without migration background and the performance of duties in advising and training teachers and schools are also important.

Another interesting project is Language Rich Europe (LRE). **LRE research provides a rich source of cross-national insights into multilingualism across the education sectors.**

It is a networking project which brings together policy makers and practitioners from 24 countries and regions in Europe to discuss and develop better policies and practices for multilingualism. Network members are drawn from the fields of education, business, public services and the media.⁷

The aim of LRE is to reflect the richness of the languages present in European society and to explore the extent to which all of these languages are included in policies for and practices of multilingualism. Our challenge was to identify the language types and categorise them appropriately.

LRE believes that a positive attitude towards multilingualism is important for a prosperous and stable Europe. The ability to communicate in other languages is essential if Europeans

³ <http://www.schulministerium.nrw.de/BP/Unterricht/Faecher/BilingualerUnterricht/BerichtRL.pdf>, p. 46, ges. am 11.02.2013 um 14:04.

⁴ comp., p. 47.

⁵ comp., p. 47.

⁶ <http://www.schule-bw.de/entwicklung/schulentw/migrantenmachenschule/>, ges. am 11.02.2012 um 15:21.

⁷ <http://www.language-rich.eu/home/about/about-us.html>.





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are to develop a broader international outlook and enhance their employment prospects. Good language policies and practices can create a positive framework within which successful language learning can take place.

Therefore LRE provides a commentary on current language policies and practices in participating countries/regions, based on research conducted by their partner network of experts and researchers. It captures good practice and brings stakeholders together face-to-face and on-line to learn from each other.

The project is targeted at decision makers and practitioners in education, business, public services and the media. It will also engage the beneficiaries of good language policies and practices – teachers and learners – to incorporate their views.

The LRE has designed the 'New Multilingual Synopsis of the European Training Thesaurus'. It is an exciting new tool for all those working in education, training and employment. This tool allows quick navigation by language, term and topic.

The Thesaurus is a selection of terms and concepts which appear frequently in literature related to European vocational education and training.

They cover several topics such as lifelong learning, vocational education and training policy, assessment and certification of learning outcomes, recognition of certificates and diplomas. Each term is presented in 11 languages: Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Polish, Portuguese and Swedish.

The University of Mannheim offers the project 'Lise DaZ'. This is a standardised language support diagnostics for determining the language level development of children aged 3 to 7 years.

The target group of this project is mainly children who acquire German as a second or even third language. The process is primarily focused on the situation of children of a migrant background, but can also be used for the acquisition of language skills for children with German as their first language.⁸

'Lise DaZ' is designed in such a way that it can be used by educators, teachers and other educational professionals (linguistic knowledge is gained through further education). Lise-GSL is also time-efficient in its implementation (it takes about 25-30 minutes to complete).⁹

'MAZEM', another project at the University of Mannheim, was founded in 2011 and has emerged from the 'Research and Multilingualism Contact Point' of the University of Mannheim. Since 2002 it has been involved in the transfer of knowledge from linguistic research into practice in the form of scientific evaluation, language proficiency testing, language support projects, lectures and training courses for teachers and has also provided advice to project partners in these areas.¹⁰

The challenge is to actively support multilingualism and at the same time to give multilingual children and young people of migrant backgrounds better chances of access to the German education system. To achieve this, scientific knowledge and practical application need to be observed carefully.

The Berlin Interdisciplinary Network for Multilingualism (*Berliner Interdisziplinärer Verbund für Mehrsprachigkeit (BIVEM)*) brings scientists (who are specialised in language acquisition) together with experts in the areas of education and diagnostics. The cooperation will enable the use of jointly compiled research findings to create affirmative actions which will be implemented in primary schools. The collaboration was initiated by the Centre for General Lin-

⁸ http://www.anglistik.uni-mannheim.de/anglistik_i/forschung/lise_daz/index.html 12.02.2013 11:57.

⁹ http://www.anglistik.uni-mannheim.de/anglistik_i/forschung/lise_daz/index.html 12.02.2013 12:03.

¹⁰ <http://www.mazem.de/> 12.02.2013 12:04.





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guistics (*Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS)*) Berlin and supported by the Berlin Senate. This project extends over a period of 3 years and is funded by the State of Berlin.¹¹

The background to the project is the high immigrant rate (40%) of children and adolescents in Berlin. Approximately one third of these children show delays in German language development, which can lead to difficulties at school. It is important to work against this as the educational opportunities of children depend on their language abilities.

Finally, it should be added that the Federal Ministry for Education and Research is particularly interested in the promotion of research in the field of “Language education and multilingualism”.¹² The promotion of multilingual skills in children and youth by providing favourable conditions for multilingualism is now an important political task. A new measure by the BMBF to promote research in the field of “Language education and multilingualism” focuses on potential societal and individual multilingualism. “Our goal is the knowledge of the successful processes of developing multilingualism in day care centres and primary and secondary level schools and to develop and deploy education”.

Summary of the results of the media research on the topic of “multilingualism”

1. Situation

In our globalised world it is not enough to know one language only. Whoever wants to participate in our modern society and communicate with people from other countries has to know at least a second language (mostly English). For economic and political reasons, knowing at least one second language is a must in today’s society. That is why politics does everything to educate and raise German children to become multilingual people, for example by teaching English to children at kindergarten or primary school. There are, however, limits to the success of these lessons, as studies have proved.

Germany is a very attractive country for migrants. Along with these migrants, a lot of different languages have “populated” German society (Turkish, Russian, Greek, Polish...). In 2010, 81.7 million people were living in Germany, 15.7 million of whom were of a migrant background, and 8.6 million of those 15.7 million had a German passport.¹³ Consequently, we are not talking about a minority of people but about 1/5 of the population of Germany.

The 9th Report of Integration clearly states that the acquisition of the German language is an essential condition for migrants to be integrated successfully. It highlights that “in particular those children growing up with a language other than German have to learn German very early and definitely before attending school.”¹⁴ In order to reach that aim and enable migrant children to learn German under the best conditions, the federal states and the Federal Government support a wide range of language projects and programmes.

A lot of migrant children live in families in which German is hardly known or spoken. According to the report of the Federal Office on “Daily child care in Germany 2012”, 26 percent of children under the age of 6 years were of migrant background.¹⁵ Furthermore, it states that “50 percent of children with a migrant background and attending day care nurseries hardly communicate in German.”¹⁶ The percentage is even higher for children aged between 3 and 5. 61 percent of these hardly speak German at home.¹⁷ “This indicates that parents

¹¹ <http://www.zas.gwz-berlin.de/bivem.html> 12. 02. 2013 12:06.

¹² <http://www.empirische-bildungsforschung-bmbf.de/de/1418.php> 12.02.2012 13:31.

¹³ 9th Integration Report, June 2012, p. 23.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁵ Report on “Daily child care in Germany 2012”, 2012, p. 15.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 16.





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of migrant background who do not predominantly speak German at home only take advantage of the daily child care institutions when their children are older than 5 years [...].¹⁸

These children learn German as a second language successively. This means they learn German step by step on the basis of their mother tongue. According to the German Federal Association of Logopedics, “migrant children who learned their mother tongue successfully before they learned German have no problems in learning and acquiring a second language.”¹⁹

More and more linguists, scientists and pedagogues strongly believe that if second language acquisition is not simultaneous the child first needs the so called cognitive academic language proficiency of his/her mother tongue in order to learn the second language successfully (Jim Cummins, Bernt Ahrenholz, Yasemin Karakaşoğlu, Prof. Dr. Riehl, binationaler Verband, etc.). All agree on the need to support and develop multilingualism.

Studies clearly show that migrant children are not as good as monolingual German children for example in school tests. 61 percent of migrant children do not have the minimum German language standard in the subject of German at primary school.²⁰ “We always have migrant children in the first year who have severe problems in following the lesson. Even simple words are not known.”²¹

But why is the situation as it is in spite of the fact that politicians have put so much effort into changing and reforming the school systems and the structure of kindergartens in order to improve the learning conditions for children? They have also invested millions in language acquisition programmes in order to enable migrant children to learn German. According to studies, however, nothing has significantly changed so far.

On pages 109/110 of the Federal Report some reasons are given, which are described as “not supportive” for language acquisition (regarding language acquisition at kindergarten):

- ◆ there are hardly any situations which make children speak German;
- ◆ disturbed relationship with the reference person;
- ◆ not valuing and even neglecting the child’s mother tongue.

This has far-reaching consequences. If children are not able to connect and use their own experiences (which are also connected with their mother tongue) they may start feeling very insecure and fail to participate actively in the daily life of the kindergarten.²² What is more is that, owing to the dominance of one language at kindergarten, children get the impression that their own mother tongue and hence their culture and identity are neglected.²³ Multilingual children learn very early that some languages are more valuable than others. According to Andrje Below, the points referred to as “not supportive” in the Federal Report and, therefore, hardly existent in kindergartens (appreciation/esteem, quality and attractiveness of a language) are highly essential for a migrant child to learn a second language.²⁴ If these conditions are not provided, the child might start acting passively and his/her language acquisition will make slow progress. A further “non-supportive” condition to be mentioned is the lack of language consciousness/awareness of kindergarten teachers. They rarely use situations to communicate or make children communicate. They also often use so called ‘one-word sentences’, which has a negative effect on the child’s language acquisition.²⁵

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 109.

²⁰ Die Welt, Bildungsbericht schlägt bei Sprachkompetenz Alarm, 2011, p. 1.

²¹ Zeit, Sprich mit ihm, 2012, p. 13.

²² Verlag das Netz, Mehrsprachige Kinder in einsprachigen Kindergärten, 2007, p. 4.

²³ Ibid., p. 5.

²⁴ Zweisprachigkeit – Bilinguismus, 2011, p. 3.

²⁵ Zeit, Zu kurz, zu spät, zu abstrakt, 2010, p. 3.





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2. Changes to be made

So what do we need to do, what do we need to change to optimise and improve language acquisition for migrant children?

According to the 9th Report, qualified and competent teachers (in kindergartens and schools) and supportive conditions (as described by A. Below) are essential. Hartmut Esser and Yasemin Karakaşoğlu agree with and support this statement.²⁶ Fabienne Becker-Stoll even claims that kindergarten teachers ought to have at least a Bachelor's Degree.²⁷ Analyses of the NICHD study of early child care prove that improving the quality of education and child care has positive effects on the cognitive (and therefore language) competence of migrant children.

Furthermore, changes must be made regarding the language level tests. The Federal Report discusses this topic very intensively. These tests are needed in order to determine children's level of language. The report states that there are 17 different kinds of tests/methods in only 14 federal states in Germany.²⁸ These tests have to be seen very critically. Because the tests are so varied, it is not possible to compare the test results from the different federal states. Among other things, the tests differ in:

- 1) **age:** sometimes tests are done half a year prior to children starting school, sometimes 2 years before and sometimes when children start school;
- 2) **time:** the duration of the test depends on the method that is used. Sometimes a short talk during the pre-school examination is sufficient, sometimes the test lasts 30 minutes or longer;
- 3) **who does the test:** sometimes kindergarten teachers give advice, sometimes doctors assess the children during the pre-school examination, sometimes teachers at school and sometimes special logopedicians do the tests and decide whether language support is needed or not.

A next step would then be to unify all the different language programmes and concepts in all federal states and carry out evaluations. For example, the obligatory number of language lessons and hours, the contents and language levels must be set. Petra Stanat, Olaf Köller and Hans Anand Pant are critical of the fact that there is no systematic language acquisition support programme throughout Germany.²⁹ They argue that, owing to the lack of evaluations and the huge variety of language programmes, nobody knows which kind of programme is really useful and which is not. At the moment every federal state believes that its programme is the best one, although studies from the Universities of Ulm and Berlin have proved that it makes no difference whether migrant children participate in a language acquisition programme or not. Their marks are nearly the same at the end of years one and two.³⁰ And in spite of the lack of positive results of evaluations, the federal states and the Government support these questionable programmes with millions of euros.

So far, however, nothing has changed. A long-lasting systematic evaluable programme or concept is lacking in both kindergartens and schools.³¹

A further point that needs to be addressed is "interaction" and the duration of language programmes. There is hardly any interaction between kindergartens and schools. There is virtually no cooperation between them and both institutions have their own language pro-

²⁶ Zeit, Türkischunterricht an deutschen Schulen, 2010.

²⁷ Zeit, Was Krippen bieten sollen, 2010, p. 4.

²⁸ 9th Integration Report, June 2012, p. 103.

²⁹ Zeit, Kaum etwas gelernt, 2010, p. 4.

³⁰ Zeit, Zu kurz, zu spät, zu abstrakt, 2010, p. 1.

³¹ Zeit, Der Reformcheck, 2010, p. 1.





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grammes. This is in spite of the report by the Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees, which clearly states: “Experts believe that children raised with 2 languages need language support for 6 years before they are able to follow lessons as well as their monolingual classmates.” Consequently, kindergartens and schools must work together first of all to secure a long-term language acquisition support programme, and to ensure good progress in optimal language acquisition without any obstacles. Moreover, they must carry out evaluations and develop standards together.³² Detlef Diskowksi comments on the current short-term language programmes: “The idea that the lack of language of 4 and 5-year-old children can be resolved by a few extra lessons in German shortly before starting school is an illusion.”³³ Yasemin Karakaşoğlu agrees with this statement and proves that language support one year before starting school is not enough to resolve the deficits in language knowledge, since she has established that language development in children finishes in its basic features at 5 years of age. That is why language acquisition programmes have to start at the age of 3 at the latest.³⁴

The consensus of all reports, interviews, articles and discussions dealing with language acquisition is the same: language acquisition programmes can only be successful if:

- 1) qualified, language-conscious teachers at nursery schools, kindergartens and schools care for and educate children based on a systematic and long-lasting concept;
- 2) the mother tongue of the migrant child is valued, represented and integrated into the educational institutions;
- 3) migrant children attend nursery school and kindergarten regularly and as early as possible, but at the latest at 3 years of age;
- 4) German is intensively taught in extra lessons but also in the daily routine at nursery schools, kindergartens and schools;
- 5) language tests/programmes are uniform nationwide, systematic and long-term, evaluated and critically analysed;
- 6) nursery schools, kindergartens and schools interact, evaluate and share experiences;
- 7) parents as the most important reference persons are included into the whole second language acquisition programme;
- 8) the mother tongue is taught alongside the second language to avoid semi-speechlessness (German for monolingual German pupils is also taught continuously, even though we start learning a second language);
- 9) further regular training courses (free of charge) for teachers at kindergartens and schools are guaranteed.

If these points are taken into consideration in reforming the educational system, Germany will gain highly educated multilingual pupils.

³² Welt, Regierung will mehr Migranten zu Lehrern ausbilden, 2010, p. 1.

³³ Zeit, Zu kurz, zu spät, zu abstrakt, 2010, p. 1.

³⁴ Ibid.





SWEDEN

1. Introduction

Natural bilingualism and multilingualism among children are well-known and widely studied phenomena in Sweden. There are about 150 different both spoken and written languages used in the country, e.g. Sign language, English, South Sami, Wolof, Finnish, Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, Arabic, Kurdish, Spanish and Farsi.¹ These phenomena are often connected to the history of immigration to Sweden. This immigration has arisen for different reasons at different times, thus, during the 1950-1960s, when Sweden had a greater need for a labour market, a large-scale process of immigration occurred. As a consequence, the social needs of immigrant children began to attract more public attention. One of the political decisions was to begin mother tongue teaching at school. At the beginning of the 1970s all immigrant pupils could receive native language support during the education process. At the same time, a new subject, Swedish as a Second Language, was taught to students who were not native Swedish speakers. The economic crises of the 1990s had a negative impact on native language teaching and a significant reduction in this teaching followed (Håkansson, 2003)². Nowadays, however, Sweden is one of the few countries that offer mother tongue tuition for immigrant students.

There is another, historical reason why Sweden is one of the few countries to offer mother tongue tuition. There are five minority languages in Sweden: Finnish, Sami, Meänkieli, Romani and Yiddish. The Act on National Minorities and National Minority Languages (2009:724) states: "The five recognized national minorities in Sweden are the Jews, the Roma, the Sami (an indigenous people), the Swedish Finns and the Tornedalers".³ However, the location and dissemination of the minority languages is a subject of debate in society: "The Finnish language has a low status in Sweden despite the fact that around 440,000 Swedish-speaking Finns live in the country. At schools in the northern region of Norrbotten pupils are not allowed to speak any other language than Swedish. Their parents are also recommended to speak Swedish with their children. The situation in Finland, however, is quite different. The Swedish language is the mother tongue of children in bilingual communities in Finland. Children learn Swedish as a mother tongue at school" (Aftonbladet, 01.16.2009).⁴

It is important to note that other languages, which are native for these or those students and taught at schools, are also of increasing current interest. They may possibly become more so in the future in the form of a particular school subject – Mother Tongue. Most attention is given to the Arabic language in Swedish society. Arabic is the third widespread language in Sweden; it is spoken by 200,000-300,000 people (Expressen, 29.01.2009). "Cultural traditions are very strong and at Swedish schools the prerogative is likely to be given to learning Latin rather than languages of non-European origin. Despite such a great number (it is only outnumbered by Finnish), it is hardly taught at schools as a foreign language alongside French, Spanish and German".⁵

The Swedish National Agency for Education - Statens skolverk (Skolverket) – is a government agency in Sweden that oversees the Swedish public school system for children

¹ SPRÅKRÅDET (2013) <http://www.sprakradet.se/minoritetspraak> (13.01.2013).

² HÅKANSSON, G. (2003): Tvåspråkighet hos barn i Sverige. Språk, språkinläring och språkforskning. (Bilingualism among children in Sweden. Language, language learning and language research). Lund: Student literature.

³ SPRAKRADET.SE (2012): Act on National Minorities and National Minority Languages: practical guidelines. <http://www.sprakradet.se/12609> (29.10.2012).

⁴ ÅP: Finskan är en del av Sverige. – In: Aftonbladet.se. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/article11619247.ab> (13.09.2012).

⁵ LUND, A.: Var finns arabiskan? – In: expressen.se. <http://www.expressen.se/ledare/aron-lund-var-fins-arabiskan/>(19.09.2012).





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and adults. This agency creates different supporting opportunities for multilingualism among children. For example, there is a special website, “Tema Modersmål”, (*Theme: Mother Tongue*).⁶ “On the Tema Modersmål website almost 100 teachers of more than 30 languages are working on the identification of links to texts, pictures and sound recordings that children can use for their language development. There are also interactive options for several of these languages so that contacts can be established between teachers, pupils and parents. The website also contains online machine translation services, online text-to-speak and speak-to-text, online encyclopaedias and lexicons, pop-up services, multilingual keyboards and online communication possibilities. All the represented languages have a website of their own with information and tools for communication, edited by active mother tongue teachers.”⁷ Different professionals work with such issues as “in-service training for multilingual teachers; organising the teaching of multilingual pupils; indigenous minorities; attitudes; distance teaching tools for multilingual teaching; production of teaching materials in foreign languages; multilingual children at pre-school” (ibid).

However, almost one in four children born outside Sweden is unable to graduate from secondary school and, consequently, apply to gymnasium (high school). According to the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* (29.11.2011), the number of immigrant children has risen from 25% to 37% during the past 5 years. The Ministry of Education of Sweden is seriously concerned about this issue, since it makes starting positions for children with another mother tongue (not Swedish), as well as for their parents, more complicated. As the Ministry of Education predicts, “the situation regarding poor school performance is going to get worse”⁸.

On the one hand, this situation may be seen retrospectively. For instance, *Dagens Nyheter* writes the following (30.11.2010): “The School Inspectorate has checked 42 schools and kindergartens and found that many of them do not support mother tongue teaching. Moreover, pupils’ knowledge of ‘Swedish as a second language’ is of poor quality. Kindergartens must improve this situation, as children of an immigrant background often finish secondary school without qualifications, as opposed to children born in Sweden.”⁹ On the other hand, there are several reasons for this tendency when out one of four pupils of non-Swedish origin does not obtain secondary school qualifications. According to *Dagens Nyheter* (29.11.2011), “The number of children not born in Sweden has increased from 24% to 37% over the last 8 years. The reasons for this are attributable to different factors: the changing of migration countries, the increased number of children who did not attend school before migrating to Sweden and their being older than their immigrant classmates who migrated to Sweden earlier”. That fact that more and more schools are taking in children who speak Swedish less often than their mother tongue can also be another reason; hence: “For immigrants who live in areas with low SES, choosing a school can help, while Swedish parents change their children’s school if there is a rise in the number of immigrants at their ‘precious’ schools. Among the basic reasons for choosing a school in another area the most popular is the will to learn ‘the proper Swedish language.’” (ibid). However, the authors believe that in most cases the level of the parents’ education and the cultural significance of educational traditions in a family play an important role. They show a good example of this in Vårgårda Commune (Västergötland). “Here it was decided in 2005 that in kindergartens

⁶ TEMA MODERSMÅL, this project has been funded with support from the European Commission www.modersmal.skolverket.se

⁷ TEMA MODERSMÅL/ Theme: Mother Tongue (2013) [www.epasi.eu/\\$-project-study.cfm?PID=129](http://www.epasi.eu/$-project-study.cfm?PID=129) (13.01.2013).

⁸ MUNCK, A.: 40 procent av utlandsfödda klarar inte grundskolan. – In: *Aftonbladet.se*. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article14002657.ab> (13.09.2012).

⁹ SR:s EKOT: Barn med annat modersmål missgynnas. – In: *DN.se*. <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/barn-med-annat-modersmal-missgynnas> (14.10.2012).





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the number of children who do not speak Swedish must not exceed 30%, because many parents are afraid that their children will not manage to master Swedish properly. At that time, the number of children who did not speak Swedish was as high as 70%. Currently, there are fewer than 50% of such children in the commune's kindergartens" (ibid). Thus, "The Ministry of Education believes that the number of unsatisfactory results in school performance among immigrants will continue to increase and that crisis-preventing measures are necessary. Nevertheless, a positive tendency can be noticed, because immigrants' children born in Sweden perform just as well at school as ethnic Swedes. This tendency is also typical for those children who migrated to Sweden at pre-school age".¹⁰

In 2012 the Swedish government assigned 400 million Swedish kronor to the task of improving the performance of newly arrived children (*Aftonbladet*, 12.09.2012). First of all, the money is to be spent on teaching the Swedish language, increasing the number of study hours that should be spent on learning Swedish and improving the quality of the individual approach towards children's needs. The next step is to be compulsory attendance of schools for the children of immigrants. The Minister of Education, Jan Björklund, states: "This investment is justified by the fact that immigration in Sweden has a new character, in particular the general influx of immigrants is from Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. The education systems in these countries are different from that of Sweden, so these children need some special support" (ibid). In May (i.e. 2012) the Swedish government presented a project for a reform aimed at decreasing segregation at schools. The main problem is that the difference in numbers between pupils born outside Sweden and pupils of Swedish origin has significantly increased. According to statistics, "children who came to Sweden at middle or upper-secondary school age and whose parents have a low level of education are the most disadvantaged". In the government's opinion, "the Swedish language is the key to adapting to Swedish society".¹¹

2. Natural Bilingualism in the Context of the Swedish Media

2.1. Brief Review 2009–2012

Sweden is a multicultural society. Immigration and immigrants are a major socio-economic issue (i.e. immigrant as a person with an immigrant background or born of immigrant parents). Therefore, problems related to integration and segregation concern children's interests and are often discussed on the pages of the most authoritative publications. One of the problems is that there are more and more Swedish schools at which either only the children of immigrants or mostly ethnic Swedes study. School segregation, for instance, stands out as a very topical question for Sweden (*Dagens Nyheter*, 24.05.2012):

"Politicians are trying to show that the right to the free choice of school is not a reason for the problem of segregation but its solution. However, the results of scientific research show the opposite. The situation where arrogant immigrant parents change their children's school for a more prestigious one is mythical. Ethnic middle-class Swedes, however, change their children's schools for schools in other areas as soon as the number of immigrant children begins to increase."¹²

Another problem is that children of an immigrant background have some difficulties in mastering their school programme and, in fact, one in four immigrant children drops out of secondary school. This problem is connected with the changing character of immigration

¹⁰ GRANESTRAND, L.: Färre utlandsfödda på gymnasiet. – In: dn.se. <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/farre-utlandsfodda-pa-gymnasiet> (14.10.2012).

¹¹ KARLSSON, P. / HOLMQVIST, A.: Fler lektionstimmar för nyanlända elever. – In: *Aftonbladet*.se. <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article15426994.ab> (23.09.2012).

¹² MALMBERG, B., ANDERSSON, E. / ÖSTH, J.: Timbros position i skolpolitiken är ohållbar. – In: DN.se. <http://www.dn.se/debatt/timbros-position-i-skolpolitiken-ar-ohallbar> (14.09.2012).





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itself. In particular, it is due to the fact that the largest proportion of immigrants coming to Sweden nowadays consists of Somalis, Afghans and Iranians. This means that challenging living conditions have an impact on the quality of education and this has to be taken into account. Thus there are significant cultural differences and differences between education systems.

On the pages of *Aftonbladet*,¹³ the problems listed above are examined across several fields, such as stratification, stigma and segregation. Stratification refers to the economic stratification of Swedish society caused by the high level of unemployment among immigrants. Stigma, connected with the status of ‘immigrant’ or with foreign origin, also goes through public opinion on the pages of this newspaper. However, material relating to ethnic origin usually refers to the topic of discrimination on ethnic grounds, which proves that this problem exists and is of current interest. The number of publications on topics concerning the strengthening of the mother tongue decreased in 2009-2012, compared with publications in 2005-2008.

In addition to the problems mentioned above, the subject of learning a mother tongue (not Swedish) is also a very topical issue in the daily newspaper *Expressen*¹⁴; it gives rise to keen debates and discussions in the sociopolitical arena. This question is closely related to the politics of education and integration. On the whole, to judge from the editions of this newspaper, it can be assumed that knowledge of two or more languages is supported in Swedish society.

Questions relating to national consciousness and language and questions concerning immigration, integration and bilingualism are also discussed on the pages of another publication: *Dagens Nyheter*¹⁵. The integration process not only includes the possibility to work in a new society, but also an awareness of unity. Nowadays immigrants are likely to be regarded as forming diasporas. In spite of a significant flow of immigrants, there is no term for the national identity in Sweden that compares to the general term “American” in the USA. Immigrant stigma may follow a person even if he is a third generation immigrant, even though 14.7% of the Swedish population were born abroad. The questions are discussed on the level of opinions and suggestions by leading political parties, organisations and the government. On the whole, bilingualism is supported by public opinion.

*Svenska Dagbladet*¹⁶ has published, in addition to the problems listed above, articles arguing that education for immigrants in Sweden should be improved. The communes are responsible for completing this task but the Government should also take a more active part in solving this problem. According to the authors of another article, there are benefits to immigration that have been missed (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 08.11.2012). They point out that migration is not a problem but an opportunity: “The challenge is that many foreign-born Swedes do not get the jobs they are qualified to do. This means lost opportunities for society and the individual.” The article was written by Asa Romson and Mehmet Kaplan (Green Party). They continue: “by contrast, 68 percent of those born outside Sweden have jobs they are qualified in, whereas the figure for native Swedes is 91 percent. The gap between 68 and 91 percent equates to 50,000 potentially highly skilled Swedes, at a time when Sweden needs specialists”. The authors propose a solution:

“Improve teaching in Swedish: Unfortunately, SFI (‘Swedish for Immigrants’) as taught at school is not up to the task of integrating immigrants into society. It is necessary to strengthen the teaching and support of mother languages, since a newly arrived pupil who

¹³ Stockholm, circulation: 240 000 ex. (2012), according to National Encyclopedia (NE).

¹⁴ Stockholm, circulation: everyday 270 900 ex., Sundays 364 700 ex. (2010), according to NE.

¹⁵ Stockholm, circulation: everyday 285 700 ex., Sundays 330 000 ex. (2011), according to NE.

¹⁶ Stockholm, Circulation: everyday 192 000 ex., Sundays 197 100 ex. (2010), according to NE.





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has just begun to learn Swedish has difficulties in learning both Swedish and mathematics. If teaching positions of mother languages are strengthened, the opportunities for teaching regular school subjects can be improved. This will have a real influence on the student's performance and give him/her the opportunity to graduate from school."¹⁷

According to *Sydsvenskan*¹⁸, which is the main newspaper in Malmö (280,000 inhabitants), about 37% of Malmö's citizens have a foreign background (both parents born abroad). This multi-ethnic and multi-religious part of the city's population represents more than 150 different languages. Danes are the largest national immigrant group (about 9,000), closely followed by people from Iraq and the former Yugoslavia (around 8,000 in each group). Arabs are in the leading position: roughly 12,000 people have some form of Arab background. The cultural diversity of Malmö's public face presents a dynamic and exciting impression. But there is also a downside. The ethnic diversity has contributed to many of the city's residents living in their own cultural and religious worlds with little contact between them and the majority population.

The main idea of the daily newspaper *Dagen*¹⁹ is how to apply religion to everyday life. It can be said that the Swedish Church could play an important role in the revitalisation and development of the minority languages. In particular, "the translation of ecclesiastical books, hymns and worship materials contributes to enriching the languages in the public domain" (*Dagen*, 20.03.2011). The National Forum also discussed a policy programme, 'Multilingual Church'. According to the programme, the Swedish Church embraces its multilingualism with existing resources by making use of employees' language skills and cultural background.²⁰

Språktidningen is a magazine which writes about everything related to other languages, for example popular science and advanced light-hearted stories, and bilingualism is often discussed in a scientific context.

2.2 Multilingual Education: Opportunities and Challenges

There are two subjects of Swedish at Swedish schools: Swedish language and Swedish as a second language (Swedish 2). Swedish 2 is designed for pupils of non-Swedish origin. Special pedagogic methodology is used and demands are lower than those for Swedish language. Swedish 2 is not as well integrated into the context of other school subjects. According to *Expressen* (26.01.2012), one in five secondary school pupils is not of Swedish origin and their mother tongue is considered to be different (not Swedish). But, as the results of Lena Fridlund's research show, learning Swedish 2 is often unsubstantiated and the majority of surveyed pupils consider Swedish to be their native language. "60% of pupils of an immigrant background learn Swedish 2. Sometimes a school director sets this rule for all those who have a non-Swedish background or to use up the studying hours allocated to this subject. And sometimes just for no particular reason." Different conditions and demands for all pupils as regards learning Swedish are considered to be a reasonable solution.²¹ Furthermore, according to the results of research made in Malmö (the largest multicultural city in Sweden), teaching in two languages, Swedish and Arabic, has its advantages: it leads to a deeper knowledge of subjects and improves cooperation between parents and schools (*Dagens Nyheter*, 10.11.2011). The authors continue: "Pupils who are taught in two lan-

¹⁷ ROMSON, Å., KAPLAN, M.: Vi missar fördelarna som invandringen ger. – In: SvD.se http://www.svd.se/opinion/brannpunkt/vi-missar-fordelarna-som-invandringen-ger_7653844.svd (21.11.2012).

¹⁸ www.sydsvenskan.se. Malmö, Circulation: everyday 115 600 ex., Sundays 122 500 ex. (2010), according to NE.

¹⁹ www.dagen.se. Circulation: 18,600 (in 2008), according to the [dagen.se](http://www.dagen.se).

²⁰ DAGEN.: Svenska kyrkan stärker minoritetsspråken. – In: www.dagen.se/nyheter/-svenska-kyrkan-starker-minoritetsspraken-/ (27.11.2012).

²¹ KvP.: Samma svenska för alla! – In: www.expressen.se/kvp/ledare/ledare-samma-svenska-for-alla/ (25.09.2012).





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guages expand their vocabulary slowly. But their knowledge of Swedish and Arabic is much deeper, compared with those who only study in Swedish”.²²

Moreover, students who attend mother tongue classes have better grades than other students in all school subjects (*Språktidningen*, 2009:02). Students on mother tongue courses surpassed both students who do not receive language teaching and students with Swedish as their mother tongue with regards to academic performance, according to a survey by the National Agency.

Linguists have long believed that it is important for everyone learning that you have a well-developed first language, and several studies have suggested that bilingual children have a faster brain and can resolve cognitive tasks better. In December a government report on new teacher training was also presented, which, among other things, recommended using more resources for the training of teachers in the native language. However, the Minister for Education, Jan Björklund, has no plans to uproot the tarnished language teaching. He thinks it is important that students learn Swedish properly, for the purpose of integration.²³

However, several significant questions were discussed with regard to mother tongue teaching at the same time (*Dagens Nyheter*, 16.09.2010), according to the authors, representing the Centre Party:²⁴

“173,147 pupils at secondary schools speak another language (not Swedish). 53% of these children learn this as a subject at school, according to the data of the Swedish Ministry of Education. 67% live in Stockholm and 87% attend extra classes. The Swedish communes must provide classes in a mother tongue if 5 or more applications from pupils wishing to learn their mother tongue are presented by their parents, according to the law. The point of the party’s initiative is that it offers to hold mother tongue classes even if only one application is received. For various reasons, parents want their children to learn their mother tongue as a heritage of their ancestors. At the same time, there is scope for disagreement; for example, some parents think that a child born in Sweden should not learn his (immigrant) parents’ mother tongue. There are a number of reasons why it is difficult for children to receive teaching in their mother tongue. For example, the school timetable is inconvenient or parents might not know that a mark in a certain discipline will count towards their child’s diploma, and hence is important for being accepted to a gymnasium. Many parents do not consider this subject to be serious and do not demand a good level of performance of their child. There are those who avoid it on grounds of contact with a mother tongue teacher, as they think that this contact may invade their private life and do their family harm. Moreover, there is not so much information about any legal basis for this subject teaching.”²⁵

One of the positive examples with regards to bilingualism is from Malmö. Malmö is a unique multicultural city and, as its politicians believe, multilingualism, widespread among the population, must give excellent opportunities for the labour market. According to the authors, “excellent knowledge of a native language strengthens and helps to improve a second language, as various research shows” (*Expressen*, 6.05.2012). Therefore:

“Representatives of the three parties agree that language is key to young people’s success in life. The politicians have decided to invest in developing and strengthening the teaching of Swedish as well as teaching in native languages at Malmö’s schools. (...) Three years ago

²² TT: Tvåspråkig undervisning bäst. – In: dn.se. <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/vetenskap/tvasprakig-undervisning-bast>(14.10.2012).

²³ SPRÅKTIDNINGEN.: Smartare med välutvecklat förstaspråk. – In: spraktidningen.se. <http://spraktidningen.se/artiklar/2009/02/smartare-med-valutvecklat-forstasprak> (13.01.2013).

²⁴ CENTRALPARTIET (2013) <http://www.centerpartiet.se/> (13.01.2013).

²⁵ TÖRNQVIST, H.: Modersmål måste få högre status i skolan. – In: DN.se. <http://www.dn.se/debatt/stockholmsdebatt/modersmal-maste-fa-hogre-status-i-skolan> (14.10.2012).





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the Ministry of Education of Sweden presented data according to which pupils who learn their native language at school perform better in comparison with others, irrespective of their family or socio-economic background.”²⁶

Furthermore, a decision was made by three political parties, the Swedish Social Democratic Party (S), the Left Party (V), and the Green Party (MP), to invest heavily in language and language development in Malmö’s schools (*Sydsvenskan*, 23.05.2011):

“One of the school’s challenges is to respond to the diversity of language and cultural backgrounds of the students. Deficiencies in knowledge of the language affect the student’s knowledge of school subjects in a negative way. They believe that learning as a whole benefits if students are allowed to use all their language skills and receive instruction based on their individual circumstances. A unilateral focus on Swedish would be a setback in subject learning for many students. There are 140 languages in Malmö and nearly 50 percent of students at primary schools speak, besides Swedish, at least one language with one of their parents. Managed properly, multilingualism is a huge asset for many young people in Malmö, the city as a whole, and for the future global labour market. During periods of recession, mother tongue teaching and encouraging bilingualism would often draw the short straw. It is not surprising that xenophobic parties use every opportunity to criticise diversity and mother language tuition. But it is very unfortunate that other political parties and young people also pursue this tiresome rhetoric.”²⁷

However, there is a potential problem with legislation for teachers of native languages (non-Swedish), which is related to political confrontation. The Swedish Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*), a Swedish right-wing conservative party, which wants to limit non-European immigration into Sweden, insist that teachers of native (non-Swedish) languages must obtain official authorisation for their occupation, as other teachers do. Authorisation has been an obligatory requirement in the teaching profession in Sweden since 2012 (*Expressen*, 29.03.2012). As the Minister for Education, Jan Björklund, believes, this will lead to the elimination of native language teaching since the demands on native language teachers have now changed and if they are tightened, widespread dismissal will take place. Jan Björklund believes that what the Swedish Democrats intend to do is to put an end to native language teaching.²⁸

This raises questions on the pages of other publications. “Identification and authorisation requirements for mother tongue teachers would result in this type of teaching being completely “massacred” – which is just what the Swedish Democrats want”. This is what Education Minister, Jan Björklund (Liberal People’s Party), says to *Svenska Dagbladet* (29.05.2012): “It would smash and destroy all Swedish language teaching. This amounts to a massacre. It is probably just what the Swedish Democrats are looking for, but I am surprised that the Red-Greens²⁹ are willing to contribute to it.” We have a very narrow recruitment base for mother tongue teachers. They can be recruited from among adult immigrants who have a certain level of education from their home countries.”³⁰

²⁶ JAMMEH, K. S., GEDIN, H. / ÖFVERBÄCK, J.: Nu satsar Malmöskolor på språk. – In: *Expressen.se*. <http://www.expressen.se/kvp/ledare/nu-satsar-malmo-skolor-pa-sprak/> (25.09.2012).

²⁷ JAMMEH, H., GEDIN, J., ÖFVERBECK, M./STJERNFELDT, K.: Språksatsning gynnar eleverns utveckling. –In: *Sydsvenskan.se* <http://www.sydsvenskan.se/ingen-sektion/spraksatsning-gynnar-elevers-utveckling/> (27.11.2012).

²⁸ HÖGSTROM, E.: Björklund till angrepp på rödgrönas samarbete med SD. – In: *expressen.se* <http://www.expressen.se/nyheter/bjorklund-till-angrepp-pa-rodgronas-samarbete-med-sd/> (23.09.2012).

²⁹ A coalition of red-green political parties in Sweden consisted of the three parties in the Riksdag (Parliament of Sweden): Swedish Social Democratic Party, Green Party, and Left Party.

³⁰ OLSSON, L.: Björklund: slakt av modersmålsundervisning. –In: SvD.se <http://blog.svd.se/politikdirekt/2012/05/bjorklund-slakt-av-modersmalsundervisning/> (21.11.2012).





Taking into account the complexity and diversity of this issue, a new pedagogic specialty, focusing on work at multicultural schools, has appeared (*Dagens Nyheter*, 11.02.2012). Linnaeus University is working in this area to increase the academic performance of children from immigrant backgrounds. Students will not be able to enrol for this until the summer of 2013.³¹

3. Law: Mother Tongue Teaching in Political and Legal Contexts

3.1 Mother Tongue Teaching in a Political Context

According to the system of political organisation in Sweden, “All power comes from the people. This is the foundation of Sweden’s parliamentary democracy. Everyone has the same rights and chances to have their word, and everyone is free to scrutinize how politicians and public agencies exercise their power. General elections are held every four years. The people are entitled to vote and influence which political party will represent them in the Riksdag (the national parliament), county councils and municipalities. The 349 members of the Riksdag make the decisions and the Government implements those decisions. The Government may also submit proposals for new laws or amendments to laws for a parliamentary vote. In the latest election, in September 2010, Fredrik Reinfeldt became the first conservative Prime Minister to win reelection.”³²

There are eight political parties that represent a multi-party political system in Sweden, whose opinions regarding the support of mother tongue teaching are presented as follows: the Swedish Social Democratic Workers’ Party (*Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti* (S)), whose ideology is based on social democracy and democratic socialism, declares that: “The right to mother tongue support at pre-school should be written into law. Greater opportunity for subject teaching in the mother tongue!”³³ The Moderate Party (*Moderata samlingspartiet* (M)) is a centre-right, liberal conservative political party, and states that schools must be able to offer more than what the statutory requirement is.³⁴ The Green Party (*Miljöpartiet de Gröna* (MP)), builds its ideology on the three solidarities: animals, nature and the ecological system; future generations; all the world’s people. According to their position, “one of the most effective ways to improve learning outcomes when children have a mother tongue other than Swedish is to invest more in mother language teaching. We want to extend the right to mother tongue education to the entire period spent at primary school. We also have an extended subject teaching in the mother tongue.”³⁵ The Liberal People’s Party (*Folkpartiet Liberalerna* (FP)) is a liberal and conservative-liberal political party. Their opinion in relation to mother tongue teaching is: “To develop tutoring and help with homework in the mother tongue. Subject teaching should be in Swedish. School should be a battering ram against segregation. Through good schooling all students are given the opportunity to develop their qualities and abilities regardless of their social background. Mother tongue teaching can be a valuable complement to subject teaching. Through tutoring in conjunction with regular subject teaching and help with homework, language teachers can support newcomers in their acquisition of knowledge. We believe, however, that regular subject teaching should not be conducted in the mother tongue.”³⁶ The Centre Party

³¹ SMÅLANDSPOSTEN.: Mångkultur i ny lärarutbildning. – In: DN.se. <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/mangkultur-i-ny-lararutbildning> (14.10.2012).

³² SWEDEN’S OFFICIAL WEBSITE (2013) <http://www.sweden.se/eng> (13.01.2013).

³³ SvD NYHETER.: Politikerna om modersmålsundervisningen. – In: SvD.se, December, 2008. http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/politikerna-om-modersmalsundervisningen_2137307. svd (27.11.2012).

³⁴ SvD NYHETER.: Politikerna om modersmålsundervisningen. – In: SvD.se, December, 2008. http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/politikerna-om-modersmalsundervisningen_2137307. svd (27.11.2012).

³⁵ MP (2010): Valmanifest 2010. http://www.mp.se/templates/Mct_177.aspx?number=205238 (13.11.2012).

³⁶ FOLKPARTIET LIBERALERNA (2010): Modersmålsundervisning. <http://www.folkpartiet.se/Var-politik/Snabba-fakta/modersmalsundervisning/> (13.11.2012).





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(*Centerpartiet* (C)) is a pro-immigration party. Their ideology is based on the principals of social liberalism and Nordic agrarianism. As regards mother tongue teaching, they say: “A good grounding in Swedish is essential and elements of the native language may facilitate the learning of Swedish. Municipalities are required to provide instruction for all students who have a language other than Swedish as the daily language in the home. Teaching the first language is an important part of the integration process and also displays an open and welcoming attitude. In order to enable more immigrants to have access to mother tongue education, we want the limit of five students for one class to be removed”.³⁷ The Swedish Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna* (SD)) is a political party that describes itself as a nationalist movement, and their position is as follows: “Mother tongue teaching does not promote assimilation into Swedish society. At the same time its effects on learning Swedish are very questionable. In essence, we believe that the teaching of the mother tongue is an interest that concerns the individual family, who then should also bear the costs, while teaching should be outside of normal school hours. Currently, it is in principle the municipalities that fund language teaching but we urge the Education Act to be amended so that no mandatory law imposes compulsory language teaching, the national minority languages excepted. However, it should still be possible for an individual municipality to provide mother tongue tuition if desired, although this should be outside of regular school hours”.³⁸ The Christian Democrats (*Kristdemokraterna* (KD)), is a Christian democratic political party. “Sweden has a proud tradition of being immigrant-friendly. We Christian Democrats are fighting hard for undocumented children’s and young people’s right to education and healthcare. It requires both courage and perseverance to put in place the political decisions that enable us to guarantee these children and young people care and schooling. We must now also expand this battle against the Social Democrats to ensure immigrant children and young people an education in their mother tongue. The Social Democrats will perhaps recognise how self-obsessed is the demand that teachers of mother languages must have teaching credentials. Perhaps an overly optimistic reflection, however, the question now demands a renewed hearing in parliament. The consequences for first-language students must be elucidated. Our children from other countries should not have to be trapped for the sake of a half-baked political handling of an important issue”.³⁹ The Left Party (*Vänsterpartiet* (V)) is a socialist and feminist political party, which declares it: “Wants bilingual education from pre-school through to upper-secondary school. The Education Act should be amended so that municipalities and pre-schools will be required to offer native language support”.⁴⁰

There are several levels of political organisation in the Swedish political system: “Swedish governance as a whole is built on decentralisation. On a local and regional level, municipalities and county councils are autonomous political bodies with clearly defined areas of responsibility. Municipalities deal with city planning and schools, for example, while county councils are in charge of areas such as healthcare and infrastructure”.⁴¹ Regarding mother tongue teaching, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR),⁴² carried out a piece of research by interviewing politicians, administrative authorities, department managers, school directors and teachers about editorial practice for newly-ar-

³⁷ CENTRALPARTIET: Stammobeslut Partistämman 2009 Område 9. Migration och asyl. Stockholm, 2009. P. 10.

³⁸ JOMSHOF, R./ KARLSSON, M.: Avskaffande av obligatorisk modersmålsundervisning. Motion 24.09.2012/13:Ub21. Stockholm, 2012. http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Forslag/Motioner/Avskaffande-av-obligatorisk-mo_H002Ub210/?text=true (27.11.2012).

³⁹ ECLUND, A. (2012): Modersmålsundervisning. Kristdemokraterna. <http://kdskaraborg.se/blog/2012/06/01/modersmalsundervisning/> (27.11.2012).

⁴⁰ SvD NYHETER: Politikerna om modersmålsundervisningen. – In: SvD.se, December, 2008. http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/politikerna-om-modersmalsundervisningen_2137307.svd (27.11.2012).

⁴¹ SWEDEN'S OFFICIAL WEBSITE (2013) <http://www.sweden.se/eng> (13.01.2013).

⁴² (SALAR; swe: Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (SKL)) unites 290 municipalities and 20 regions (counties), in particular, in Gotland County, Halland County, Skåne County and Västra Götaland County.





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rived children in ten Swedish municipalities (2010).⁴³ According to the results, there were ten positive examples from ten municipalities,⁴⁴ which were recommended for the study, dissemination, and application of successful experience. “Many of the municipalities have been actively working to develop language teaching. It refers to research that shows that it is beneficial for students to have a strong language. There is great potential both in terms of mother tongue as a subject and study. We can, for example, work with distance learning, IT-support and professional development activities to help students to achieve better results. More development could also be achieved if the government improved the conditions for municipalities” (ibid, p. 29). The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) have sent their suggestions concerning the improvement of education quality and based on the results of the survey above to the government of the Kingdom of Sweden.

One of the examples was from the Municipality of Norrköping. It was The Intercultural Language Association (IKSE),⁴⁵ which is a municipal school association that works with 3 principal tasks: teaching a mother tongue, pedagogical accompanying in a mother tongue and supporting newly arrived pupils in their mother tongue. The IKSE organisation's staff composition is currently 58 native-speaker teachers. The main mission of the IKSE is to organise the teaching of languages in Norrköping. The aim of the teaching is to give every student who has the right to be educated in a native language an opportunity to develop and improve his/her native tongue in written language and oral speech. Mother tongue teaching gives students an opportunity to develop their cultural identity and become multilingual. Today the IKSE organises and teaches 26 languages at primary schools and 17 languages at secondary schools. These are Albanian, Arabic, Assyrian/Syrian, Bosnian/Croatian, Serbian, English, Finnish, Greek, Chinese (Mandarin), Persian (Farsi/Dari), Polish, Romanian, Russian, Somali, Spanish, Thai, Turkish and German. The teaching in general is held at De Geer secondary school, where students meet with pupils from other gymnasia. The timetable varies but for the most part the course is held on Fridays in the afternoon. Their staff have a dual task: as they are both teachers and native speakers, they carry cultural knowledge and give their expert knowledge and resources to support pupils of primary and secondary schools in their native languages. They work with parents, school staff and interested departments.⁴⁶

However, in the newspaper debate, which came after the report of the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) about 10 positive examples of how the communes and county councils manage these tasks, the authors pointed out that: “Thousands of refugee children come to Sweden every year. (...) The communes are often not aware of what kinds of pupils are coming, their age, or what kind of help should be provided for them beforehand for successful adaptation and socialisation (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 17.06.2010).⁴⁷ Summing them up, the authors highlight the following aspects: if the municipalities are given more opportunities to make flexible decisions, they will become better acquainted with the particular needs and circumstances of students. This can include, for example, flexible timetables, varying start times of classes, study curricula and class preparation. The level of mother tongues plays a great role in teachers' preparation. It is impossible to provide

⁴³ ANDERSSON BRYHJA, N./ MELCHERT, R. (2010): Nyanlända elevers utbildning: goda exempel från tio kommuner. Sveriges kommuner och landsting.

⁴⁴ Representatives of the association have been to 10 municipalities, where positive examples concerning questions dealing with education for new-coming immigrants of the school age were demonstrated: Haninge, Helsingborg, Karlstad, Landskrona, Luleå, Norrköping, Norrtälje, Sundsvall, Uppsala and Växjö.

⁴⁵ swe: Interkulturella språkenheten (IKSE).

⁴⁶ NORRKÖPINGS KOMMUN (2012): Modersmålsundervisning. <http://www.norrkoping.se/barn-utbildning/elevehalsa/modersmal/modersmalsundervisning> (29.10.2012).

⁴⁷ KNAPE, A.: Bättre skola för nyanlända kräver gemensamt ansvar. - In: Svenska Dagbladet. <http://www.skil.se/press/debattartiklar> (20.11.12).





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adequate teaching of a language or to offer classes in a mother tongue without the proper teachers. The Government should also increase funding so that this can be done as well as possible. Payments to people of school age who are searching for accommodation and have a residence permit are often very low or absent. It is high time the Government accepted entire responsibility to cover the costs of these tasks (ibid).

3.2 Mother Tongue Teaching in a Legal Context

According to the Language Act (2009:600): "The Swedish language is the principal language of Sweden. The Swedish language is to be comprehensible and community-supporting. Public Swedish is to be valued, simple and understandable. Everyone has the right to develop and acquire Swedish, to develop and use their own mother tongue and languages of the national minorities, as well as to have an opportunity to learn foreign languages".⁴⁸

Besides the principal language, there are five National Minority Languages, according to the Act on national Minorities and National Minority Languages (2009:724):

"The five recognised national minorities in Sweden are the Jews, the Roma, the Sami (an indigenous people), the Swedish Finns and the Tornedalers. Sweden's national minority languages: The historical minority languages in Sweden are Yiddish, Romany Chib (all varieties), Sami (all varieties), Finnish and Meänkieli. All five national minorities are covered by the Act (2009:724) pertaining to national minorities and minority languages. The so-called basic protection means that: administrative authorities must inform the national minorities about their rights in an appropriate manner when required; the community has a specific responsibility for protecting and promoting the languages of national minorities and shall also promote opportunities for the national minorities to retain and develop their culture in Sweden; children's development of a cultural identity and utilisation of their own minority language shall be particularly encouraged and administrative authorities shall give the national minorities the possibility to influence issues that concern them and consult with minorities' representatives in such issues as far as possible."⁴⁹

The right to learn native languages by native speakers is written (inter alia) in the School institution (SFS 2011:185). In particular this states that:

"Studying in one's mother tongue, §4. Any student will receive guidance in his native language, if he needs it. A student who is eligible for mother tongue teaching and who had been taught in a language other than his native one before his arrival in Sweden may be able to study in that language instead of his mother tongue if there are special reasons to do so.

Native language education §7 – Chapters 10, 11, 13; §10 – Chapter 12. §7. The Education Act (2010:800) contains basic provisions for the responsible authority's obligation to offer mother tongue teaching. The authority is also responsible for providing mother tongue teaching to pupils who are adoptive children and have a mother tongue other than Swedish, even if the language is not in daily use at home by the pupil. The head teacher will decide upon a student's mother tongue teaching. §8. Mother tongue teaching may be arranged: 1) as a language option at primary and special schools, 2) as the choice of the student, 3) as a result of a decision made by the school, or 4) in addition to the guaranteed teaching time. §9. Mother tongue teaching may not comprise more than one language for a student. A Romany pupil coming from abroad can be given mother tongue teaching in two languages if there are special reasons to do so. §10. A head teacher is obliged to provide mother tongue teaching in a language only if: 1) at least five students who are eligible for mother tongue teaching in the language require such teaching; 2) there is a suitable teacher.

⁴⁸ REGERING.SE (2012): Language Act (2009:600) in English translation. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/108/a/138102> (29.10.2012).

⁴⁹ SPRAKRADET.SE (2012): Act on national Minorities and National Minority Languages: practical guidelines. <http://www.sprakradet.se/12609> (29.10.2012).





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The first paragraph (1) shall not apply to national minority languages.

According to §7 of the Languages Act (2009:600), the national minority languages are Finnish, Yiddish, Meänkieli, Romani Chib and Sami. §11. If a student is given mother tongue teaching in addition to the guaranteed school hours, the head teacher is required to offer students such teaching a total of seven academic years during the student's school time. The student will be offered mother tongue teaching for a longer period if he/she has a particular need for such teaching. The action in the first paragraph does not apply to national minority or Nordic languages. §12. A student who is eligible to receive mother tongue teaching may, subject to the limitation specified in §11, continue to participate in the teaching, even if the language ceases to be the student's language of daily use. §13. In teaching Sami as a mother tongue, the syllabus for the subject of Sami in Sami Schools will be used. Swedish as a second language, §14. Teaching of Swedish as a second language will be arranged, if it is necessary, for; 1) students who have a native language other than Swedish; 2) students who have Swedish as their mother tongue and have been accepted from schools abroad; 3) immigrant-students who have Swedish as their main means of interaction with a guardian. The head teacher will decide upon Swedish as a second language for a student. §15. The teaching of Swedish as a second language replaces teaching in Swedish. Swedish as a second language may additionally be organised: 1) as an option language at primary and special schools; 2) as the choice of the student; 3) as a result of a decision made by the school. Bilingual education. Teaching of the student's language of intercourse. §12. For students who have a daily language of intercourse other than Swedish with one or both guardians, part of the teaching in school years 1-6 may be arranged in this language. For pupils with Finnish as the language of intercourse, such instruction may also be arranged in years 7-9. Head teachers providing tuition under the first paragraph must notify the National Schools Inspectorate. §13 During the total period in which the student receives bilingual education in accordance with §12, no more than half of the teaching must be given in the language of his intercourse. The teaching should be planned so that tuition in Swedish gradually increases."⁵⁰

In addition, there is another important document concerning the question of ethnic discrimination. According to chapter 1 of the Discrimination Act (SFS 2008:67): "The purpose of this Act is to combat discrimination and, in other ways, to promote equal rights and opportunities regardless of sex, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age."⁵¹

Several documents will be also presented with regard to mother tongue education. The first one is the Education Act (SFS 2010:800):

"The Education Act is one of Sweden's most extensive Acts, covering all education from pre-school to adult education. (...) The consolidated legislation of the new Education Act is to provide a foundation for knowledge, choice and security in all forms of education and other activities covered by the Education Act."^{52 53}

For those students who are referred to in §11 and §§15-20, Swedish as a second language or Mother tongue are offered as individual options".

In addition, according to the Upper Secondary School Ordinance (2010:2039):

⁵⁰ REGERINGSKANSLIET/LAGRUMMET (2012): Svensk författningssamling 2011. Skolförordning 2011:185. http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Lagar/Svenskforfattningssamling/Skolforordning-2011185_sfs-2011-185/ (27.10.2012).

⁵¹ REGERINGEN.SE (2012): Swedish Discrimination Act (SFS 2008:567) in English translation. <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/10105/a/115903> (29.10.12).

⁵² REGERING.SE (2012): The new Education Act – for knowledge, choice and security. <http://www.government.se/sb/d/12996/a/142342> (29.10.2012).

⁵³ WORLD DATA ON EDUCATION (2011): Sweden; World Data on Education, Données mondiales de l'éducation, Datos Mundiales de Educación 2010/11. - Nº 7, Geneva: UNESCO-IBE.





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“Mother tongue teaching for students at secondary schools and upper-secondary schools, §15, Chapter 15. §19 and Chapter 18. §14 of the Education Act (2010:800), contains basic regulations on the head teacher’s duty to provide mother tongue teaching for students at secondary schools and upper-secondary schools. The head teacher is also required to offer mother tongue teaching to students who are adopted and have a mother tongue other than Swedish, even if the language is not the student’s language of daily interaction at home. According to §7 Language Act (2009:600), the national minority languages are Finnish, Yiddish, Meänkieli, Romani Chib and Sami. The head teacher will decide upon a student’s mother tongue teaching. §16. Mother tongue teaching may not cover more than one language for a student. A Romany pupil coming from abroad may receive teaching in two languages if there are special reasons to do so. §17. Mother tongue teaching may be arranged as: 1) individual choice; 2) an expanded programme; 3) as compensation for the teaching of languages other than Swedish, Swedish as a second language and English. §18. The head teacher is obliged to provide mother tongue teaching for a student up to a total of seven academic years during the student’s school time. The student should be given such teaching for a longer time if he has special needs for this. The limitation to seven years does not apply if the teaching: 1) replaces the teaching of languages other than Swedish, Swedish as a second language and English; 2) is provided as an individual choice; 3) is organised with a national minority language or a Scandinavian language as mother tongue. §19. A head teacher is obliged to provide mother tongue teaching in a language only if: 1) at least five students that will be offered teaching in the language require such teaching; 2) there is an available suitable teacher. As far as the mother tongue teaching of national minorities is concerned, the head teacher is obliged to provide such teaching even if the number of students is less than five. §20. A student receiving mother tongue teaching may continue to attend the classes even if the language ceases to be the daily language of the student. Chapter 9. SUPPORT. Study guidance in the mother tongue, §9. A student will receive guidance in his native language, if the student needs it. If there are special reasons, a student who has the right to receive mother tongue teaching and who before his arrival in Sweden had been taught in a language other than his mother tongue may be taught in that language instead of his mother tongue.”⁵⁴

The second one is The New Curriculum (LGR, 2011). “LGR 11 states that language development and the learning of other subjects can benefit from the individual having access to his/her mother tongue and thus developing his/her identity through the language. Language is also a tool to express feelings and to understand how others feel and think. Thus the aim of the teaching of the subject Mother Tongue is that students will develop skills in and about their native language. Students have the opportunities to develop their cultural identity and multilingualism through being involved in mother tongue teaching”.⁵⁵ Moreover, it is important to point out what the main task for Mother Tongue teachers is and what requirements for their work are imposed by Swedish society:

“The main aim of teaching the subject Mother Tongue is to help students to develop their skills in and about their mother tongue. The teaching gives opportunities to develop the written and spoken skills of the students attending, so that they can be confident in their native language when expressing themselves in different contexts and for various purposes. The teaching also helps students to master their knowledge of the structure of their mother tongue and become aware of the latter’s importance in learning other school subjects. It will also stimulate students’ interest in reading and writing in their mother tongue. Stu-

⁵⁴ REGERINGSKANSLIET/LAGRUMMET (2012): Svensk författningssamling 2010. Gymnasieförordning 2010:2039. [http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Lagar/Svenskforfattningssamling/Gymnasieforordning-20102039_sfs-2010-2039/\(27.10.2012\)](http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Lagar/Svenskforfattningssamling/Gymnasieforordning-20102039_sfs-2010-2039/(27.10.2012)).

⁵⁵ OTTERUP, T. (ed.) (2011): Modersmålsundervisningens roll i den svenska skolan: Rapport från en forskningscirkel med modersmålslärare från Språkcentrum, Göteborgs stad, i samarbete med Institution för svenska språket vid Göteborgs universitet. Göteborg.





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dents come together and learn about fiction, other aesthetic narrative and various forms of non-fiction in their mother tongue. Thus the students are given the opportunity to develop their language, identity and understanding of the outside world. The teaching will also help students to develop their knowledge of how to formulate their own opinions and ideas in different texts. The students will also be encouraged to express themselves through other aesthetic forms of expression. They will also be provided with opportunities to develop their cultural identity and become multilingual. Through this teaching, students are given opportunities to develop their knowledge of the cultures and societies where their mother tongue is spoken. The course should also help students to develop a comparative approach to the cultures and languages and so on (The Swedish National Agency for Education, the curriculum for primary schools, pre-school class and leisure 2011:87). The purpose of the primary school language curriculum is that students should be able to express themselves orally and in writing, using their mother tongue for language development in their studies. The mother tongue can also be a form of aid in other subjects. It means that students use it as a tool for helping them to learn other subjects and in case of misunderstandings they can explain what they do not understand. Moreover, the mother tongue is a means of communication and expression in various contexts and with various purposes. Newly arrived students have the opportunity to develop the second language faster by using their native language as a tool.”⁵⁶

In order to perform these tasks in Sweden legislation for teaching activities was introduced in 2012. In other words, this means that a teacher has to meet special requirements to justify his/her occupation. In particular, these special requirements are provided by the ‘Regulation on jurisdiction and the registration of teachers and pre-school teachers and appointment as lecturer’ (SFS 2011:326):

“What is required? In order to apply for a certificate as a teacher or pre-school teacher in Sweden, the applicant must have: A diploma of Education (*Lärarexamen*) awarded by a university or other institution of higher education in Sweden or a Qualified Teacher Status Certificate (*Behörighetsbevis*) issued by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (*Högskoleverket*) or a Diploma of Education from a country other than Sweden that qualifies the holder to work as a teacher or pre-school teacher in the country of education; Adequate proficiency in the Swedish language. The applicant’s proficiency in Swedish must meet the requirements equivalent of an upper-secondary (high school) course in Swedish (a certification of employment from a school or pre-school where the applicant has or had his employment). The certification/certifications must show that the applicant has worked, or worked the equivalent to full-time for at least one year in one or several positions as a teacher or pre-school teacher. The National Agency for Education may reach the decision that the applicant will need to supplement the foreign education with e.g. an adjustment period or further studies in Sweden before the applicant is eligible for a Teacher’s certificate.”⁵⁷

Mother tongue teaching is also regulated by the new School Ordinance (SFS 2011:185). From Chapter 5 of the teachings content:

“§4. Any student will receive guidance in his native language, if he needs it. A student who is eligible for mother tongue teaching and who had been taught in a language other than his native one before his arrival in Sweden may be able to study in that language instead of his mother tongue if there are special reasons to do so.

⁵⁶ SKOLVERKET: Laroplan for grundskolan, forskoleklassen och fritidshemmet. Stockholm, Skolverket. 2011. P. 40-43.

⁵⁷ SKOLVERKET:SE (2012): Teachers registration. http://www.skolverket.se/om-skolverket/in_english/teachers-registration/teachers-registration-1.180946 (29.10.2012).





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§7 – Chapters 10, 11, 13; §10 – Chapter 12. §7. Education Act (2010:800) contain basic provisions for the responsible authority's obligation to offer mother tongue teaching. The authority is also responsible for providing mother tongue teaching to pupils who are adoptive children and have a mother tongue other than Swedish, even if the language is not in daily use at home by the pupil. The head teacher will decide upon a student's mother tongue teaching. §8. Mother tongue teaching may be arranged: 1) as a language option at primary and special schools, 2) as the choice of the student, 3) as a result of a decision made by the school, or 4) in addition to the guaranteed teaching time."⁵⁸

According to the report from The Swedish National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*) "With a different mother tongue" (2008:321):

"Nowadays almost 20% of pupils at primary schools are of foreign background; either they were born outside Sweden or they were born in Sweden to parents born outside the country. Today the overwhelming majority of primary school teachers face (or most probably will face) the problem of teaching children with a different native language during the study process. This means that their relations with pupils belonging to a group mainly characterised by a variety of language and cultural traditions may present a challenge. Consequently, it is necessary to provide equal education opportunities. A number of questions are discussed in the report, in particular: How do primary schools respond to this challenge? In what way do the programmes offered help children with a different mother tongue to adapt successfully? What tuition is offered to pupils with a different mother tongue, and in what form is it offered? What do the teaching of Swedish as a second language and the teaching of a mother tongue actually mean for pupils? What conditions are required? how does the school organise the tuition and in what form? The research is based on the results of a survey carried out by the authorities, held in several primary schools throughout the country. School directors, teachers and pupils at a total of 13 schools in 4 municipalities were interviewed. Pupils studying in the 3rd-9th years took part in the investigation. The research shows that in general pupils who learnt their mother tongue as well as Swedish study better at school. Their average performance at school was higher than that of those who did not take this subject. These differences cannot be explained by their sex, socio-economic status or similar factors. But these facts should be used with caution. As this tuition is optional, the motivation to study can have a decisive influence on school performance. Nevertheless, the differences in school performance are so significant that they cannot be explained by differentials in motivation to study alone."⁵⁹

4. Bilingualism and Multilingualism in the Context of Swedish Science

4.1 Bilingualism: Research and Scientific Projects

According to the system of science education in Sweden, "It is a fact that Sweden consistently tops European rankings in terms of research investments as a percentage of GDP and of the number of published scientific works per capita. The educational system is based on tax-financed education for all, supported by publicly subsidised programmes for further education, retraining, adult schools and study groups. The private business sector, meanwhile, offers an advanced system of further education and self-improvement. No one is left behind; the Education Act states that children in need of special assistance at school should receive it. The law also states that there must be equality in education for all children, wherever they live in Sweden and regardless of ability or disability."⁶⁰

⁵⁸ REGERINGSKANSLIET (2007): Sweden's report on the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages presented in accordance with Article 15 of the Charter. No 3. Stockholm: Council of Europe. p. 163.

⁵⁹ SKOLVERKET: Rapport 321. Med annat modersmål – elever i grundskolan och verksamheten. Stockholm, 2008.

⁶⁰ SWEDEN'S OFFICIAL WEBSITE (2013) <http://www.sweden.se/eng> (13.01.2013).





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There are a lot of scientific projects and pieces of research related to bilingualism. One of several special scientific centres is the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University. In the period from 2008 to 2012 with financial support from the Swedish Research Council,⁶¹ research was carried out by the National Doctoral School in Multilingualism, Literacy and Education:

“The proposed multidisciplinary research school aims at developing the teaching profession with respect to basic knowledge and didactic competence around issues of literacy and academic development in a multilingual perspective. The focus is on pluralistic views of knowledge and learning as well as on identity and self-conception, on sense-making and interaction and power and dominance in relation to areas such as gender, class and ethnicity. A particular spotlight on issues of literacy, education and multilingualism is provided by the situation in developing contexts. A complex language situation is characteristic of the majority of the world’s developing societies, often with a multitude of indigenous languages and a dominating postcolonial language which is used in all official domains including education. The research school aims at recruiting students from among teachers of Swedish, Swedish as a Second Language, Mother Tongue but also among other educational staff involved in teaching generally or in the administration of educational programmes. In this way, the school can contribute to strengthening the quality of teaching and increase the fulfilment of the aims for schooling of both children and adults on a more general level. The research school is a cooperation between the Centre for Research on Bilingualism and six other departments and is based on a broad multidisciplinary competence.”⁶²

It is important to note that several special education courses were designed at the National Doctoral School in “Multilingualism, Literacy and Education”, for instance: ‘Multilingual development and learning’, 7,5 credits. “The course’s overall goal is to provide a thorough knowledge of established theories of multilingual development with psycholinguistic, cognitive and socio-cultural focuses. The course raises questions about multilingualism and identity as well as important social and cultural aspects of multilingualism and learning in informal as well as formal contexts of different ages. The course also focuses on literacy in multilingual contexts in different theoretical perspectives”. To describe the aims of another course, ‘Multilingualism in social and educational perspectives’, 7,5 credits: “The course provides the basis for various theoretical and methodological perspectives, an orientation in current multilingualism research with a focus on community and education. The course aims to make students familiar with research on language and language learning from a critical perspective, with a focus on power and dominance relationships in the community in relation to areas such as gender, class and ethnicity. The course also deals with didactic applications of so-called Critical Literacy. Students become acquainted with the theoretical and methodological tools relevant to their thesis throughout this course”. Another course, ‘The multilingual classroom’, 7,5 credits, involved the following: “The course presents and examines theoretical issues, research traditions, methods and results of the didactic-oriented multilingualism research on the teaching and learning of second and foreign languages in different contexts. The course also provides an introduction to functional grammatical theory, which can be used to identify the school’s text worlds and to offer didactic support of multilingual students’ textual skills”.⁶³

⁶¹ SWEDISH RESEARCH COUNCIL (Vetenskapsrådet (VR) (2012) <http://www.vr.se/> (13.01.2012).

⁶² CENTRE FOR RESEARCH ON BILINGUALISM (2012) <http://www.biling.su.se/> (13.01.2013).

⁶³ The Graduate School in Multilingualism, Literacy and Education (MLE), Stockholm university, Centre for Research on Bilingualism, is a national research school for training teachers. Teachers, in today’s Swedish educational society, face students with access to various languages and culture. At many schools the linguistic and cultural diversities are viewed as a barrier more often rather than an asset. At graduate school this situation will be problematized and questions will be raised about why, how and in which situations it happens so.





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The researchers from the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University work with different issues related to, for example, ‘The acquisition of Russian in a language contact situation – A Case Study of a Bilingual Child in Sweden’.

“This case study investigates the acquisition of Russian in a language contact situation. It examines a simultaneous Swedish-Russian bilingual child born and raised in Sweden. Qualitative analysis is provided from ages 1;4 to 8;5 focusing especially on the earliest stages (before the end of the critical period at 4;5). The aim was to investigate (a) whether the child reaches the same milestones as monolingual children, (b) whether there is evidence that two separate linguistic systems have been developed, (c) whether the child’s grammatical competence in both languages might be qualitatively different from that of monolingual children and (d) whether there is interaction between the languages. The hypothesis tested is that ample input is needed to construct and develop two linguistic systems on a native-speaker level.”⁶⁴

As an illustration of the main findings, “The main result is that the two linguistic systems do not develop independently of each other; rather, 2 L1s develop in permanent interaction where the weaker language – Russian – happens to be influenced by the stronger one – Swedish. The bilingual environment per se might lead to decreased structural complexity in the weaker language. Language dominance is viewed as a major determiner of cross-linguistic effects. This could lead to the development of a new individual variety of Russian (outside Russia).

The results confirm the hypothesis that, even though there was exposure to both languages from birth onwards, the amount of input in the weaker and grammatically more complex language (Russian) received before the critical period was not enough to completely develop full native command of it. The lack of input has an impact on the acquisition of morphology: some morphological categories may have been set randomly or not at all. The structures observed are more typical of L2 than L1 acquisition. Morphology may be considered a vulnerable domain since complex morphological rules in Russian cannot develop without ample input” (ibid).

Another piece of research from the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University was done on ‘Segmentation and perspectivation of events in early Spanish-Swedish bilinguals’:

“The aim of this study is to examine patterns of segmentation and temporal structuring of events in early bilinguals. The participant group consists of 25 L1 Spanish – L2 Swedish adult bilinguals residing in Sweden, with ages of L2 acquisition ranging from 1 to 11 years. There were 15 native speakers of Swedish and 15 native speakers of Spanish engaged as monolingual controls. The participants provided online-retellings in both languages of an excerpt from the film *Modern Times*. The bilinguals’ L1 and L2 retellings were compared with those of the monolingual speakers of the respective languages. The results indicated that the bilinguals resorted to the same event segmentation strategies in both L1 and L2, opting for an intermediate degree of event resolution. This behaviour fell in between the monolingual Spanish high degree of resolution and the monolingual Swedish low degree of resolution. As for temporal structuring patterns, the results showed that the bilinguals in their L2 converged with the Swedish monolingual controls, linking the events by means of anaphoric adverbials (i.e. ‘x then y’). The bilinguals also converged with the Spanish-speaking controls in their L1 perspectivation patterns, as both groups left the temporal relation between the events to be inferred and focused on ongoingness (i.e. now x, now y). These findings are discussed in terms of convergence and co-existence of conceptual patterns (Pavlenko, 1999, 2008).”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ RINGBLUM, N. (2012): *The Acquisition of Russian in a Language Contact Situation: A Case Study of a Bilingual Child in Sweden*. Stockholm: Stockholm University. 276 pp.

⁶⁵ BYLUND, E. Bylund, E.: *Segmentation and perspectivation of events in early Spanish-Swedish bilinguals*. – In: *International Journal of Bilingualism*. Nr. 1, vol. 15, 2010. P. 56-84. Doi: 10.1177/1367006910379259.





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Importantly, the researchers at Stockholm University work on how to help bilingual children if they have difficulties with language development. For instance, in research on dyslexia, the author pointed out that “The overall aim of the study is to contribute to our knowledge of how reading and writing difficulties in bilingual adolescents could be expressed, characterised and delimited, in order to enhance our understanding of how various prerequisites affect literacy development and to facilitate identification and handling of dyslexia in bilinguals”.

“The study is based on data from ten Spanish-Swedish speaking adolescents with reading and writing difficulties. The multiple case study perspective has made it possible to investigate a number of linguistic and cognitive parameters in both languages. Furthermore, comparisons were made with a bilingual group of ten Spanish-Swedish speaking adolescents without reading and writing difficulties as well as with a group of ten monolingual Spanish and Swedish speaking adolescents with dyslexia. Dyslexia has been defined and delimited in a bilingual dyslexia profiles continuum. This continuum is one of the significant theoretical-methodological contributions of the thesis. Another important contribution is the research design, which is the use of a bilingual matched comparison group (without reading and writing difficulties) as the norm. Furthermore, quantitative and qualitative analyses have been summarised as various profiles, such as reading profiles, writing profiles and oral discourse profiles. The results are discussed on both group and individual levels and show that language dominance has a major impact on the manifestations of the reading and writing difficulties. The differences between the two orthographies are also of importance. Furthermore, advantageous results in both languages co-vary with extensive L1 education in the bilingual participants both with and without dyslexia.”⁶⁶

Another direction in bilingual research – a psychological direction – may be presented by the research on ‘Bilingual Memory: A Lifespan Approach’. According to the authors: “Bilingualism and its effect on individuals have been studied by many researchers in different disciplines. Although the first psychological study of bilingualism was carried out by Cattell as early as 1887, there are only few studies that have exclusively investigated the effect of bilingualism on the functioning of memory systems. In the field of cognitive psychology of bilingualism, there is some evidence for the positive influence of bilingualism on children’s cognitive ability across a variety of domains but there is little knowledge about the relationship between bilingualism and memory in a lifespan perspective”.

The main aim of this thesis was to investigate the functioning and development of memory systems in bilingual individuals. For this purpose, two studies were carried out: a cross-sectional study of bilingual children (Study I) and a longitudinal study of young and older adults (Study II). The purpose of Studies I and II was to determine whether there are any differences between monolinguals and bilinguals with regard to the functioning of various memory systems. The first study compared monolingual and bilingual children’s performance of episodic and semantic memory, and in the second study the performance of episodic and semantic memory in bilingual younger and older adults was investigated. Specifically, these studies aimed to examine: a) which memory systems will be affected more as a function of language, and b) to what extent the differences would manifest themselves during a participant’s lifespan. The purpose of Study III was to explain the relationship among word representations, lexical access and lexical selection in a bilingual word production paradigm. During the course of this study, a model of bilingual production was developed to explain the results obtained as well as to clarify the role of automatic and controlled processes in using two languages. The results of the first and second studies showed a superiority of bilinguals over monolinguals as well as the fact that the associ-

⁶⁶ HEDMAN, C. (2009): *Dyslexi på två språk: En multipel fallstudie av spansk-svensktalande ungdomar med läs- och skrivsvårigheter*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.





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ation between memory performance and bilingualism varies across different periods of adulthood. It appears that the lifelong experience of managing two languages enhances control processes, which in turn play an important role in enhancing recall performance. In the third study, the efficiency of inhibitory processing when having two languages activated has been explained through using a “dual mechanism model.”⁶⁷

In addition to the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University, there are research centres on minority languages. For instance, the Centre for Sami Research (CeSam): “coordinates research related to the Sami, their culture, language, history and society, and initiates new research. CeSam is meant to be a meeting-place for PhD students and researchers from a variety of disciplines at the university, thereby creating a positive research environment and a creative exchange of thoughts that have the power to enrich research.”⁶⁸

Furthermore, minority languages are studied in different contexts at different universities, for instance at Uppsala University ‘De nationella minoritetsspråken i Sverige förr och nu’ (*The National Minority Languages in Sweden Then and Now*). According to the introduction of the course: “Language planning in the minority language contexts: purism, the question of language and dialect. Official policy towards minority languages: international conventions, implementation of decisions, international comparisons. Language preservation, language shift, and language revitalization, grassroots activities to strengthen these languages, attitudes towards minority languages, and the majority of the speakers themselves. Cultural production in the national minority languages.”⁶⁹

4.2. Bilingualism in School Settings: Research and Scientific Projects

The issues related to bilingualism and multilingualism are often the focus of scientific research in Sweden. For instance, according to the research project ‘Counting Events, a Specific School Genre’ (*Räknehändelser, en specifik skolgenre*): “In 2009 the national tests in Swedish and Mathematics in Year 3 were collected from two classes in School C and one in School B. A comparison of the maths results demonstrates that those multilingual pupils who had been given reinforced mother tongue and second language support showed considerably better results in the writing-based mathematics tasks than multilingual pupils who had not received the same support, whereas the other tasks did not show such great discrepancies.”⁷⁰

Moreover, in the piece of research on ‘Multilingual Mathematics Classrooms: Discourses on Compulsory Schooling in Sweden’ (*Flerspråkiga matematikklassrum Diskurser i grundskolans matematikundervisning*): “The findings indicate that bilingual communication in the mathematics classroom enhances students’ identity formation as engaged mathematics learners”.

“Language and content-based instruction seems to do the same, though monolingual instruction may jeopardize students’ identities as bilinguals while the discourse may normalize Swedish and Swedishness exclusively. The focus on linguistic dimensions in mathematics builds up a communicative reform-oriented school mathematics discourse. The competing and intersecting discourses available in the multilingual mathematics classroom affect students’ agency, foreground and identity formation as engaged mathematics learners. For ex-

⁶⁷ MONIRI, S. (2006): Bilingual memory: A lifespan approach. Stockholm: Stockholm universitet.

⁶⁸ CENTRE FOR SAMI RESEARCH, (2012): Umeå University <http://www.cesam.umu.se/english/?languageId=1> (2.12.2012).

⁶⁹ UPPSALA UNIVERSITY, 2013: <https://studentportalen.uu.se/portal/portal/uusp/student/student-course?uusp.portalpage=true&entityId=93561>(30.11.2012).

⁷⁰ SVENSSON, G. (2011): Räknehändelser, en specifik skolgenre. – In: EDLUND, A.-C./ MELLENIUS, I. (eds). (2011): Förhandlingar vid Trettioförsta sammankomsten för svenskans beskrivning. (Umeå den 20–21 maj 2010), Umeå: Svenskans beskrivning 31. P. 337.





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ample, a reform-oriented school mathematics discourse intersecting with a social-relational discourse affects students' active agency allowing power relations to be negotiated. A principal conclusion is that the success or failure of multilingual students in multilingual mathematics classrooms cannot be explained in terms of language and cultural factors alone, but only in relation to discourse, and to social and political conditions in society at large."⁷¹

Essentially, the topics relating to "language and identity" were investigated in several studies. For instance, according to the piece of research 'Language, Interaction and Learning in Diverse Schools' (*'Språk, interaktion och lärande i mångfaldens skola'*): "This thesis consists of an introductory summary and three studies focusing on language, interaction, and learning in multilingual schools. The overall aim of the thesis is to contribute to the understanding of students' learning in diverse schools. (...) The findings show that students are able to scaffold each other effectively in co-constructing linguistic knowledge through social interaction. At the same time, negotiations of power and status are included in their problem-solving processes."⁷²

Another research study on "language and identity" was carried out at Linköping University, and according to the authors: "This article focuses on children's language alternation practices in two primary school settings. More specifically we explore how participants (children and teachers) in episodes of language alternation invoke linguistic and social identities, thereby 'talking into being' language and educational ideologies".

This study is based on multi-sited ethnography in two multiethnic educational settings where classroom activities are primarily in Swedish. Theoretically, it draws on sequential identity-related approaches to language alternation practices (Gafaranga, 2001). As was demonstrated, both children and teachers drew from a range of linguistic varieties, and refrained from becoming involved in polylingual practices. In so doing, they were actively engaged in producing and resisting a range of locally valued identities (i.e. monolingual, bilingual, and polylingual student). At the same time, a monolingual norm was brought into being and, importantly, the children appropriated and exploited these monolingual norms for organising their social relations. Overall, the study highlights the links between social and linguistic identities, language choice and language and educational ideologies. We argue that an understanding of children's polylingual practices in multilingual settings is provided by a close analysis of the local processes of identity work located within the wider sociocultural context (e.g. language and educational ideologies)."⁷³

One more example of the research on "language and identity" is the piece of research on 'Multilingualism, Identity and Teaching' (*'Flerspråkighet, identitet och lärande'*). According to the authors: "Today's society is characterized by increased linguistic, ethnic and cultural diversity. The pace of these changes has placed new demands on schools to meet children from different backgrounds in a professional manner. It often turns out that ingrained beliefs about students' prior knowledge are not at all true".

"Working with heterogeneous classes, teachers often face challenges other than those they have trained for. This becomes particularly evident when students have not yet had time to develop their Swedish to the extent required by the school. In this way it becomes easy to see the children's language background as containing various shortcomings and problems rather than resources and opportunities. In this anthology the authors dispute convention-

⁷¹ NOREN, E. (2010): *Flerspråkiga matematikklassrum. Diskurser i grundskolans matematikundervisning*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.

⁷² GRÖNING, I. (2006): *Språk, interaktion och lärande i mångfaldens skola*. Uppsala: Digitala skrifter från Nordiska språk, Nr. 1. Uppsala universitet.

⁷³ CEKAITE, A. / EVALDSSON, A.-C.: *Staging Linguistic Identities and Negotiating Monolingual Norms in Multiethnic School Settings*. – In: *International Journal of Multilingualism*, Nr. 3, vol. 5, 2008, p. 177-196. Doi: 10.1080/14790710802387588.





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al approach and provide a more nuanced and balanced view on multilingualism. Through various examples from current Swedish research on pupils' everyday life, the various aspects of multilingualism in the school context illustrate and problematise concepts such as ethnicity, identity, learning and power. The book is addressed to prospective and practising teachers in primary and secondary education as well as to those who work with school development and issues related to multilingualism."⁷⁴

Significantly, multilingualism is actively studied with regard to different teaching practices. For instance, according to the research 'Multilingualism in Teacher Education – A Missing Perspective' (*Flerspråkighet inom lärarutbildningen – Ett perspektiv som saknas*): "This article is based upon fieldwork within a comprehensive teacher education program. Questions were asked about how student teachers are prepared for work/employment in an educational system, which is characterized by pluralism in terms of multilingualism and a second language perspective? How does one speak about language and pluralism? Is a multilingual perspective in teacher education presented as a competence for some or for all? How do various actors look at "questions of linguistic pluralism?"

On the one hand, the result, i.e. the answers provided, can be seen as fairly meagre, but this does on the other hand also tell us something more generally about how issues pertaining to language and pluralism are regarded in a teacher education program. In the categorizations and interpretations that are articulated, perspectives on multilingualism and second language acquisition (if and when they are mentioned) are in different ways often related to "the Others" and to what can partly be referred to as a deficiency perspective. Similar talk is also heard from teacher education at other sites of learning. These topics are dealt with in the first part of the article. Thereafter follows a section about viewing multilingualism in a more general perspective, where multilingualism is also regarded as an asset – here we encounter above all various actors within the field of linguistics. Didactic aspects as well as identity and social categorization are highlighted. At the end of the article, a concluding and more comprehensive discussion about multilingualism and a second language perspective, which also focuses on steering / policy documents, is brought to the fore. Teacher education appears to be fairly national (ist) in spite of recurring talk about increasing globalization and internationalisation. To jointly regard multilingualism and intercultural education as a part of a democratic process is conspicuous by its absence. In this discussion, which also comprises the governmental inquiry, from 2008 – 'En hållbar lärarutbildning' (*A sustainable teacher education*, SOU 2008: 109) – attention is given to a transnational perspective on education and competence."⁷⁵

The book 'Multilingualism at School' (*Flerspråkighet i skolan*) was recently published in 2012. This book discusses language development in multilingual children and adolescents and how the school is affected by this. The authors are searching for the answers to a number of questions, for instance: "What are the child's language difficulties and opportunities? Do difficulties depend on a general linguistic weakness or on the fact that the child is in an environment where very little Swedish is spoken? How can one best shape one's teaching to meet the needs of multilingual children and their parents? Teachers and school leaders share their experiences of teaching and the reader may also have access to parents' and students' expectations and experiences."⁷⁶

Another example of this field of research is provided by socio-political science. This re-

⁷⁴ WEDIN, Å. /MUSK, N. (Eds). (2010): *Flerspråkighet, identitet och lärande : skola i ett föränderligt samhälle*. Lund: Studentlitterature.

⁷⁵ CARLSON, M.: *Flerspråkighet i lärarutbildningen: Ett perspektiv som saknas*. – In: *Utbildning & Demokrati*, 2009, Nr. 2 vol. 18, 2009, p. 39-66. TEMA "Flerspråkighet".

⁷⁶ SALAMEH, E-K. (ed.) (2012): *Flerspråkighet i skolan: Språklig utveckling och bedömning*. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur.





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search has as its focus ‘Managing Immigrant Multilingualism in Swedish Compulsory Schools’. According to the author: “This paper focuses on how language policies formulated at the national level are accommodated, challenged and negotiated by school politicians at the local level. Local school politicians are of particular interest here because in Sweden it is the task of the municipal educational committees to ensure that educational activities are conducted in compliance with state regulations and guidelines. The results suggest that there is a large discrepancy between politico-ideological discourses on multilingualism and multiculturalism and the educational discourses on Swedish as the key to school success”.

“The focus of this paper is on how language policies formulated at the national level are accommodated, challenged and negotiated by school politicians at the municipal level. School politics at the municipal level is of particular interest because since 1991 Sweden has had a decentralized school system² within which it is the task of the municipal educational boards to ensure that the educational activities are conducted in compliance with state regulations and guidelines. The school plan adopted in each municipality can on the one hand be read as a list of measures to be taken by the municipality schools in order to reach the goals assigned in the national curriculum; on the other hand the school plan is also a political document which represents the political values of the municipality in general and the language management incentives taken by local school politicians in particular.”⁷⁷

Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be stated that Sweden is a multicultural society, and, on the whole, knowledge of two and more languages is supported by public opinion. However, the government’s current policies are aimed at increasing the number of study hours for the Swedish language. The Swedish language seems to be the most reliable method of integration into society, while opinions concerning the place and role of teaching school subjects in a mother tongue vary.

There is a potential problem of legislation for teachers of native languages, and therefore, questions concerning mother tongue teaching are discussed more actively than those that deal with the united national identity. Based on the documents presented above, it can be concluded that the legislation of the teaching activity process may have an impact on support for native language teaching because not all teachers can meet the requirements. Several initiatives that have been taken in the last three years have shown that the Swedish Government and Parliament are responsive to the actual situation of multilingualism and, overall, multilingualism is supported by the state. However, contradictions between the needs of bilingual students and the opportunities provided by the state or municipality can be found. Thus, on the basis of the recently adopted laws, there are a number of issues that will probably lead to changes in the situation of native language support, which can be addressed in the future.

Scientific research does support the development of bilingual and multilingual education opportunities. The role of the research is significant and relates to understanding and managing the processes of bilingual children’s integration and adaptation as well as their cognitive development. Importantly, the researchers maintain that social factors are important in learning several languages. Thus, natural bilingualism and multilingualism are of great value and prestige in society, which is proved by the increasing demand for learning and studying related issues on the academic level.

⁷⁷ PUSKAS, T.: Managing Immigrant Multilingualism in Swedish Compulsory Schools. –In: RECODE Online Working Paper, Nr. 9, 2012. P.



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THE UNITED KINGDOM

Introduction

English is the (de facto) official language of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and is spoken as a primary or sole language by 95% of the population of the country. Welsh is the second most spoken language and is used by 19.7% of the population of Wales. Other officially recognised minority languages used within the United Kingdom are: Cornish, Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Lowland Scots and British Sign Language. In addition, the main migrant languages are: Arabic, Punjabi, Bengali, Saraiki, Urdu, Sylheti, Cantonese, Greek, Italian, French, South-western Caribbean Creole, Malayalam, Tamil, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Polish and Russian.¹

The United Kingdom is an extremely multicultural and multilingual nation with a very rich diversity of languages spoken, alongside English as the principal means of communication. This is most apparent in the larger cities and conurbation areas, in particular London, which is generally regarded as one of the most culturally diverse cities in the world. Most of these languages are present for historical reasons, mainly as a result of mass immigration in recent decades of people from former colonies (notably India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the West Indies) and also from other parts of the world (e.g. China, Italy, Russia, the Middle East).

Community languages are spoken by over 5.5% of the population, the largest group – 2.7% – being South Asian languages such as Bengali, Punjabi, Hindi and Gujarati. London is home to 45% of the total ethnic minority population, but community languages are spoken throughout the country.²

Other languages, such as Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic and Cornish, are indigenous to the country. With the exception of the Welsh language, which is in fairly common usage, is taught in Welsh schools as a compulsory subject and is otherwise maintained and actively promoted by the Welsh government and local authorities, these languages are used by only a small minority of the population and are not supported in any significant way by the local authorities or administrations. Scottish Gaelic is spoken by only 1.4% of the population of Scotland, and Irish Gaelic by 6.6% of the population of Northern Ireland. These figures compare with 21% in the case of Welsh, which also enjoys status as an official language.³

Legislation

National policies relating to the teaching of other languages in schools and colleges in England are decided by the Department for Education. The Department is responsible for the education of young people up to the age of 19. There is a similar Department for Northern Ireland, whereas policies relating to Scotland and Wales are decided by the Scottish Government and the Welsh Assembly respectively. This report and the research carried out into multilingualism are concerned with the legislation and practice in England only, unless otherwise stated.

Although the Department for Education (DfE) recognises the benefits of maintaining the linguistic and cultural traditions of ethnic minority groups in education policy and planning, it takes the view that responsibility for developing and maintaining the mother tongue should rest with the ethnic minority communities themselves, and that the language of teaching in schools should be English. In this respect, its objectives are to ensure that children whose mother tongue is not English attain proficiency in English, and hence include

¹ Wikipedia, 16.02.2013.

² BBC website, “Languages across Europe”, 18.02.2013.

³ BBC website, “Languages across Europe”, 18.02.2013.





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them into mainstream education, as speedily as possible, as well as to raise awareness and understanding among policy makers, educational establishments and local authorities of the barriers to achievement faced by learners of English as an additional language (EAL), including refugees, asylum seekers and those who have just arrived in the country. To this end, the ‘Skills for Life’ strategy, initiated in 2001, seeks to improve the quality of teaching in literacy, numeracy and ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages).

This investigation into studies and research projects recently carried out by academic staff at universities and educational institutions strongly suggests that the major factor perceived by educationalists and policy makers as a barrier to achievement in the above situation is the lack of fluency in English or a standard of English of speakers of EAL lower than that of their native-speaking peers. Speaking a first language (at home) is often seen as an impediment to learning English and to good academic performance in general, and priority must be given to learning English as the main medium of communication and learning.

However, one of the most important lessons to be learned from the findings of this study is that, contrary to this belief, speaking or knowing another language at home brings invaluable benefits to learning a second language. Whereas the need for children to master the official language of the country they reside in is obvious and not disputed, there are valid arguments for questioning the wisdom of pursuing a policy that disregards the need for tuition in the mother tongue of EAL speakers.

The views and policies of the DfE in this respect would not appear to comply fully with EU regulations, which require it to “take appropriate measures to promote ... teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin ...” (Article 3 of Directive 77/486/EEC). Moreover, Article 45 of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families states that the adoptive country should make endeavours to provide tuition of the native language and culture to migrant children.

The DfE has, however, passed a recent proposal to make the teaching of foreign languages compulsory in maintained primary schools from September 2014. Traditionally, foreign languages have only been taught at comprehensive (secondary) schools, tuition in these subjects at primary schools being very limited and dependent on local interest. The proposal was subject to a public consultation in November and December 2012 of primary and secondary school staff, university students, local authorities, organisations representing teaching staff and other organisations. The vast majority of those consulted were in agreement with such a move and recognised its benefits: young children had a natural aptitude for learning languages and are comfortable switching between languages; making languages compulsory in primary schools would lead to raised attainment levels in secondary schools, give children a more global outlook and enhance their career prospects.

A possible explanation for this proposal (in light of the DfE’s view that foreign languages should be maintained by the minority communities themselves) is that it concerns the teaching of modern European languages: French, Spanish, German and Italian (although Mandarin is also included in the list of possible options), whereas ethnic community or migrant languages appear to be regarded by policy makers and educationalists in a different light, or are accorded less importance. In her detailed study ‘Language Planning and Policy in Manchester’⁴, Andrea Donakey refers to a “hierarchy” of foreign language teaching in England, with European languages (e.g. French, German, Spanish) enjoying a higher status than community languages (e.g. Urdu, Arabic).

In 2010, in response to, among other things, an overall decline in the general interest to study other languages, and the opportunity to take these subjects at (secondary) school, the DfE introduced the English Baccalaureate, a performance measure designed to gauge

⁴ University of Manchester, School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures, 2007.





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the number of pupils attaining grade C or above in core academic subjects including foreign languages. A survey carried out in 2012 found that the increased take-up of subjects including languages is reversing the long-term trend of decline in this area. Schools now have more flexibility in deciding which languages should be taught, and these need not be any of the official EU languages. Factors such as resources, future vocation, local and regional needs and personal preference must be taken into consideration. Foreign languages remain, however, non-compulsory subjects in English secondary schools in spite of the government's 'National Language Strategy', the objective of which is to improve the teaching and learning of other languages.

In response to the needs of people from migrant communities with little or no knowledge of English, local authorities are providing more and more services in foreign languages, such as interpreting and translation services, public information in other languages, library resources and supplementary education in community languages. Supplementary schools are set up mainly by speakers of community or minority languages and operate outside normal school hours. They may receive funding from the local authorities, although the regulations and criteria for qualifying for this type of funding differ greatly from area to area. Similar funding may also be available to so-called "language colleges", i.e. comprehensive schools with enhanced subject (language) status, which has been achieved through outstanding performance and innovation.

Science/Research

There has been a considerable amount of research carried out in recent years into the subject of multilingualism in England by the Department for Education, universities, institutes and other educational organisations, with particular reference to how it is handled in, and what impact it has on, the educational system, in terms of policy, planning and practice.

Broadly speaking, it has been possible to identify four common themes or approaches that have determined the objectives and reasons for this research and the way in which it has been carried out: bilingual teaching or teaching in a multilingual environment; working with texts; attitudes to multilingualism in education; and international collaboration and sharing good practice. It makes sense, therefore, to present an overview of the research findings according to these categories.

Research studies have been chiefly carried out and presented by academic staff, experienced teaching professionals, educationalists and specialists in teaching and pedagogy. They have tended to be classroom-based, involving pupils in nurseries, primary schools and, to a more limited extent, secondary schools.

Bilingual teaching/Teaching in a multilingual environment

There were some six or so projects that involved the teaching of children in a bilingual setting, either in mainstream education or in community (supplementary) schools. The pupils' first language was used in some or all subjects alongside English by both teaching staff, in giving instruction and tuition, and pupils, who were allowed and encouraged to read, write and speak in both languages.

It was universally found that this practice of using two languages conjointly brought a good number of clear benefits to teaching young children:

- ♦ It promotes learning and the improvement of attainment levels, not only in the languages being used, but in other subjects as well.
- ♦ It enhances creativity and imagination.
- ♦ It promotes social integration and, at the same time, identity, making the child feel proud of his/her bilingualism.





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For all the above reasons, the school becomes a more attractive place for both pupil and teacher, which can lead to more pupils wanting to join and more teachers wanting to remain at the school.

Issues of identity and the child's background and home environment affect the choice of language used. An understanding of these is important and children should be encouraged to switch between languages.

The system of supplementary language schools for bilingual children (also known as “heritage schools”) has proved to be very effective not only for maintaining the mother tongue and helping the children to improve the language of the country of residence, but also for providing a “cushioned” psychological environment and an additional broad education of a high standard. These findings are supported by the success and long experience of The London School of Russian Language and Literature, a supplementary Russian language school for children of families in which one or both parents are native Russian speakers. The school has been operating for fifteen years. Lessons in Russian language and literature, history and mathematics are conducted in Russian for 3-4 hours on one day of the week. Students work with unadapted original Russian textbooks and literary works, similar to those their peers in Russia work with at their schools. In addition, homework is given to revise what has been covered in class. After several years, students of the school almost invariably achieve the highest possible grades in GCSE and A-level examinations, and, in many cases, attain a standard of Russian (spoken and written) much higher than that of native-English graduates in Russian from the best UK universities. Further testimony is provided by regular letters of thanks and praise from parents, who often express their satisfaction with the excellent progress made by their child and the speed with which this is achieved. Pupils are intelligent, academically gifted and highly creative, and there can be no doubt that their experience at the school contributes to this to a considerable degree. On completing their course at the school, a number of students are not only able to read unadapted Russian literature, speak the language fluently and understand Russian speech at a natural tempo, but are also able to produce creative work in their mother tongue to a high standard, including writing poetry or high quality in-depth translations of literature and poetry into English. As a recent example, the English translations of the lyrics of a number of traditional Russian romances produced by a former pupil of the school were very effective and professionally composed, and displayed a high level of skills and feeling.⁵

Working with texts

A very effective method of working with texts in a bilingual learning environment is the use of dual-language books, i.e. reading books written in both the native or home language and in the main language of the country of residence. Although the purpose of these materials may well be to improve the skills of the child in reading and understanding the one language, this research shows that both languages can be developed in this way. In addition, children learn to explore and analyse the similarities and differences between the two languages and critical literacy skills are developed. Just as importantly, there is increased confidence in and enthusiasm for reading.

The comprehensive study ‘Children’s Understanding of Text in a Multilingual Nursery’⁶, by Charmian Kenner, looked at how everyday literacy materials brought into the nursery from the children’s homes (e.g. magazines, maps, cooking recipes) could be used in addition to traditional narratives and storybooks, which are most often the only materials used to teach literacy in primary schools in England, in order to develop literacy skills in young children and to improve children’s understanding of language genre, texts and their meaning.

⁵ <http://russian-school.co.uk/best-works>.

⁶ Goldsmiths College, University of London.





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Another important study, ‘Becoming Biliterate: London six-year-olds learning different writing systems’⁷, by Charmian Kenner, Gunther Kress et al, had the objective of examining, through observing how children taught their classmates about writing in their home language, what the children understood about writing as a system of representation and what comparisons the children make between the two systems (languages used).

Attitudes to multilingualism in education

While the values and benefits of a multicultural society are generally recognised and even encouraged throughout the country in all aspects of life, there appears to be a widely-held opinion, prevalent not only among educationalists and policy makers but also parents and children, that using or developing a first language is not conducive to good academic performance or to second language acquisition, and that insufficient skills in English present an impediment to learning. Moreover, supplementary schools and institutions set up by minority ethnic communities are frequently perceived as separate and inferior in knowledge to mainstream schools. Such views appear to have a direct impact on shaping the current practices and policies in schools in England where there are significant numbers of multilingual pupils.

The two papers ‘Leading Increasingly Linguistically Diverse London Schools’⁸, by Dina Mehmedbegović, and ‘The Role of Community Groups and Community Language Schools in Initial Teacher Education’⁹ by Dr. Leena Helavaara Robertson, examine the prevalent attitudes in the light of education policy and practice in more detail. As a result of the latter study, significant progress in combating the problem in the field of teacher training has already been made through developing teaching materials and resources for teaching staff, teacher training providers and students.

International Collaboration and Sharing Good Practice

There are several organisations from the UK that are currently involved in active collaboration projects with schools and organisations in other countries, mainly through the European Shared Treasure programme, funded by the EU Comenius Partnership strategy.

These projects, which have been designed to involve the active participation of young children, typically involve classroom activities, joint working, communication and active involvement. For example, in setting up an on-line newspaper, children were closely involved in the design and planning, making and implementing decisions and monitoring and evaluating the success of the project. The intention with these projects is to create a learning environment that is conducive to promoting linguistic and intercultural understanding, developing the child’s sense of identity and sharing ideas, opinions and cultures by freely communicating in two languages.

In other projects, collaboration, best practice and experience of teacher training and language development are shared through mutual visits, job shadowing and joint conferences.

The Media

The subject of multilingualism in the UK press tends to be divided into two general strands: 1) the teaching of modern foreign languages at school, which is generally viewed in a very critical light, i.e. that much still needs to be done to address an overall decline in the teaching of foreign languages, the poor performance in general of students learning other languages and other problems in this area; and 2) the prevalence and rich variety of multiculturalism in migrant communities (e.g. Asian, Oriental, African), in which multilingualism plays a part. In this respect, it is generally regarded as something very positive and at-

⁷ Institute of Education and Goldsmiths College, University of London.

⁸ London Institute of Education.

⁹ Middlesex University.





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tractive; its benefits are recognised and there is a general consensus that multilingualism should be developed further.

As an illustration of this, *The Guardian* featured an article entitled “Schools can only benefit from bilingual pupils” in December 2007, which wrote in praise of a successful multicultural primary school in East London, in which 42 different languages are spoken and 70% of children speak English as a second language. The head teacher of the school describes the benefits of a multicultural environment: children’s first language skills promote second language acquisition, enthusiasm for learning is increased, parents are supportive and there is also a lot that monolingual children can learn from.

Although the government appears to encourage and support the development of both types of language tuition (community languages in supplementary schools and modern foreign languages in main-stream schools), general media coverage points to an ever-decreasing funding from central government in this area. For example, an article in *The Independent* of the 12 November 2011 explains that the decision taken by the University of Glasgow to cut courses in most modern languages, apart from French and Spanish, is a direct response to government funding deficits. It argues, however, that the decision might be rash or short-sighted, and suggests that it is more expensive in the longer term to re-establish a university department that has been closed down than to keep it running. Essentially, learning other languages is crucial for multiculturalism to be effective and for improving the mobility and employment prospects of young people.

This last point is often echoed by other journalists, notably in *The Times*, and in letters from the public (to the same paper), who express concern that the country is clearly at a disadvantage economically and in other respects in failing to do more to improve the teaching of foreign languages at schools and universities, in spite of the generally accepted status of English as the main vehicle for communication internationally.

Other articles and letters from the public speculate on the reasons for the general decline in learning foreign languages and for the relatively poor achievement of students in these subjects:

- ♦ foreign languages tend to be regarded as superfluous since English has become the dominant world language;
- ♦ they may be difficult to learn;
- ♦ attaining high standards in a language is easier for those children who speak the language at home than for those who learn the language from scratch;
- ♦ the number of hours spent teaching languages in the classroom is far lower than in other countries;
- ♦ foreign languages have been made optional subjects in secondary schools as a result of recent government policy.

There are also large fluctuations in the numbers of students taking examinations in modern languages, which has been very low in state schools but has been maintained in independent schools.

Finally, *The Financial Times* reported in February 2011 on an interesting study carried out recently, which found that, contrary to the traditional belief that bilingualism was in some way a “cognitive handicap”, knowing two languages is in fact beneficial to a child’s development, guards against dementia in older life and has other benefits too.

Conclusion

Academic staff and professionals in the field of education have made a strong case for improving and developing the teaching of foreign languages in the English educational system, in particular in mainstream schools.





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There is clearly a growing appreciation, not only among academics and educationalists but also among the general public, for the benefits of knowing and speaking a second language and of maintaining and developing the first language of people from ethnic minority backgrounds. An understanding of these benefits and a will to bring about a reverse to the decline in the teaching of both community languages and modern foreign languages are also evident from the research carried out in this project.

There are, of course, arguments to the effect that providing services in other languages, and this may include supplementary schooling, may discourage people who speak little or no English from learning the language of the country, thus preventing an obstacle to their full integration into society and limiting their prospects for employment. There is also the concern that the usefulness of some such services may not justify the high costs involved. However, the advantages of maintaining a first language or of learning a second one are far more compelling in considering any longer term planning and strategy in relation to language tuition.

The research studies and projects examined here provide invaluable advice and guidelines on how to go about this effectively and with lasting success.





SWITZERLAND

Introduction¹

Switzerland is a country with a high percentage of migrants. What is the Swiss policy in relation to heritage languages? Do migrants have an opportunity to maintain their languages? Based on the legal framework, media analysis and current research, this paper gives a short overview of the heritage language policy in Switzerland.

1. Law

Multilingualism has a very long tradition in Switzerland. The laws regulating this phenomenon include the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of 5 November 1992, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of 1 February 1995 (on the international level), as well as the Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation of 18 April 1999, and the Federal Law on National Languages and Comprehension between Linguistic Communities of 5 October 2007 (on the national level) (cf. Ehrenzeller/Mastronardi/Schweizer/Vallender 2008²).

There are four official national languages in the country, which are constitutionally recognised: German, French, Italian and Romansh (Constitution, Article 4). Standard German, standard French, and standard Italian are used in written communication, while written communication in Romansh is done in Rumantsch Grischun (Federal Law on National Languages and Comprehension, Article 6). In oral communication dialects often prevail, usually without excluding anybody from communication because of any language deficits. German, French and/or Italian are used on the federal level. One of the languages of origin must be an official language at the cantonal level, though cantons may use any additional languages.

English is also used as an official language in the Swiss confederation, for example, in the international context: air traffic laws, customs matters, cinematography and in cooperation with the International Criminal Court³. For practical purposes, because international experts may be involved, it is recommended to submit research applications to the SNF⁴, the largest Swiss research-sponsoring foundation, in English. English can be a teaching language at universities. But English is only a partly official language (cf. Ehrenzeller/Mastronardi/Schweizer/Vallender 2008⁵).

The freedom to use any language (= *Sprachfreiheit, liberté de la langue, libertà di lingua*) has been a matter of course for many centuries. This unwritten rule was introduced as a law only in the latest revision of the Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation in April 1999 (Article 18). Though it is an official basic right, the freedom to use any language still might not be guaranteed in some situations and might even contradict other laws. For example, in the education sector, BGE 91 I 480 negates the right to attend a French-speaking private school in Zurich for more than two years (= principle of territoriality)⁶. This is intended to ensure integration into the local society, as Zurich is in a German-speaking

¹ We would like to thank PD Dr Myriam Senn for her valuable comments and discussions. The article reflects only the authors' opinions, however.

² Ehrenzeller / Mastronardi / Schweizer / Vallender, Die Schweizerische Bundesverfassung, Kommentar, 2. Aufl. 2008, Zürich / St.Gallen.

³ There is no official translation of legal texts into English.

⁴ SNF = The Swiss National Science Foundation.

⁵ Ehrenzeller / Mastronardi / Schweizer / Vallender, Die Schweizerische Bundesverfassung, Kommentar, 2. Aufl. 2008, Zürich / St.Gallen.

⁶ This case might be regulated differently, for example, in Freiburg and Wallis, two-language (German and French) speaking cantons.





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canton. Cantons also have the right to mandate language policies at private schools. In the judicial sector, the lack of knowledge of a language does not excuse any failure to observe time deadlines. If anyone does not understand the language of the decision, the person must obtain information about the content and the consequences him/herself (EVG, Pra 1991, No 126).

The freedom to use any language also means providing opportunities to learn and practise a language. In this regard, the state supports migrant children and youth in the study of their heritage languages (= HSK-Unterricht, Unterricht in heimatlicher Sprache und Kultur, LCO-Cours, les cours de langue et de culture d'origine, LCO-corsi, corsi di lingua e di cultura dei paesi d'origine, Engl.: Teaching heritage language and culture). The Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK) believes that the maintenance of heritage languages supports the learning of the state languages and thus promotes rapid integration into Swiss society; moreover, heritage language learning advances the study of other foreign languages and increases employability. It is also very important for the identity of migrant children and youth. HSK lessons are organised and financed by different sources: foreign embassies and consultancies, NGOs and private individuals. With HSK lessons, professional instructors not only have access to cantonal resources such as the use of school rooms, but are also able to teach a language that can be included in the students' school certificates and acknowledged by all Swiss and international educational institutions⁷. HSK lessons may be integrated into school curricula and are usually offered during school time; they are also discussed in the Swiss mass media and are the subject of research currently being conducted in the country.

2. Mass Media

HSK lessons are indeed an innovative idea originating in Switzerland. There are, however, some challenges in financing HSK teaching and in obtaining accreditation for providing HSK lessons:

1) Financing: Many HSK lessons are organised by the embassies of foreign countries. Because of the euro crisis there have been some difficulties in financing the institutions providing HSK lessons in the 2012-13 school years. Italian, Portuguese and Greek are the worst affected in the Canton of Zürich. Unfortunately, regional authorities are not able to substitute this support⁸.

2) Accreditation⁹: In many cantons there are no written procedures for how an institution might obtain HSK status. If there is only one school providing heritage language lessons in a canton, it usually acquires this status very easily. If there are a number of schools offering HSK teaching in one canton, they should unite, which is not always easy for all actors¹⁰.

Nevertheless, there are many instances of best practice. For example, at the St. Johann school in Basel HSK lessons are integrated into the school curriculum. This contributes to the students' successful integration¹¹. Also schools offering Russian as an HSK benefit from the current state policy and its level of support. HSK lessons help Russian children and youth to build their own identities and learn new languages, enabling them to integrate quickly into society.

⁷ <http://www.edk.ch/dyn/19191.php> accessed 6 February 2013.

⁸ http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/zueroch/stadt_region/die-euro-krise-wird-auch-in-zuercher-schulen-spuerbar-1.17699708 accessed 15 January 2013.

⁹ More about accreditation <http://www.edk.ch/dyn/18799.php> accessed 6 February 2013.

¹⁰ <http://www.nashagazeta.ch/news/10576> accessed 15 January 2013.

¹¹ <http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/startseite/patchwork-schulklassen-im-dreilaendereck-1.2216374> accessed 15 January 2013.





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One additional issue discussed in the Swiss media in relation to HSK teaching is the importance of dialects. Dialects are very important for the identity of Swiss people living in the German-speaking part of the country. Dialects used to exist in the French-speaking part of the country, too. At the beginning of the 20th century, children were forbidden to speak dialects at schools. So these dialects began to disappear in the course of time. As of today, various associations are trying to revive these dialects. Many people argue that if the state supports HSK teaching for the maintenance of a first language, then it should also support dialects¹². These discussions are the results of referenda forbidding the use of dialects in kindergartens.

In general, Switzerland benefits from its migrants. There are some obstacles, however:

1) National vs. regional level: Migrants are treated differently in different cantons. There are various sets of rules for obtaining Swiss nationality and for bringing family members into Switzerland. This situation needs to be better coordinated.

2) Health: Many migrants have psychiatric illnesses. Many of them receive a disability pension; migrants from Turkey receive a pension of 5.8%, while people from the former Yugoslavia receive 4.8%, and native people 3.1%¹³.

3) Discrimination: Highly qualified people with migrant backgrounds are, in part, discriminated against on the Swiss job market – even those with degrees from Swiss universities. People from Turkey, southeastern Europe and Portugal are especially disadvantaged¹⁴.

Switzerland has the most migrants of all the OECD countries, with the majority coming from the EU. Nearly one out of every two migrants has a university degree, and most of them work in rapidly growing sectors.

3. Research

HSK teaching is the subject of current research. Iwar Werlen and his colleagues, for example, argue that many children with migrant backgrounds are often disadvantaged. The researchers have developed a plan for how to improve this situation: 1) HSK lessons; 2) family involvement; 3) coordination between institutions offering HSK lessons, schools and families.

Many studies covering bilingual education have been conducted in Switzerland. Henrik Saalbach and Roland Grabner for instance explore the neurocognitive basis of bilingual learning and ask whether and to what extent these programmes tend to generate ‘cognitive costs’. Researchers are investigating whether the representation of learned information in the brain depends on the language in which the learning took place, as well as what difficulties arise when the language of learning and the language of application are not the same, and whether these potential difficulties depend on the types of information.

One of the research instruments sponsored by the SNF is the ‘National Research Programme’ (NRP). The NRP is a programme devoted to current national problems of high priority. One of the major objectives of the NRP is applied research, which includes collaboration with non-academic partners, knowledge and know-how transfer in education and practical work. The NRP 56 (2003-2008) was devoted to various questions of language policy in Switzerland¹⁵:

1) Language and School.

¹² <http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/startseite/kulturgut-dialekt-1.10444841> accessed 15 January 2013.

¹³ http://www.ekm.admin.ch/content/dam/data/ekm/dokumentation/materialien/mat_alter_d.pdf accessed 15 January 2013.

¹⁴ <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/wirtschaft/unternehmen-und-konjunktur/Der-Arbeitsmarkt-be-nachteilt-auch-hoch-qualifizierte-Migranten/story/18741636> accessed 15 January 2013.

¹⁵ <http://www.nfp56.ch/> accessed 6 February 2013.





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For example, Bruno Moretti and his team established a curriculum for Italian as a heritage language in Switzerland.¹⁶

2) Language Competence in Adults.

Iwar Werlen and his colleagues have analysed in their study the current situation of the language awareness of the Swiss population: 4 official languages (German, French, Italian and Romansh), English and a heritage language (if any) and also the factors that influence language awareness, and points out where there might be room for improvement¹⁷.

3) Language, Law and Policy.

Alberto Achermann and Jörg Künzli have examined the current situation of language minorities in Switzerland and made some recommendations for how to improve the situation. For example, the researchers have suggested, that hospitals should prepare written explanations in multiple languages and have an interpreter service; English should be made a semi-official language in the country (Achermann 2007¹⁸, Achermann/Künzli 2009a¹⁹, Achermann/Künzli 2009b²⁰)

4) Language and Business.

Grin and his colleagues argue that economics, languages and education are linked to one another in a number of complex ways. These links are becoming more and more important as a result of the increasing visibility of linguistic diversity in modern societies. In their studies the researchers contribute to the study of these complex and multifaceted links²¹.

5) Language and Identity.

Rosita Fibbi has analysed the maintenance of heritage languages through three generations of migrants living in Switzerland²².

4. Conclusion and Outlook

Switzerland has a very good policy in relation to heritage languages, particularly with regard to acceptance on different levels, HSK lessons and other issues. This innovative concept might be applied in other European countries.

Though HSK teaching is the subject of current research, there is a gap when it comes to certain languages, such as Russian. This shortage needs to be addressed in the future, as the number of Russian migrants continues to grow. Russian migrants play an important role in Swiss society: as businesspeople, creative people and scientists. There are many highly

¹⁶ <http://www.italianosubito.ch/> accessed 6 February 2013.

¹⁷ http://www.isw.unibe.ch/content/forschung/archiv_projekte/sprachkompetenzen/index_ger.html accessed 6 February 2013.

¹⁸ Achermann, Alberto «Integrationsverpflichtungen», in: Alberto Achermann et al., *Jahrbuch für Migrationsrecht 2006/2007*, Bern 2007.

¹⁹ Achermann, Alberto/Künzli, Jörg «Ein Recht auf Übersetzung», in: Janine Dahinden, Alexander Bischoff, Dolmetschen, Vermitteln, Schlichten – Integration der Diversität? Zürich 2009a.

²⁰ Achermann, Alberto/Künzli, Jörg *Sprachenrecht im Zuwanderungsstaat*, Bern 2009.

²¹ http://www.unige.ch/traduction-interpretation/recherches/groupes/elf/observatoire_de.html accessed 6 February 2013.

²² Fibbi, Rosita, Matthey, Marinette and Wyssmüller, Chantal «Stratégies familiales et pratiques langagières des jeunes de la troisième génération», Neuchâtel 2008, in: *Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies 1, 8* and Wyssmüller, Chantal, Fibbi, Rosita «Welche Mehrsprachigkeit bei Jugendlichen der dritten Generation in der Schweiz?», Neuchâtel 2009, in: *Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies 1, 49*. Wyssmüller, Chantal, Fibbi, Rosita «No encuentro bien ser cien por cien suiza. Sprachgebrauch und nationale Identifikation bei italienisch- und spanischstämmigen Jugendlichen der dritten Generation in der Schweiz», Neuchâtel 2009, in: *Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies 1, 58*.





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qualified Russians employed as engineers, including, for example, many of the team members working on the Large Hadron Collider at CERN. According to Swiss national statistical data, about 30,000 Russian-speaking people were living in the country in 2010. This is only equal to about 2% of all the foreigners currently living in Switzerland, but considering that many foreigners come from the local region – Italy, Germany, France, Portugal, Spain and the former Yugoslavia – this number might be considered impressive. Moreover, Russian was the tenth most commonly spoken native language in the country, although many of those people might have more than one nationality, which is not reflected in the statistics.²³

²³ Denisova-Schmidt, Elena: Heritage Language Learners in Switzerland: Challenges and Opportunities. In: The Sixth Heritage Language Research Institute, 18-22 June 2012 at the University of California, Los Angeles, <http://www.nhlrc.ucla.edu/events/institute/2012/posters.asp>





FRANCE

Scientific Research in France. Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Issues of bilingualism and multilingualism undoubtedly arouse interest in scientific circles in France¹. This interest is not new: scientists have been studying this phenomenon in its various aspects for the past several decades. Among the well-known linguists working in this area of science we can count Claude Hagège, Louis-Jean Calvet, Louise Dabène², Gilbert Dalgalian and others.

In drawing up the table on current French scientific research in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism (see appendix), we have considered it necessary to mention outstanding scientists with a wide experience of work as well as the names of graduate students or those who have recently completed their PhDs. The panorama of the scientific sphere of bilingualism in France covers almost all major universities in the country, which confirms there is a real interest in this subject in many fields: psychology, linguistics, speech therapy, didactics, law, sociology, etc.

Some universities should be noted in particular. First of all, the University of Strasbourg, where a scientific group on European multilingualism actively works with the Study Group on European Multilingualism (SGEM) (Groupe d'Etude sur le Plurilinguisme Européen (GEPE)). Its structure includes such scientists as Dominique Huck, Christine Hélot, Geiger-Jaillet Anemone, Ann-Birte Krüger and Andrea Young. The electronic journal "Cahiers du GEPE" has been published since 2000³. Transdisciplinary research is one of the main characteristics of the group's scientific approaches.

Christine Hélot, one of the leading French experts on bilingualism (the family, natural bilingualism, immigrant bilingualism...) is a member of the SGEM of Strasbourg. Christine Hélot⁴ has also participated in numerous European projects (The Council of Europe, The European Commission, The European Language Centre). One of the most recent, LUCIDE ('Language in Urban Communities, Integration and Diversity for Europe'), was held in 2011. She is the author of a large number of books and publications on bilingualism and she is preparing her new book 'Early Childhood and Multilingualism' for release in September 2013.⁵

The Universities of Paris, in particular the Paris III and the Paris V, are, without doubt, major scientific platforms where many experienced talented researchers work: Ranka Bijeljac-Babic, Christine Deprez, Danièle Moore, etc. At the University of Paris V a colloquium on bilingualism in children at an early age was held on the 21st June 2013.⁶ The opening in September 2013 of a new university course on bilingualism at the same University is more than a serious indicator of interest in this subject (see below).⁷

In the French provinces the activities of the Universities of Rouen, Nantes, Montpellier, Grenoble, Brest and Tours are particularly worthy of note. The table provided in the appendix testifies to a wide variety of contexts and perspectives of research.

¹ Information for this article was gathered mainly from Internet resources. On completion of the work we approached Mrs. Christine Hélot (University of Strasbourg), an expert in the field of bilingualism, with a request to check the reliability and completeness of the information.

² Louise Dabène passed away in April 2013.

³ www.cahiersdugepe.fr.

⁴ We are grateful to Mrs Hélot for her consultation during our data collecting. Personal site:<http://christinehelot.u-strasbg.fr>.

⁵ Hélot, C. *Petite enfance et plurilinguisme*. Toulouse: Éditions Erès.

⁶ Colloquium program www.psychologie.parisdescartes.fr/Actualites/Colloque-bilinguisme-chez-le-Jeune-Enfant.

⁷ The brochure is being prepared for publication. Information can be found on the site of Café Bilingue: www.cafebilingue.com/professionnels/diplome-universitaire.





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There are also inter-university research projects. For example, the 'Pluri-L' project unites researchers from three universities in the Pays de la Loire region: Nantes, Angers and Le Mans. There are four areas of research: multilingualism in schools, training of teachers, multilingualism in high schools and historical and social aspects of multilingualism⁸. Professor Michel Candelier, a well-known scientist in the "Eveil aux langues" branch of pedagogics ("Language Awareness" originated in Great Britain in the 1980s), is one of the participants of the project. It has been actively developed in France in recent years and is attracting more and more supporters from among those teachers who are not indifferent to the issues of multilingualism in the school environment.

Besides the disciplinary distinctions in research, differences in relation to the subject of studying can also be seen. Bilingualism as a many-sided phenomenon presupposes a set of situations, among which the following are the most frequent: the language of the country and a regional language, the language of the country and a foreign language, the language of the country and the immigrant language. The first case obviously refers to the activities of the universities located in areas where regional languages are taught (Basque, Alsatian, Occitan and Breton). The third case is the most interesting to us.

As part of the BILIUM project, we have tried to find research on natural bilingualism, studying the specifics of the development of children growing up with two languages – French and a second native language. Unfortunately, we have not been able to find any researchers working with Franco-Russian bilingualism. The only thesis on this matter is currently suspended. As far as other languages are concerned, there are research studies on French-Turkish, – Arabic, – Berber, – English, – German, – Italian, – Swedish, – Finnish, – Bulgarian and other forms of bilingualism⁹.

It is interesting to note that associations and non-state institutions or educational organisations are becoming more actively involved in the advancement, promotion and development of the ideas associated with bilingualism and multilingualism in France. Among such public non-profit organisations ADEB is one of the key organisations promoting bilingualism in France. This association, which aims to develop bilingualism and multilingualism at school and in society, brings together a large number of researchers and teachers. ADEB could be an interesting partner for international projects. It regularly holds seminars, workshops and training sessions in France and abroad, in each case discussing new problems and involving high-level scientists and participants. Well-known linguistic scientists such as Daniel Coste, Jean Duverger, Véronique Castellotti, Christine Hélot, etc. are members of ADEB¹⁰.

Another public organisation that certainly plays an important role in the promotion of bilingualism and multilingualism in France is Café Bilingue. (Café Bilingue – Centre d'animation et de formation pour l'éducation bilingue et plurilingue en France). "Bilingual Café" is a cultural and training centre for the development of bilingual and multilingual education in France. Bilingual Café has been in existence since 2006 and today there are branches of the association throughout France. Barbara Abdelilah-Bauer, President of Bilingual Café, is a psycholinguist, the author of several books on child bilingualism, and a frequent guest at various colloquia and congresses on bilingualism. The scientific council of the association includes such prominent scientists as Gilbert Dalgalian, Christine Hélot, Mehmet-Ali Akinci, Ranka Bijeljic-Babic, etc.

At the initiative of this organisation, a new course, 'Children's bilingualism: development, training, integration' will be started at the University of Paris V from September 2013.

⁸ Web site www.projetpluri-l.org.

⁹ An interesting note: in research studies on bilingualism French scientists regularly come back to M. Bakhtin's and L. Vygotsky's ideas.

¹⁰ Site of the Association: www.adeb.asso.fr.





BILIUM – Bilingualism Upgrade Module (Part I)

The course consists of 130 class periods fully dedicated to the various aspects of bilingualism (linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, psychology, education...). After completing the study, students will receive a University Diploma. This will be a first for France!

Despite rather vigorous scientific and social activities, many experts maintain that although France enthusiastically talks about its multicultural society, declares the importance of foreign languages, shares the European point of view on the need to strive for multilingualism, the reality is that it has a long way to go to reach this ideal. Stereotypes about how harmful a second language is for younger school pupils still abound here and there. Bilingualism is perceived differently depending on the social status of the language and its relevance in society: in bilingualism involving English or Spanish the second language is prestigious; with Dutch, for example, it arouses surprise or is not considered to be useful; with Turkish or Arabic it lacks prestige and is little encouraged¹¹. All in all, bilingual families are very rarely taken into account in the school system. Christine Hélot writes about the “ignored bilingualism” of children¹². This suggests that if we really want our children to grow up as citizens of Europe, possessing such a valuable asset as multicultural competence, perhaps we need to handle more carefully that linguistic capital which is found in many of them but which remains most often outside of school? But let’s be optimistic! There are more and more supporters of bilingualism and multilingualism in France, and society is evolving.

In summary, a few words about where you can find the French sources of bilingualism, including scientific articles. The International Centre for Educational Research, CIEP, offers the following bibliography on bilingualism www.ciep.fr/bibliographie/Enseignement_bilingue.pdf.

In our opinion, this document provides great value, despite the date of publication (2010) and, of course, over the last three years a lot of new books and articles have been published. This bibliography contains the most significant sources of French and foreign authors translated into French. The document is also interesting for the following: a list of recommended literature is accompanied by a brief summary, and a thematic selection on bilingualism in general, on bilingual teaching, models of language policies and so on enables you to find what you need in the brochure quickly. A detailed web list with useful links is also provided.

¹¹ Barbara Abdelilah-Bauer, *Guide à l’usage des parents d’enfants bilingues*, 2012.

¹² Christine Hélot, *Du bilinguisme familial au plurilinguisme à l’école*, l’Harmattan, 2009.





AUSTRIA

Bilingualism in Austria

Austria is one of the richest countries in the world and is justifiably proud of the fact that its capital city, Vienna (which is a province in itself as well as a city), has on numerous occasions been chosen by various renowned studies as the city with the highest standard of living worldwide. The peaceful and respectful coexistence of all the people living in the capital is an example for the social relations of the population of the other eight provinces of Austria (Burgenland/Eisenstadt (capital), Lower Austria/St. Poelten (capital), Upper Austria/Linz (capital), Salzburg/Salzburg (capital), Styria/Graz (capital), Carinthia/Klagenfurt (capital), Tyrol/Innsbruck (capital) and Vorarlberg/Bregenz (capital)).

What is the secret of the fact that Austria and the Austrians are so successful in social relationships? My answer is – language. Austrian German is a shining example of tolerance and creativity in dealing with the problems of an ordinary person on a daily basis. The formal definition of this language can be found in Wikipedia: “Austrian German (German: *Österreichisches Deutsch*), or Austrian Standard German, is the national standard variety of the German language spoken in Austria and in the autonomous Province of South Tyrol (Italy). The standardised form of Austrian German for official texts and schools is defined by the Austrian Dictionary (German: *Österreichisches Wörterbuch*), published under the authority of the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture.”¹

Austrian German is an ideal stepping stone into the essence of bilingualism starting from the cradle: children go off to Wachau, a valley on the River Danube, together with their grandparents from Austria, to pick “Marillen” (*apricots*), which their relatives from Germany call “Aprikosen”. After eating a lot of the fruits in the fresh air, the children dream of coming home to feast on tasty “Topfen-Marillen-Palatschinken” (*pancakes with semi-sweet cottage cheese and apricots*), to find out that they have been eating “Pfnankuchen mit Quark und Aprikosen”, according to Uncle Swen and Aunt Heike from Hamburg. Ergo: Austrian children – to be precise: children living in Austria – are bilingual from their very childhood.

What is it like to grow up in Austria with this language prerequisite? The answers to this question can be found in an inspiring research paper by Tina Herbst, dated 2004, “Growing up bilingually in Austria”², which is both a theoretical excursus on the topic of bilingualism and an empirical study of the situation in Austria. The author concludes that “bilingualism and bilingual upbringing are a very absorbing and absolutely vital topic, which covers various aspects, theories and possibilities. For each bilingual person, a unique way has to be found to fulfil all his/her needs. Principles and methods of upbringing can only be guidelines; they are not rules that must be followed strictly. What works perfectly well with one family can be completely unsuitable for another.

To believe that a child can be brought up with two languages without any problems is somewhat unrealistic. Every child, bilingual or not, goes through phases of rejection. Every learning process is inextricably intertwined with making mistakes, according to the ‘trial and error’ scheme. One should, therefore, not be discouraged by minor set-backs that occur in the course of such an upbringing. Parents and children alike can learn from problems they are faced with. Today it is very important to be able to communicate with people all around the world. Bearing this in mind, bilingualism can only be seen as a gift that should be passed on from generation to generation”.

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austrian_German.

² Herbst, Tina, Growing up bilingually in Austria, research paper in English submitted to Prof. Mag. Brigitte Prettenhofer, Bundesoberstufenrealgymnasium BORG Birkfeld (www.borg-birkfeld.at), Birkfeld, February 27, 2004.





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Let's return to 'MARILLE – Majority Language in Multilingual Settings', a medium-term project (2009-2011) with working languages English and German and a thematic strand; plurilingual education.³ The objectives of the project: the collection of strategies for change management in the field of plurilingual majority language teaching; illustrative case studies/examples of good practice from a variety of countries; conclusions on how to transfer good ideas to other contexts in order to improve majority language teaching with regard to plurilingualism. Target audience for the activities within the project: teachers working as multipliers in networks; teacher educators. Target audience for the project results: teachers; teacher educators; curriculum and learning materials developers. Sector of education focused on: lower and upper secondary school.

Partners:

- 1) Department of German at the University of Vienna, the largest institution for training teachers of German as L1 and L2 for academically oriented secondary schools in Austria, currently developing new curricula for all courses including teacher education, and also involved in the Austrian LEPP (Language Education Policy Profiling) process, for both of which the results of this project are highly relevant.
- 2) The School of Education at the University of Sheffield, which has a strong reputation for its work in teacher education, literacy, policy and inclusion. Its focus on diversity is reflected in its partnership with local schools and its unique PGCE (teacher training course) in Urdu, Chinese and Japanese. It is also involved in the first city-focused CoE Profile of language policy.
- 3) Research Institute for Specialised Communication and Multilingualism of the EURAC (European Academy) Bozen/Bolzano, a multilingual private non-profit institution with private and public funding. South Tyrol, with its three linguistic and cultural groups, offers a background of great interest for the study of language learning, a field that is greatly emphasized at EURAC.
- 4) The University of Jyväskylä, as the leading developer in Finland in the field of language learning, teaching, assessment and teacher education. It is also the first and only university in Finland that has a language policy for the whole university. The policy outlines the university as a multicultural and multilingual environment.

The Language Policy Division (LPD) of the Council of Europe has recently initiated a number of activities in the field of languages in school education and the MARILLE project partners will base their activities on the results of these actions, coordinate their work with the LPD and cooperate closely with the experts involved in the LPD's activities.

This project reflects the efforts taking place in Austria over the last two decades to build up a transparent and clear system of language teaching using the potential of bilingualism and multilingualism. But what are the challenges to this method, which now seems to be the right one? Why does it take a great deal of time and resources to implement this system accordingly?

Anna-Katharina Draxl of the University of Vienna tries to answer some of these questions in her diploma thesis: 'Mehrsprachigkeit: Ressource oder Stigma?/ Multilingualism: Resource or Stigma?' (2012)⁴. She writes: "... it deals with the question of whether young multilingual adults of the so-called "second generation" of migrants regard their own multilingualism

³ University Professor of German as a Second Language at the Department of German Studies, Klaus-Börge Boeckmann, Institut für Germanistik, Universitätsring 1, A-1010 Wien, Telefon: +43 1 4277 42160 Fax: +43 1 4277 42150, E-Mail: kbb@mine.at, <http://marille.ecml.at/>

⁴ Draxl, Anna-Katharina (2012) Mehrsprachigkeit: Ressource oder Stigma?, Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien. Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaften, BetreuerIn: Dirim, Inci, Web: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/19026/>





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as a resource or a stigma. In the theoretical part, aspects of language shift, code-switching, the imagination of monolingual nations, language prestige and processes of differentiation (“we” and “the others”) as well as Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of “capital” are presented.

A further analysis is based on an empirical research study. Six young adults (aged between 19 and 30 years) were interviewed; all of them were born in Austria or moved here before starting school and now study or work in Vienna. They are of Serbian, Spanish or Turkish-speaking family backgrounds. The results of this paper show that the interviewees see their “being multilingual” as something positive, which they can benefit from. Multilingualism is regarded as a potential for their professional and social life, as well as an advantage for learning foreign languages and a useful aspect in intercultural settings.

Nevertheless, actual usage of and benefit from their language skills apart from German are presented as being related to training and qualifications in these languages. Having acquired them mostly in an informal context, all of the participants wish to improve their abilities. Despite these optimistic attitudes, the interviewees have also experienced their multilingual background as a stigma. Multilingual ways of speaking in their families’ languages are perceived as being “marked” and not “normal”. Their narrations include experiences of exclusion and degradation, as for example the prohibition to speak Turkish at school. It could also be shown that the question presented is linked to a language’s significance and value in a certain society. Concerning this matter, differences were identified between the languages of this research study. Furthermore, the whole issue is embedded in the topic of group relations in a society in general. Images about “the others” and questions of belonging – who is regarded as “different”, as part of “us” or “not us”/“them” – seem to be significant. All in all it could be concluded that multilingualism is neither a resource nor a stigma. Experiencing stigmatisation does not directly lead to a failure to see one’s own “being multilingual” as a resource.”

The thesis of Anna-Katharina Draxl shows us another aspect of bilingualism in Austria: the division of languages according to their prestige. English is without doubt very popular (i.e. prestigious) in Austria and thus has all the prerequisites for being widespread in all directions beginning from kindergarten up to higher education. Other languages – even with vast numbers of native speakers in Austria – do not have this status and hence experience obstacles on their way to the classroom or auditorium. What is the difference between these two groups of languages? Does the family influence the value of the language already spoken or to be learned first?

Let’s listen to Kamer Doganay, author of the diploma thesis (Master of Arts) ‘Das Wissen der türkischen Migranteltern hinsichtlich der Entwicklung von Kindern – ein Vergleich türkischer und österreichischer Eltern’ (*‘The awareness of Turkish immigrant parents regarding the development of children – a comparison of Turkish and Austrian parents’*) (2012).⁵ “Investigation into the knowledge of Austria’s Turkish immigrant parents about developmental milestones, as well as the comparison with an Austrian parent sample (Abad, 2009). The aim of the study is to analyze the knowledge of parents in different areas of development. In addition to the comparison of Turkish and Austrian parents, the knowledge should be compared in various development areas. The review was performed by using a knowledge test, with a total sample of 70 Turkish and 117 Austrian parents. As the level of education is relatively unbalanced in both samples, a sub-sample (N = 27) was created.

This led to a matching of the proportion of parents with the higher education in Turkey to that in the Austrian sample. The results show that both groups of parents were able to an-

⁵ Doganay, Kamer (2012) Das Wissen der türkischen Migranteltern hinsichtlich der Entwicklung von Kindern – ein Vergleich türkischer und österreichischer Eltern. Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien. Fakultät für Psychologie, BetreuerIn: Kastner-Koller, Ursula, Web: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/23348/>





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swer more than half of the questions correctly, the solution frequency of the Austrian parents was significantly higher. The comparison between the two groups of parents shows that Turkish parents in most areas tend to underestimate and Austrian parents tend to overestimate the child's development skills. However, considering the estimation quality, the Turkish sample is more balanced as far as overestimation and underestimation are concerned. By contrast, the Austrian sample was frequently overestimated and none of the development areas was underestimated. The formation of the sub-sample had less influence on the solution frequency than on the direction of the estimates. After alignment of the education factor, especially in the Turkish sub-sample, a tendency to overestimate was observed. The results suggest the need for timely preventive action on the part of parents."

Let's put our next question this way: is there any difference between children raised in the families of Turkish and Polish origin? Why is it of interest to us? Just because there are quite different attitudes towards rearing a child in Poland and Turkey: Catholic and Muslim tradition on the one hand, family values of the Orient and the Occident on the other (even if East and West do meet in Istanbul).

And so we have: Patrycja Brenska 'Bilingualismus in einer polnisch-österreichischen Familie/Bilingualism in a Polish-Austrian Family' (2011).⁶ Abstract by the author: "This study attempts to summarise the use of language in a bilingual family, represented by a 5-year-old girl. In addition, the linguistic development of a 7-year-old boy will be surveyed. The following question is key: in what ways and to what extent do the parents influence the use of languages – German and Polish – in the family in different situations (playing, eating, bathing)? How present are both languages in the family – is there a clear separation of them? Is the child aware of his/her bilingualism? How does the Polish-German-speaking child handle his/her two languages – is he/she able to differentiate between these two language systems? Can the child communicate equally in both languages?"

The work is divided into two parts: a theoretical framework for the development of bilingualism is presented first. There is an overview of the forms of bilingualism and the related aspects of language use here. The second part refers to the actual case study. Here there is a language interaction within the investigated bilingual family. The analysis presented is based on qualitative methods of data collection, observation and interview guide. The four aspects: "one person – one language", separation of languages – language mixing, language dominance – weak vs. strong language, and the linguistic awareness of the child are given here to illustrate the language use of the 5-year-old bilingual girl.

Multilingual families are not new, but rather a natural phenomenon which we meet over and over again. It is also natural that children grow up in different cultures and learn two languages at the same time. The completed study has confirmed previous assumptions that bilingual education is a recommended method of language learning. And if there are such excellent conditions for language acquisition in the family already, i.e. if the parents have two different native languages, they should pass on their languages to their children."

And now to the question of bilingualism in children of Austrian origin – as compared with migrant children. Do Austrian children learn more easily than those from abroad? If not, what is the reason? Regina Santner-Klammer tries to study this topic in her diploma thesis: 'Die Wirksamkeit eines Sprachförderprogramms bei Vorschulkindern unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Migrantenkindern' (*"The effectiveness of a language development*

⁶ Brenska, Patrycja (2011) Bilingualismus in einer polnisch-österreichischen Familie. Masterarbeit, Universität Wien. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät. BetreuerIn: Dirim, Inci. Web: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/16634/>





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programme in pre-school children with special reference to migrant children) (2012)⁷. Santner-Klammer states: “The present study investigates the effects of a programme to promote German as a foreign language for pre-school children with an immigrant background (n=30), based on the ‘Wiener Entwicklungstest WET’ (Kastner-Koller & Deimann, 2002). The educational biographies ‘Children with German as a Native Language’ and ‘Children with an Immigrant Background’ reveal major disparities.

German language skills are directly linked to a set of sociocultural and sociopsychological criteria. The families’ level of education proved to have the strongest impact on the general cognitive skills and the language competencies of children. The results of this study also clearly underline the importance of a continuous and focused language promotion programme. After interruption or termination of the language promotion programme the children’s performance falls back to below the average level. The results of the study further imply that the implementation of a specific German as a foreign language promotion programme at kindergarten is not useful. Language development and language promotion cannot be regarded as isolated processes. It is up to the educational institutions to provide the best possible learning conditions. The full command of German is a crucial condition for the integration and educational success of children with native languages other than German.”

And now – two aspects of multilingualism to be precisely studied in terms of children’s awareness of both foreign languages and cultures. Julia Broneder, the author of the work ‘*Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachunterricht: Zwei sprachdidaktische Ansätze zur Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit – Éveil-aux-langues und Interkomprehension*’ (*‘Multilingualism and language learning: Two approaches of language teaching to promoting multilingualism – Éveil aux langues and intercomprehension*’) (2011).⁸ “This thesis discusses the complexity of multilingualism in relation to the language policies of the EU and the Council of Europe. Based on this discussion, this thesis presents two methodological approaches that focus on teaching foreign languages and cultures. Moreover, these approaches can be introduced in language teaching to promote multilingualism. The first of these projects is called the ‘Éveil-aux-langues Project’ and the other one is called ‘Intercomprehension’. In the Éveil-aux-langues Project children are exposed to foreign languages in order to raise their awareness of multilingualism and foreign cultures. Of interest in this context are two German sub-projects, which can be used at primary and secondary school: ‘KIESEL – Kinder entdecken Sprachen’ (*Children Discover Languages*) and Janua Linguarum – ‘das Tor zu Sprachen’ (*the Gateway to Languages*).

The second project/approach is called Intercomprehension. This approach was the basis for the ‘EuroComProject’, the most famous Intercomprehension project. The EuroComProject focuses on the relationships between individual languages but also language families. It is the aim of the EuroComProject to secure a faster acquisition of the foreign language with regard to the receptive skills. The Project uses the relationships between the languages within a language family and allows the learners to work with elaborate methods to acquire a new language in a short time, at least in the receptive skills.

The aim of this thesis is to show which approaches should be used in the Austrian language education system to enhance multilingualism. The increase in language awareness allows children to develop a respectful attitude towards other languages and cultures. In addition,

⁷ Santner-Klammer, Regina (2012) Die Wirksamkeit eines Sprachförderprogramms bei Vorschulkindern unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Migrantenkindern. Web: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/22042/>

⁸ Broneder, Julia (2011) Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachunterricht. Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät. BetreuerIn: de Cillia, Rudolf. Web: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/16219/>





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it is suggested that a heightened language awareness increases children's motivation to learn a new language in a non-educational setting.

As a result, the projects discussed in this thesis help to develop a sustainable basis for lifelong language learning. Hence, these projects comply with the request of the Council of Europe to enhance the language skills of the European population. This shows that the projects discussed in this thesis provide a solid basis for the knowledge of languages in the European population to be increased by lifelong (language) learning.”

It goes without saying that secondary and higher education provide a basis for finding a good place on the labour market. But what skills and knowledge are in urgent demand here? Certainly, there is no chance of advancing without the basics of the profession. Have foreign languages already become basics on the modern labour market? What do studies have to say in this respect?

The answers to these questions can be found in the diploma thesis of Claudia Lo Hufnagl 'Deutsch als Zweitspracheförderung in Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen aus Sicht von Berater/innen und Fachtrainer/innen in einer Wiener Qualifizierungsmaßnahme' (*'German as a Second Language learning support from the perspective of consultants and specialist trainers in a Viennese qualification scheme'*) (2012)⁹. Let the author explain: "Language learning support is conceived as a type of educational support that is oriented towards the development of specific competences and directed at a clearly defined target group. It is at the same time relevant for all groups and learners. Language learning support of this kind may generally foster the development of (con)textual competence especially for learning German for qualifications and vocation. Even though this kind of language learning support is not new, it has not been very well established within vocational education in Austria.

Consequently spaces for linguistic practice remain systematically neglected, although, in theory, they exist in all kinds of educational work. The present synthesis of problems describes the potentials of, and the demands for, language learning support in vocationally qualifying training courses in the interests of a comprehensive and sustainable development of the learners' communication competences. The aim of this thesis is to signpost how these content-specific spaces could be used to provide a selection of concrete measures of support for teachers of non-linguistic subject matters, and to consider these within the context of vocational education in Austria.

The first theoretical approaches that are presented are those concerned with communication competence and the dynamics of Second Language Acquisition. These provide the essential information for language learning support and describe influencing factors that can at the same time be didactically manipulated and are rooted in individual and social circumstances. In addition, relevant and structurally based conditions for integrated language learning support within vocationally oriented adult education in Austria, as well as existing models of language learning support, are also presented. An integral part of the problem synthesis are empirical interviews with trainers as actors and experts in the field. Their statements provide the basis for an assessment of the transferability of theories and existing programmes to the Austrian context. They also serve to establish possible practices within this context. The interviews were semi-structured, using guiding questions. They were transcribed using the conventions of the conversation analysis transcription convention (GAT) and subsequently analysed and interpreted in a multi-tier procedure, following the documentary method of conversation analysis.

⁹ Hufnagl, Claudia Lo (2012) *Deutsch-als-Zweitspracheförderung in Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen aus Sicht von Berater/innen und Fachtrainer/innen in einer Wiener Qualifizierungsmaßnahme*. Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät. BetreuerIn: De Cillia, Rudolf. Web: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/19844/>





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The results of this analysis document language learning support from the perspective of a Vienna-based qualification training programme but show its limits at the same time. The trainers are not qualified in language learning support, have insufficient knowledge about basic opportunities for language learning support and they lack the basic qualifications for creating specific and sensitive spaces of language learning support, as well as knowledge about methods, supporting materials and opportunities for professional networking.

The conclusions reveal a need for greater sensitisation on the part of all responsible players in the field, as well as a structural strengthening, basic training and continual professional development of trainers. The naturally developed competence of the trainers and their specific knowledge of the demands of their subject matter suggest that they could be potential creators of language sensitive spaces for education, which could, in turn, be extremely valuable for language learning support: this would serve the interests of everybody involved in vocationally oriented adult education with the ultimate goal of high quality and autonomy oriented courses in adult education and the strengthening of human resources in the business location of Austria."

'In German I am stronger' (*Auf Deutsch bin ich stärker*).¹⁰ This may sound a bit "pigeon". But not for a psychotherapist studying the topics of love, marriage and foreign language. Let's take a look at the workshop of the association FIBEL ('Fraueninitiative Bikulturelle Ehen und Lebensgemeinschaften'), 'Language and Communication in Bicultural Partnerships' with Psychotherapist Dr. Elisabeth Jupiter. A foreign language often offers a chance to process traumatic experiences more effectively. Jupiter knows this from years of experience as a psychotherapist. On the one hand, the immigrant is in a new emotional and cultural environment. On the other hand, he can sometimes dissociate through the foreign language the experiences in another language. "Many things are easier but some are more difficult to express in one's own language," says Jupiter. Jupiter, therefore, provides the opportunity to speak in therapy sessions in English, Italian, French and Spanish. "Especially when things get very emotional, the patients fall back into their native language," she says. One workshop participant knows from personal experience how a new language brings changes. She came to Austria in her thirties and now describes German as her "adult language". "I'm stronger in German and express things differently," she says.

'Mehr Wertschätzung für Mehrsprachigkeit von Migranten' (*More appreciation for the multilingualism of immigrants*)¹¹ is Ania Haar's motto. Immigration has turned the ideology of having only one language in Austria upside down. What must be considered in order to respond appropriately to the linguistic resources that immigrants and their children bring? University Professor Georg Gombos answers: "Above all, the right attitude and appreciation of these resources. This is the central importance of education at kindergarten. That is one side. The other side is that you have to find specific local solutions. In metropolitan areas, where there are many children with foreign language backgrounds as well as in groups where different languages are represented, it is naturally difficult to promote both German and another language. But it is important for the language development of children. Basically, a respectful attitude towards all children is a central requirement of kindergarten teachers."

Iris Bonavida, for her part, knows a lot about a "soft" method of teaching languages for bilinguals: 'Bilinguismus: Pädagogik mit "Sheriff" und "Tomatoes"' (*Bilingualism: Pedagogy with "Sheriff" and "Tomatoes"*)¹². No top-down teaching is used: the children have a reference person both in German and English instead. Thus they are trying to learn both lan-

¹⁰ Newspaper "Standard" (<http://derstandard.at/3333784/Auf-Deutsch-bin-ich-staerker>), 12.05.2008.

¹¹ <http://diepresse.com/home/panorama/integration/760060/Mehr-Wertschaetzung-fuer-Mehrsprachigkeit-von-Migranten>).

¹² Newspaper "Die Presse", 10.04.2012.





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guages playfully, without any classroom instruction. As a result, the children attain school readiness in both languages. Most parents send their children here because bilingualism is becoming increasingly important for the future. But in some cases, because they themselves have worked hard at learning a foreign language too. Their children will be different. There is almost no translation at the kindergarten, as the children usually switch between the two languages instead.

Are “foreigners at the door”¹³ on the labour market in Austria? This year the Vienna Chamber of Commerce, along with the Institute for Social Research, studied the situation of migrants in the labour market. The target group consisted of 2,300 people, 2,000 of whom were immigrants (1st and 2nd generation from 11 countries of origin). It was found that the immigrants had to accept jobs far below their educational level (34% of graduated persons in McJobs). This discrepancy was even more acute with regard to salary: 20% of Austrians earn approx. €2,400 a month – against 5% of immigrants. Thus unemployment is a problem for foreigners: 45% of them, as opposed to 11% of Austrians, have become unemployed since 2000. The main problem with all these deficiencies is the difficulty to pass a recognition of foreign diplomas or secondary school certificates.

What is the legal basis of bilingualism in Austria? Let’s begin with the “Report of the Republic of Austria pursuant to Article 25, Section 1, of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities”¹⁴. The Austrian Government will continue its consistent policy of protecting its ethnic groups and the rights of minorities in the future. It will endeavour to fulfil the recommendations of the advisory boards of the Federal Government and the National Assembly, made in 1997 in the form of the “Memorandum of Austrian Ethnic Groups”. This report shows how these measures have been implemented in recent years and what achievements have been made towards some important requirements of this memorandum. The Federal Government will work in close collaboration with the communities to seek the most extensive implementation of the memorandum.

Regulation No. 229 of the Federal Government, determining the courts, administrative authorities and other departments where the Hungarian language is also admitted in addition to the German language as an official language (Official Language Ordinance Hungarian).¹⁵

Another important source of bilingualism study here in Austria is a compendium written by Andrea Bernardini “The Utility Value of Bilingual Law Texts for Court Interpreters”¹⁶. Chapter 1 discusses the status, history, training and responsibilities of court interpreters in Austria and Italy (South Tyrol/Alto Adige). Chapter 2 considers the history and language of law (development of the major codes and the historically grown language of lawyers, in particular in Austria, but also in Germany, France and Italy). Chapter 3 illustrates the special historical, political and linguistic situation of South Tyrol, in particular with respect to the use of the German legal language for Italian laws (with due regard to the fact that “German” comprises as many legal languages as there are legal systems, i.e. the German, Austrian and Swiss systems). Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the text of the German translation of the Codice Civile which is commonly used in South Tyrol. For its corpus, Articles 2472-2497 bis were selected, which deal with the provisions governing the società a responsabilità limitata (limited liability company). The arguments are based on parallel texts (Italian version of the Austrian law governing limited liability companies: Imperial Law Gazette/Bollettino delle Leggi dell’Impero of 1906; translation of the Codice Civile,

¹³ Russische Gratiszeitung in Österreich Dawail, Nr. 32/2012.

¹⁴ Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria (www.austria.gv.at), 15.04.2004, (http://www.austria.gv.at/2004/4/15/minderheiten_dt.pdf).

¹⁵ http://www.bundeskanzleramt.at/2004/4/15/amtssprache_ungarisch.pdf.

¹⁶ „The Utility Value of Bilingual Law Texts for Court Interpreters“ (<http://www.fodok.at/fodokat/details/237614>).





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1965, out of print; Italian translation of the Austrian law governing limited liability companies, 1994; Swiss law on obligations and relevant EU directives). Chapter 5 analyses the process of acquiring translatory competence, since the existing translations furnish proof that sound technical knowledge and excellent linguistic capability (bilingualism) are not sufficient to produce an adequate translation. Translators themselves were questioned on their work (introduction). The conclusion: A court translator translating legal texts for use in Austria should use translations made for bilingual South Tyrol solely as a reference or source of information, but not as a basis for terminology or syntax.

South Tyrol is not the only place of interest for politicians and scientists dealing with bilingualism. Alja Lipavic Ostir and Sabina Jurkas have studied 'Functional bilingualism on the border between Austria and Slovenia'.¹⁷ Slovene and German speaking populations have lived together in the language contact regions of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola for over a thousand years. In spite of the fact that the political situation for German-Slovene language contacts deteriorated in the 20th century, contacts have been maintained the whole time, among other things, through commuters looking for jobs in Austria.

The use of different languages and varieties at work, at home, within families and in their environment is discussed in this contribution, which represents the first step in researching the language use of Slovene commuters in Austria and the presence of different varieties of the German and Slovene languages, as well as the use of typically Austrian vocabulary (Austriazismus). The research is based on a survey of and interviews with three groups of speakers: commuters with Slovene as L1 working in Graz (A), employees from Graz with German as L1 (B) and employees from Maribor with Slovene as L1 (C). The results of the research show that the commuters use the Graz dialect mostly passively and partly actively.

The informants from group A use certain Austrian words which they had not learned in Slovene schools within the educational framework of learning German. These commuters are a perfect example of functional bilingualism because they associate the domain 'work' with German, and the domain 'family' mainly with Slovene. The interviews with group B showed how often the dialect is used at work as well as in contacts with commuters from Slovenia. Interviews with the participants from group C in the survey showed that these participants used some Austrian words (Austriazismus). Their knowledge of German can be interpreted as a result of learning German and as a result of the language contacts on the border between the two countries.

And now we return to children learning foreign languages – but not as scientists as above but as politicians (let's assume that is who we are). What do they say about this? "German is a requirement for school readiness."¹⁸ Children with language problems should go to pre-school classes in Vienna now. The enrolment for primary schools starts mid-January – and for the first time ever adequate German language skills will be a requirement for school readiness. If a child has problems with the language, he will be encouraged to enter a pre-school class first. This should make children both "language proficient" and "ready for school", as the School Board President, Susanne Brandsteidl (Socialist Party – SPOE), says.

Secretary of State, Sebastian Kurz (People's Party – OEVP), states: "This is a right and sensible step. I believe that it makes sense to learn the language first, before we enter the regular school system." He further wants German to be enshrined in law as a prerequisite for school readiness. The Compulsory Education Act is currently based on motoric, cognitive and social components. Knowledge of the language should be another requirement as well. The Minister for Education, Claudia Schmied (SPOE), announced her own model for lan-

¹⁷ Publications of the VSI AKADEMINI LEIDYBA (http://www.leidykla.eu/fileadmin/Kalbotyra_3/59_3/192-201.pdf).

¹⁸ <http://wien.orf.at/news/stories/2551415/>





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guage development too. She was originally supposed to present her programme in January but this has now been postponed to the spring.¹⁹

Even with an adequate knowledge of German, migrants face problems on the labour market. “Migrants: Multilingualism unused”²⁰. People with a migration background living in Vienna speak on average three languages. This is a result of a recent study by the Chamber of Labour (AK-Arbeiterkammer). This potential is, however, neither estimated nor used. Migrants are often measured only by their knowledge of German. At the same time their language skills on average are more extensive than those of the citizens of Vienna, according to the results of the current study of 2,300 Viennese workers from eleven regions of origin.

“Migrants are highly disadvantaged at work”²¹ According to a study by the Chamber of Labour (AK-Arbeiterkammer), migrants are clearly disadvantaged in the labour market. One third of migrant workers are employed far below their actual education level. The comparison confirms: only eleven percent of workers of non-migrant background are employed under their actual education level. They are significantly more highly rewarded in comparison with those with a migration background.

Coming back to the very beginning of our survey, we would like to praise the efforts of the Municipality of Vienna in securing social peace and tolerance through the inclusion of migrants. “The city makes migrants fit for the labour market.”²² A language and education plan for migrants, developed by the City of Vienna, currently offers around 1,600 people opportunities for learning. Apart from learning basic skills in German, there are other courses such as mathematics and computer use on offer as well – for up to 1,200 hours per person. Special attention in the courses will be given to the different circumstances and needs of migrants. There will be 300 to 430 units of instruction per level offered here. E.g. an illiterate woman will need up to 1,200 lessons before she is fit for the labour market. The City of Vienna will fund this programme with approximately 5 million euros. These courses are at the same time free for the participants.

And last but not least, spoken languages are not the only study target when discussing bilingualism. Sign language is the best example of this. “Comments on the Draft Agreement between the federal and provincial governments pursuant to Article 15a on mandatory language support in institutional childcare facilities”²³ is a document revealing the urgent need for an agreement between the federal and provincial governments to create a unified Federal Framework Act for Bilingualism (German and Austrian Sign Language/OEGS) for deaf children at elementary school. The following mottos are of essence: Bilingualism should not be a privilege! Sign language is a human right and our mother tongue! Sign language is an important means of our communication, to promote our knowledge. Deaf children have the right of access to early childhood care and education in bilingual learning environments with German and ASL as two equal languages. As a positive example, there is a kindergarten in the Gussenbauergasse in the 9th Viennese district with a bilingual approach: the children are addressed both in German and in ASL. The hearing and deafness educators and assistants have fluency in ASL. The federal and state governments will be encouraged to adopt this exemplary model all over Austria.

¹⁹ <http://wien.orf.at/news/stories/2566020>.

²⁰ <http://wien.orf.at/news/stories/2551415>.

²¹ <http://wien.orf.at/news/stories/2518247>.

²² Sandra Frauenberger, Executive City Councillor for Integration, Women’s Issues, Consumer Protection and Personnel, E-Mail: sandra.frauenberger@wien.gv.at, Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Rathaus, A-1082 Wien, Web: www.wien.gv.at.

²³ Österreichischer Gehörlosenbund/ Austrian Federation for the Deaf, Waldgasse 13/2, 1100 Wien, E-Mail: info@oeglb.at, Web: www.oeglb.at; http://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XIV/ME/ME_00336_25/imfname_239985.pdf.





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Bilingualism in Austria is on the move again: after decades of the Iron Curtain with almost no other languages in Austria than (Austrian) German and (school) English, we are now facing the renaissance of the “melting pot” of peoples and languages that used to be common in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – but with quite different prerequisites, both social and political. We are sure that this process will gain a strong momentum in building up a common house of the United States of Europe, based on democratic principles including the right to use the native language all over the Old Continent.





THE NETHERLANDS

As is already widely known, educating bilingual children requires a special approach and unique teaching methods. Thus the BILIUM Project has as its starting point the urgent and real need for qualified teachers and their professional development.

The BILIUM Project also has another purpose, which is to bring the issues of bilingualism and multilingualism to the attention of the public in Europe, and in the Netherlands in particular.

In the Netherlands, in response to the lack of public facilities for immigrant minority languages at pre-school and primary school levels, private initiatives have been started. Languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Polish and Russian are widely spoken, and schools have been established in which additional education in language and culture is provided. Such schools are spread throughout the country and are initiated and run by the communities themselves.¹

Further to this, in order to examine the situation of bilingual education in the Netherlands, we can use the example of additional education in language and culture for bilingual children, for whom one of the native languages is Russian, the so-called “Russian schools.”

It should be noted that the interest in preserving one’s native language is growing, and not only within the Russian community.

As experience shows, new organisations specialising in additional education for children from mixed-language families are constantly being opened in the Netherlands.

In this article, I shall focus on organisations offering a second language to bilingual children for whom one of the native languages is Russian. The number of these organisations is on the increase.

Currently there are at least 20 “Russian schools” operating in the Netherlands, which employ at least 300 teachers, with the total enrolment of bilingual students equalling 2,000.

A second “Russian school” was opened in 2011 in Rotterdam, followed by a Centre for Russian Language in Rijswijk. The organisation for Additional Education in Nijmegen is experiencing rapid growth and the “First Hague School” launched last year has been very successful. The number of students in other additional educational institutions throughout the Netherlands is constantly on the rise.

Unfortunately, the teaching staff in these organisations often come from very “mixed” professional backgrounds. If the larger organisations can boast qualified teachers, this is often not the case in the smaller ones.

In addition, most of the staff are not teachers of the Russian language and literature, or even teachers of Russian as a foreign language or Russian as a second language, that is, their educational background lacks the appropriate specialisation.

Teachers working in the Russian schools often do not possess the relevant knowledge and are not familiar with the special techniques of bilingual education.

Of course, large organisations have the opportunity to invite specialist lecturers, but this is usually a one-off occasion and they are not systemic in their approach. Small organisations lack this opportunity completely.

This situation is characteristic of other supplementary language schools in the Netherlands as well. At present, the official policy of the Dutch Government on this issue is quite neutral.

¹ See research paper *‘Language Rich Europe – Trends in beleid en praktijk voor meertaligheid in Europa.’*





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Unfortunately, the Government of the Netherlands does not officially support the studies and projects in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism that are being conducted by various Dutch institutions.² And research results do not go beyond theoretical publications. However, it must be noted that the official Government stance does not hinder theoretical research either.

From a practical point of view, as far as the official state language is concerned, the priority is always given to Dutch and only Dutch. Immigrant children must speak Dutch, often not only at school but also at home.

The great importance that the Ministry of Education attaches to its commitment to the Dutch language is shown in the programmes for children in pre-school education, which are provided for children with poor knowledge of the Dutch language, with the aim of countering a delay in language development (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2011b). This is in accordance with a resolution by the European Parliament in 2009, which states that at pre-school level especially Dutch should be the national language.

The following five regional minority languages are recognised under the Charter: Fries, Limburger, Niedersachsisch, Romani and Yiddish. At regional level, only the official Frisian education is supported by the Charter.³

The country's media does not provide coverage on the issues of bilingualism and multilingualism.

In order to bring about some sort of improvement in this situation and to draw attention to the issue of "natural" bilingualism inherent in mixed-language families, the independent research institute in the field of multicultural issues, 'FORUM' published a special-issue magazine "The Power of Multilingualism."⁴

Based on the current situation in the Netherlands concerning multilingualism and bilingualism in particular, the outcome of the project "Bilium" should not only equip the employees of supplementary education schools with the tools to improve the teaching quality with regard to bilingual children, but it should also raise the awareness of the general public and the Dutch official state structures.

² See the table Science_Netherland.xls.

³ See research paper "Language Rich Europe – Trends in beleid en praktijk voor meertaligheid in Europa".

⁴ See the table SMI_Netherland.xls.





SPAIN

Spain is a country where we have been able to find a large number of people who speak more than one native language. There are several autonomous regions where two official languages are spoken, for instance Catalonia, Galicia, Valencia and the Basque Country. These languages are protected by the Spanish Constitution of 1978, Article 3: “The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective autonomous regions in accordance with their Statutes. The richness of the various linguistic forms of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be the object of special respect and protection”.

Spain is also a country with a very high percentage of immigrants from Morocco, Pakistan, China and the Eastern European countries. According to the Parliamentary Act 2/2009, all immigrants have the right of total integration into Spanish society but we have not found any official law or act that supports in any way the languages of immigrants.

Nevertheless, there are some programmes (which differ greatly from region to region) that help non-profit cultural associations to develop their activities, such as organising language lessons for children. We should point out that in Catalonia, with its difficult history of constant struggle for independence, multilingualism and multiculturalism are very much accepted by the government and society.

Bilingualism is a very common phenomenon in modern life, and interest in it in the mass media is very apparent. Articles in *La Vanguardia* study the particular qualities of bilinguals, explain the special structure of their brain, and help parents to understand their children better. Only several years ago scientists were already of the view that bilingualism makes people more intelligent, has profound positive effects on the brain, leads to improvements in cognitive skills not related to language, and may even protect against dementia in aging.

Bilinguals are better at solving certain types of mental puzzles than monolinguals, as various studies have shown. In addition, the ability to speak two languages improves the executive function of the brain, such as planning, solving problems and performing other mental tasks in parallel.

On the subject of scientific research, one of the most interesting pieces of research was ‘Brain-glot’ at the Basque Country University, which explored how human language is acquired and processed, and determined the relationship between this highly complex phenomenon and other cognitive skills – all this being based on bilingualism as a contemporary phenomenon.

A new research project starts at Barcelona University this year: ‘Social multilingualism and secondary education (not obligatory)’.

Bilingualism has also been studied at higher education institutions such as the Basque Country University. Having studied, for example, ‘Linguistic Policy and Planning’, students know how to compare the different linguistic models of contemporary societies, to deepen the study of bilingualism and its teaching models and to specify what solutions different governments should adopt in respect of language or languages.

One of the important Spanish research projects in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism was carried out at Barcelona University by the psychologist, linguist and writer Miquel Siguan y Soler. He was one of the founders of “Lingua-pax” – a non-governmental organisation dedicated to the preservation and promotion of linguistic diversity world-wide. Lingua-pax emerged from a UNESCO experts meeting in 1987, and was followed up by a series of workshops and international meetings focusing on the promotion of plurilingual education.

In conclusion we must say that bilingualism is a common and normal phenomenon in Spain. All national languages are protected by the state. But we believe that the government should pay more attention to other languages and give immigrants greater opportunities to preserve them.





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ITALY

Every member state of the European Union must propose one language that will be considered to be the official language. In accordance with the Founding Agreement of the European Union, signed in Rome on the 25 March 1957 (the consolidated text comprises amendments under the Treaty of Nice of the 16 April 2003), all national languages of member countries must be regarded as equal to the official languages (Art. 3.14, Art. 149, Art. 290, Art. 314).

The official language policy of the European Union requires that languages, including minority languages, are maintained and developed. As far as national minorities are concerned, a respect for the languages, customs and traditions of all nationalities and ethnic groups, as well as the creation of the conditions necessary for their development, shall be guaranteed.

The language question is very topical in Italy, as in many other countries of the modern world. Independent state structures (the Roman Empire, the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, Reggio, the Kingdom of the Langobards, the four Maritime Republics from the late Middle Ages, the Kingdom of Italy, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, etc.) have long existed on the territory of present-day Italy. As a consequence, linguistic diversity would be quite a natural phenomenon within the future Italian State.

The country achieved national unity in 1861 as a result of the movement for the unification of Italy (the “Risorgimento”). In the initial period following the structuring of the Italian State, there arose the task of forming a unified national literary language based on the Tuscan dialect, which was intermediate between the northern and southern language forms. Alessandro Manzoni, a literary and state activist in Italy, was one of the first to work on a solution to the language question on the unified social and political territory. In Manzoni’s opinion, the roots of the Italian language lay in Florence, the city whose official language was the dialect understood by the entire city population. As chairman of the parliamentary committee on language questions, Alessandro Manzoni submitted for consideration the report ‘The Unity of the Language and the Means of its Dissemination’ (*‘Dell’unita della lingua e dei mezzi di diffonderla’*, 1868), in which he spoke of the existence of dialects and regional speech forms as opposed to the national language. In his opinion, local dialects and idioms had a right to exist and performed the same functions as a unified national language. However, resolving this problem was compounded by the class and cultural divisions of Italian society.

After the unification of the Italian State and the annexation of new territories, the Italian government made attempts to integrate Italian society into a single language and cultural system. This process of cultural assimilation chiefly concerned those regions that had previously not formed part of the Italian State. Italian was not the native language of the population of these regions. Hence, there arose a tendency to make the provincial identity and the dialect associated with it generally more Italian. This process came to be known as Italianisation.

In the course of Italianisation, all efforts were made to eradicate foreign influence on the Italian language. These linguistic measures were consolidated in legislation. The first action was to abolish the teaching of minority languages in the school education system. In addition, foreign geographical names and proper names were replaced by their Italian counterparts. Publishing houses and printing presses were obliged to reject foreign terminology and to start using the corresponding Italian words and expressions. It should be borne in mind that it was very difficult to implement a policy of this nature in a country where, in addition to the state language, there existed dialects that enjoyed their own literary and written traditions.





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Nowadays more and more attention is being given to the development of national languages, language sovereignty, human rights with regard to language and the regulation of relationships between language majority and minority groups, which is reflected in legislation.

Linguistic minorities of the same ethnic and linguistic origin as states adjacent to Italy can be found throughout the country. According to Art. 6 of the Constitution of Italy, signed on the 27 December 1947, “the Republic will take all necessary steps to safeguard linguistic minorities”. In Statute No. 482 of the 15 December 1999, the Italian Parliament recognised 12 linguistic minorities spread throughout the Republic of Italy. These linguistic minorities comprise the following languages: Friulian, Ladino, German, Slovenian, Occitan, French, Franco-Provençal, Albanian, Greek, Sardinian, Catalan and Croatian.

This Statute provides for the above-mentioned languages to be used officially in state institutions, taught in educational establishments, and in TV and radio programmes broadcast on RAI state network channels.

There are currently around 100,000 French-speaking citizens living in Western Italy, 260,000 German-speaking and 53,000 Slavonic-speaking citizens in the North and West. Issues relating to language policy are settled by the legislation of the regions where they live.

In accordance with Section 38 of the Statute of the Autonomous State of the Aosta Valley, which has a Francophone population, the French language has equal status with Italian: all documents of the State and the regional authorities are published either in Italian or French. An exception to this are documents of judicial authorities, which are composed in Italian.

Section 99 of the Statute of the Trentino-Alto-Adige region, inhabited by German-speaking citizens, gives a broader interpretation to the issue of bilingualism in economic and political aspects. The German language has equal status with Italian and regional documents are published in both languages. The population has the right to use their native language in all establishments of state and regional subordination. In correspondence, officials are obliged to reply to addressees in the language of their choosing. Judicial proceedings are carried out in German as well as Italian.

Decree No. 345 of the President of the Republic of Italy of the 2 May 2001 assures the rights of the Slovenian linguistic minority in Friuli-Venezia Giulia.

The constitution of the Republic of Italy proclaims equal rights for citizens regardless of their linguistic and ethnic background, and guarantees protection for linguistic minorities by imposing the relevant standards.

The problem of an inadequate knowledge of languages was recognised by the leadership of the European Union as early as the 1980s, when an objective was formulated, which remains in force to this day: every citizen of the EU should speak a minimum of three European languages. At the EU summit meetings in Lisbon (2000) and Barcelona (2002) this objective was consolidated and summarised in the formula “native language plus two foreign languages”. The 21st century is a new stage in the development of modern society. The majority of political, economical and socio-cultural changes in recent years have been inseparably linked with the efforts of countries to achieve an open society and integration into a European cultural and educational area, the strengthening of the role of the socio-cultural component – the study of the culture of other countries and a more profound consciousness of one’s own culture, participation in “the dialogue of cultures” and also the creation of a single educational area.

This has formed the basis for the participation of European countries in current European research projects with the aim of supporting and developing multilingualism.





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Scientific projects dealing with the problems of multilingualism are being carried out in European countries under the auspices of the European Commission. Such projects in Italy have been run by the Universities of Siena, Milan, Rome, Calabria, Florence, etc. and supported by the European Commission.

The issue of immigration in the Republic of Italy has become increasingly important, as have the related questions of maintaining the native language of migrants and their families. Only recently Italian schools were still mainly monolingual, teachers did not foster any interest in bilingualism in children and the subject of multilingualism was considered to be likely to cause difficulties for the child in mastering Italian. In addition, there was a lack of competencies in the field of psycholinguistics. In teaching their children languages, parents in mixed families were in most cases left without the necessary professional support, and were, therefore, forced to refrain from trying to maintain the native language in communicating with their children, assuming they were in this way facilitating their integration at school.

In spite of the attention specialists in the field of bilingualism and the inter-cultural upbringing of immigrant children devote to developing new school programmes, in Italy today there are, unfortunately, only a small number of people (mainly historical minorities living in close-knit communities) who have a real, legally backed opportunity to give their children a bilingual education. Language policy in Italy does not provide for the preservation of so-called immigrant languages, and the financial means required for implementing specific programmes are not always available to them. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, CETS 148, adopted in Strasbourg on the 5 November 1992, was signed by Italy on the 27 June 2000 but, as at the 14 February 2013, it has still not been ratified. (<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ChercheSig.asp?NT=148&CM=&DF=&CL=RUS>).

The absence of national programmes for developing the languages of immigrants in the Italian school education system does nothing to promote the maintenance of children's native languages, which leads to their gradually being assimilated.

Research carried out in Italy shows that the migrant language may already be forgotten by the second generation. The reasons for this are, above all, the limited access to the language for children in the family and in the community, as well as the lack of both a policy to preserve the language in Italy and of real prospects for social or professional advancement.

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DENMARK

Introduction

Denmark has approximately 5,560,000 inhabitants. Denmark as a country includes the Faroe Islands and Greenland. Danish is the official language, 90% of its inhabitants are ethnic Danes with Danish as their mother tongue. Apart from the speakers of Danish who live in Denmark, Danish is also the native or cultural language of around 50,000 Germano-Danish citizens living in the south of Schleswig in Germany.¹ Denmark takes an extreme position towards languages: one country – one language, while other countries recognise several languages².

There are, however, the Faroese and Greenlandic languages and, moreover, Denmark has historical connections with Germany in its border area, which at various times belonged to one country or the other. There has developed a natural situation of German-Danish bilingualism in South Jutland.

Denmark does not have a rich multilingual history, but times have changed: the fact is that modern Denmark is multilingual, the Danish people speak somewhere between 100 and 140 languages. For example, people of 129 different nationalities live in Copenhagen, and a correspondingly high number of languages are spoken.³

During the last ten years English has gained a much stronger position and the parallel Danish/English language strategy of the Danish Government and higher education system has strongly supported this development.

What is Denmark's policy in relation to heritage languages? Do migrants have an opportunity to maintain their languages? Based on the legal framework, media analysis and current research, this paper gives a short overview of the heritage language policy in Denmark⁴.

Law

There are no provisions for the use of Danish or other languages in the Danish constitution and there is no specific law providing for overall regulation of language use. But the Education Act regulates what languages may be offered to children at school and kindergarten. The national language, foreign languages, regional languages and immigrant languages are dealt with in language legislation. The learning and teaching of the national language abroad for children and adults originating from Denmark is (co-)funded in about 20 countries in Europe and abroad.

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages was signed and ratified by Denmark in 2000⁵. In connection with this ratification, German as a regional language is recognised in the Charter. Eskimo-Aleut (in Greenland) and Faroese are also protected by the Laws on Home Rule. In the Faroe Islands and Greenland the law of autonomy guarantees the official status of the Faroese and Greenlandic languages, although Danish is a compulsory subject at schools.

¹ Kirchmeier-Andersen, Sabine. Denmark. Language Rich Europe. <http://www.language-rich.eu/home/country-profiles/profiles-overview/denmark.html>.

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⁴ The research was conducted within the framework of the EU-project BILIUM 2012-2014, project leader Ekaterina Koudrjajtseva, Germany.

⁵ European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/report/PeriodicalReports/DenmarkPR3_en.pdf.





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There are no official nation/region-wide data collection mechanisms on language diversity in Denmark.

Thus, teaching is compulsory in Danish as a national language, while the right to learn another parental or native language is determined by historical conditions, political attitudes and the linguistic hierarchy, which is present in Danish society.

Denmark has ratified the Nordic Language Convention (1987), which secures the right of Nordic citizens to use their own language to communicate with the authorities in all Nordic countries. Denmark has also ratified the Nordic Language Declaration (2006), which is a joint policy document of the Nordic Council of Ministers. It states that both national and minority languages should be supported and protected, that universities should use a parallel language strategy ensuring the use of English alongside the use of the national languages, and that citizens of the Nordic countries should be given the opportunity to learn their mother tongue and acquire skills in a language of international importance and skills in another foreign language. But in actual fact, as a result of language policy in Denmark, less importance is being attached to other foreign languages, including the Scandinavian languages, and the native languages of migrants. The amendment to the Education Act of 2002 deprives the majority of bilingual children of financial support for learning their native languages.

According to this amendment to the Education Act of 2002, not all bilingual children in Denmark are offered mother tongue tuition. The particular proposal by the Ministry of Education now only applies to bilingual children whose parents are citizens of a member state of the European Union and of countries that are included in the agreement of the European Economic Area, together with the Faroe Islands and Greenland⁶.

Out of 690,000 students⁷ in primary and lower secondary schools approximately 69,000 (10 per cent) are bilingual (2008 figures). Approximately 6,000–7,000 of these 69,000 students are given the option of learning their mother tongue at school with government support, but as extracurricular practice, subject to certain criteria (children of parents from EU/EEA countries, Greenland and the Faroe Islands, minimum numbers of students, availability of an educated teacher, etc). Parents claim that they often have to fight for their right to education in the mother tongue if they want the municipality to establish a class.

An amendment in 2002 abolished central government subsidy for mother tongue education for approximately 62,000–63,000 bilingual students from third-world countries. The 2002 amendment, therefore, led to a drastic deterioration of the conditions for obtaining mother tongue education for most bilingual students in Denmark. The municipalities are still allowed to provide mother tongue education on equal terms, but following the withdrawal of central government support, most of the municipalities have chosen not to. In 2008 approximately 7 per cent of the total number of bilingual students received mother tongue education compared with 1997, when the figure was approximately 41 per cent⁸.

For the groups of bilingual children originating from EU/EEA countries, Greenland and the Faroe Islands the option of immigrant languages is offered as an extracurricular activity outside of regular school days, and receives some state funding (Folkeskolen Act §5. Art. 7).

In accordance with the Education Act of 2002, the question of mother tongue education for children from other countries, the so called third-world countries, is passed to the municipalities for their consideration and depends on their good will, without which no-one would be responsible for this. Russian is also included in this category of languages.

⁶ BEK nm 618 af 22/07/2002. Undersvingsministeriet. <https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=23979&exp=1>.

⁷ We would like to thank analytic Lene Timm and Professor Christian Horst for providing materials.

⁸ Timm, Lene. Danmark har ondt i modersmålet, 2008 http://complexitet.dk/Dokumenter/bilagsrapport_danmark_har_ondt_drc_2008_2_.pdf.





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The vast majority of municipalities do not willingly finance their native languages. As a consequence, for most bilingual students – those who originate from third-world countries – there is no provision at school and no funding from the state. There are only private or community initiatives.

Mass Media

Following the intention to be open and supportive of the ideals of democracy, which are inherent in Danish society, the mass media in Denmark creates an opportunity for a wide discussion of questions important to society. A highly developed mass media culture in Denmark provides a high level of informational fidelity. In the first place, this is ensured by a good quality press, if we may say so, and secondly, a fairly well developed media management.

Good-quality press is achieved by the tendency of serious newspapers to publish scientifically based articles in most areas. A well developed media management means that the media quickly responds to keenly debated topics in society. This is also helped by the fact that many projects and public organisations have their own information portals, which keep society in the loop of current events and discussions.

Published material concerning natural bilinguals can be found in the profiled media, such as “Information” (*Information*), “Videnskab” (*Science*), “Folkeskolen” (*Elementary School*), “Underviser” (*Teacher*), and in major reputable newspapers read by the Danish political and cultural elite, such as “Berlinske” with their week-end supplements, “Weekendavisen” (*Weekend Newspaper*) and “Politiken” (*Politics*).

There are also more specialised sites whose purpose is to feature current research. Among these are an independent online community of experts “Jatilsprog.dk” (*Yestolanguage*), a working group of the Ministry of Education project consultants “Tosprogstaskforce.dk” (*Twolanguagetaskforce*), a project group of the Ministry of Culture “Sproget.dk” (*Language*), the Public Relations Professionals’ Association “Tosprog.dk” (*Twolanguages*), the Public Association of Teachers of Bilingual Children “Ufe.dk” and others.

The topic of bilingualism presented in the mass media is shown to be multifaceted and nuanced, and it reflects not only political and legislative but also scientific and educational assumptions. The media transmit the viewpoints of the all interested actors on this topic: scholars, teachers, analysts, politicians, journalists, parents, active readers.

We will begin our media analysis with an article published in 2007 (see section 1.1) because of its importance to the climate of bilingualism in Denmark. This article takes a “middle path” stance in relation to those media reflections concerning the mother tongue issues of non-Danish children over the past 12 years. There have been more than 2,500 publications on bilingual education in Denmark, according the media-publishers’ own statistics.

A review of major topics on “natural bilingualism” and bilinguals themselves in the Danish mass media reveals the following dominant themes:

- ♦ Mother tongue education in different aspects: opposition between researchers and politicians; state funding of bilingualism and discrimination/equality; the importance of mother tongue education for families and children.
- ♦ Bilingual children, bilingualism and bilingual pupils.
- ♦ Multilingual perspective in community development.

Given below are some examples of the publications that characterise the main paths of discussion – arguments for and against, different approaches and critical issues.





1. Mother tongue education. Opposition between researchers and politicians

The newspaper *Information.dk* published the article ‘Manglende modersmåls-undervisning tynger indlæringen’ (*Lack of mother tongue education hampers learning possibilities*) in 2007⁹. Journalist Lise Richter wrote: “A new evaluation recommends focusing more on mother tongue education. The report recommends that all teachers with bilingual students in the classroom gain more knowledge about Danish as a second language and a greater focus on mother tongue education.”

This article reflects the debate between Danish science and Danish policy. To master the mother tongue is important because the first spoken language is what the student must build on throughout his school years, explains Professor Anne Holmen. “All learning is about building onto the knowledge children already have. This is a prerequisite for learning Danish as a second language and English for Danish-speaking children,” says Anne Holmen. She says it is ‘incomprehensible’ that mother tongue education is not supported to a greater extent by policy makers.

Anne Holmen also emphasises the social value of Danish schoolchildren mastering several languages: “But if the linguistic value is to be used later on, it requires that you can read and write the language at a certain level.” She points out the paradox that Denmark contributes to mother tongue education in Africa through assistance to developing countries but not in Denmark: “Mother tongue education includes more children and fewer children drop out of school, but this argument is apparently not good enough in the Danish school system”.

President of the Danish Principal Association, Claus Hjortdal, believes it has been difficult to maintain mother tongue education in schools where children speak many different languages, but he has no doubt that the government’s abolition of state support for this type of education has left its mark on bilingual pupils’ learning. This problem was already brought to the attention of politicians by experts and educators in 2001 after the government’s discussions on the abolition of mother tongue education.

The Conservative education spokeswoman Charlotte Dyremose does not believe it is the responsibility of the Danish Government to provide grants for mother tongue education. “If you live and work in Denmark, then you should be able to speak Danish. It should be the responsibility of the parents to provide extra instruction in any language... it is the municipalities’ responsibility to ensure that students attend the courses. If they believe that mother tongue education is a good tool, then of course they should make use of it,” says Charlotte Dyremose. But SF’s education spokesman, Pernille Vigsø Bagge, believes that it is unfair that municipalities have to pay for these lessons themselves.

In The Danish Teachers’ Association (DL) there is an increasing awareness of the importance of mother tongue education. “Experience shows quite clearly that it is important to receive instruction in the language you are at home in. I cannot understand why Danish society does not see that caring for the native language in bilinguals is a resource rather than a burden,” says Chairman of the DL, Anders Bondo Christensen.

Another example of when mother tongue education is viewed positively as a pedagogical tool is presented in the online newspaper *Videnskab.dk* (*Science*) in an article written by the science journalist Charlotte Koldbye ‘Forskere vender tomten ned for vuggestuetvang’, published in February 2009. To give a short description of the article: children with Danish as a second language do not learn it automatically by being immersed in a Danish language

⁹ Richter, Lise. Manglende modersmåls-undervisning tynger indlæringen. <http://www.information.dk/149320>.





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environment, for example, at nurseries, pre-schools, schools. The *Videnskab* newspaper is looking for advice from researchers on how to promote Danish language learning. The answer from scientists is that language immersion itself does not guarantee language proficiency; as they say – “sink or swim”.

Professor of the University of Copenhagen, Frans Gregersen, disagrees with politicians' proposals to send children of immigrant families to Danish-speaking nurseries, where they are forced to be “Danish”. “Let’s imagine,” says Frans Gregersen, “that the Germans refused to allow children from Danish families to attend Danish-speaking nurseries or pre-schools. There would be a massive protest”. (The professor has in mind a historically Danish settlement in Germany, in the Danish-northern German borderland). The professor points out that to be a bilingual in Denmark means having a low status, but at the same time the Danish people admire bilingual speakers in other countries. Frans Gregerson also indicates that there is some duplicity in the Danish policy towards the topic of bilingualism: political debates around bilingualism deal with the languages of minorities and immigrants (e.g. Arabian, Turkish). There are few, if any, objections towards the Spanish or English languages among politicians. Hence, bilingualism in Denmark “is taking the road towards social stigmatisation”.

1.2. State funding of bilingualism and discrimination/equality

The media portal *Folkeskolen.dk* continued to discuss this topic in 2008 in the article ‘Vi behandler tosprogede elever som 50’ernes sorte’ (*We treat bilingual pupils as blacks in the 50s*).¹⁰ They underline the political and legislative assumptions on the topic of bilingualism – discrimination and separation of children on the basis of ethnic majority and minority. Politicians are primarily responsible for the discrimination that bilingual students are exposed to at school – the law encourages people to think in terms of black and white students – according to two researchers, Lene Timm and Bergthóra Kristjánsdóttir. They are convinced that, in the long term, it could pay – also financially – to devote more attention to multilingual schools. The article refers to the book they released together in 2007 – “Bilingual education – evidence of ethnic inequality in schools”¹¹, which on more than 273 pages sharply criticises Danish educational policy over the last 30 years, and demonstrates how what they call structural discrimination by legislators and the Ministry of Education results in serious discrimination at school on a daily basis.

We can see a new reflection on this topic in the article written by Bergthóra Kristjánsdóttir and Lene Timm, ‘Den monokulturelle skole er forældet’ (*The monocultural school is outdated*),¹² published in the newspaper *Politiken* in 2011. The article describes the difficulties that exist in the current Danish school system for certain groups of bilingual pupils and their parents – discrimination and rigid regulations that do not allow them to use the benefits of mother tongue education. The authors believe that children’s multilingualism must be recognised and actively involved in teaching. They are convinced that Danish primary education is out of date and unable to accommodate the linguistic and cultural complexity that pupils currently represent. Many school administrators and teachers are actually willing to develop multicultural education in order to foster a global vision for the benefit of all children and young people in Denmark. Their challenge, though, in practice is that they must work within the framework of schools that currently discriminate against language minority students and that they do not see how they can exploit the linguistic and cultural complexity in teaching and in cooperation with parents.

¹⁰ <http://www.folkeskolen.dk/55209/vi-behandler-tosprogede-elever-som-50ernes-sorter>.

¹¹ Kristjánsdóttir, Bergthóra & Timm, Lene “Tvetunget uddannelsespolitik – dokumentation af etnisk ulighed i folkeskolen”, 2007, Publisher: Nyt fra samfundsvidenskaberne. 287 p.

¹² <http://politiken.dk/debat/kroniken/ECE1388983/den-monokulturelle-skole-er-foraeldet/>





1.3. Mother tongue education for families and children

The next two articles 'Mine børn skal lære persisk (*My children must learn Persian*)'¹³, written by journalists Helle Lauritsen, John Villy Olsen and Jan Kaare, and 'Stop russisk, mor, tal dansk' (*Stop speaking Russian, mum, speak Danish*)'¹⁴, written by researcher Margarita Popova, describe how there is an emphasis on eliminating minority languages from the school system, and that there has been a significant reduction in mother tongue instruction since state funding ceased in 2002. The most active parents organised mother tongue education for their children in home-taught Saturday schools. They hired professionals within their minorities, they paid the teachers themselves and they also had to fight against their children's resistance to learn it.

These two articles also describe the functional content of the situation – the "hero" of the situation: the bilingual child with his cultural complexity. Thus, Iranian mother Zahra Ziaei, a teacher by training who has two children, thinks that language is an important part of culture and identity. Her children were born in Denmark but are also Iranian, which is why they go to mother tongue classes. "I push them towards learning Persian, otherwise they'll regret it later on. It is our responsibility as parents that they learn Persian. They speak Danish and they learn English and German at school, but four languages are better than one," she says. The Iranian mother is actively trying to gather enough students for Persian classes. These cost 150 kroner per student for a month, and the local school rents out the classrooms.

It is a similar situation with other families as well – the Russian-speaking population and the mixed Russian-Danish families in Denmark. They organise Russian education, pay for it, and push their children into learning it, in an attempt to pass on their legacy through language and culture. It is extremely difficult: the children feel great assimilation pressures. "Stop speaking Russian, mum, speak Danish!" as a child of Danish-Russian parents says to his Russian-speaking mother to express the denigration, in Danish contexts, of everything that is not "Danish".

2. Bilingual children, bilingualism and bilingual students

There is a stereotyped definition of being bilingual in Danish society. This issue is discussed in an article by one of the active readers of the newspaper *Politiken* ('Politics') and published under the chapter "Debate" by Axel Hammerschmidt, "Bilingual": "It would seem that being a bilingual speaker is a handicap in the Danish school. This is a negative view. But is it true?... Where are these negative assumptions coming from in Denmark?"¹⁵

The article "Facts about bilingual pupils" is published on the portal of the Ministry of Children and Education, where there is a definition of "bilingual (tosprogede) children": "By 'bilingual children' we mean children who have a mother tongue other than Danish, whose first contact with the community, possibly through the school's teaching, is learning Danish." (See comments on Primary Education, No. 413 from 22nd May 1996).

The article points out that the definition also extends to those multilingual children who speak Danish as their second language. Thus, the official definition of bilingual children is restricted to the group of children with Danish as their second language. Remarkably, this definition does not include children from multilingual families with Danish as one of the mother tongues and children who communicate in Danish as their first language and having another second language (not Danish).

¹³ Lauritsen, Helle, Olsen, John Villy, Kaare, Jan. Mine børn skal lære persisk. <http://www.folkeskolen.dk/55210/mine-boern-skal-laere-persisk>.

¹⁴ Popova, Margarita. Stop russisk, mor, tal dansk! <http://rucforsk.ruc.dk/site/da/publications/stop-russisk-mor-tal-dansk%28dac558df-3828-4ed9-b95c-d30c6714c28d%29.html>.

¹⁵ Hammerschmidt, Axel. Bilingual. <http://politiken.dk/debat/laeserbreve/ECE1574775/tosproget/>





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In discussing the questions of who is a bilingual student and how best to teach in a school environment, the maternal language occurs again, namely: the topic of education using the mother tongue for other school subjects.

A number of publications share the view of academics and teachers that besides being taught at schools, the mother tongue should also be used to supplement education in other classes, such as Danish, mathematics, geography, etc. A set of articles on this topic has been published, including the article 'Odense udvikler undervisning på modersmål'¹⁶ published in the media-journal *folkeskolen.dk* by journalists Pernille Aisinger and Lise Frank. (9/11/2011) "På Abildgårdskolen i Odense¹⁷ er 87 procent af eleverne tosprogede. Skoleleder og lærere oplever det som en resurse."¹⁸

From the 2011 school year students whose mother tongue is Arabic, Somali or Turkish will have classes for learning their mother tongue, an additional two hours a week where their mother tongue will be used as the medium for instruction in other classes: every Friday at the school is a Language Day. All of the classes work with the theme of "sport and body" both in Danish and in the children's mother tongue. In this way children will become skilled in both languages and will begin to construct their world view using both languages.

The director of the school, Alan Feldskou, believes this policy will be worth while if the increased linguistic capability of the students carries over to success in other subjects. For the time being this model of education will function as a three-year experiment, funded by the Municipality of Odense. The director hopes that his school will be transformed into a truly international school with education in several different languages also available to ethnic Danes and not only to the native speakers of those languages. A school with a strong profile in languages is a powerful resource that should be utilised by contemporary society.

On the website of the Professional High School, where teachers undergo training, there are many articles¹⁹ on the same theme: the use of the mother tongue of a bilingual student to supplement Danish and this is the path to increased achievement in other school subjects. This topic is further elucidated by the information portal *dettevirker.dk*²⁰, where experience is collected regarding the use of mother tongues in educating bilingual children at school, teaching the mother tongue itself to bilingual children, effective organisation of teaching bilingual children and recommendations from the Ministry of Education.

3. Multilingual perspective in community development

Multilingual perspective in community development is the theme on which support is provided by author, translator and journalist Thomas Harder. His public presentations, articles and a book focus on translation, interpretation, language policy and bilingualism as a resource rather than a problem and that Denmark lacks respect for language as a "hard asset" and great strength.

Thomas Harder is author of the book 'Mellem to sprog' ('*Between two languages*', 2010) and is himself of Danish-Italian origin. On his homepage he expresses concern that the one-sided approach to mother language education in recent years is a very serious problem – for

¹⁶ Article "Odense develops mother-tongue education" <http://www.folkeskolen.dk/503320/odense-udvikler-undervisning-paa-modersmaal>.

¹⁷ Odense – capital of the Funen island, third largest city in Denmark.

¹⁸ Translation of the quote: '87% of pupils at the Abildgård school in Odense are bilingual. The school administration and the teachers see this as a resource.'

¹⁹ Eg. the articles: "How to say "story" in Vietnamese" 18/05/2010. <http://www.ucc.dk/omucc/aktuelt/magasin/nr.22010/hvadheddereventyrpaavietnamesisk.html>, "Students will be more effective because of two languages" <http://www.ucc.dk/omucc/aktuelt/magasin/nr.2-maj2010/eleverblyberdygtigereaftosprog.html>.

²⁰ <http://www.dettevirker.dk/om%20dettevirker.dk.aspx>.





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individuals, for business and for society as a whole. One of his more colourful presentations in the October 2012 'Sprogkundskaaber er værdifulde ressourcer'²¹ (*Language skills are valuable resources*) focused on the following contention: it is important to understand this other world and be able to communicate with it. It is in the interests of Danish society that people are able to look beyond their own culture and are trained to look at every issue from as many angles as possible. Language skills and the vision that comes with bilingual children are a potential resource for Danish industry and Danish society as a whole.

The information portal of the virtual community of expert linguists *Jatilsprog.dk* regularly publishes articles, presentations and summaries of conferences on the themes of bilingualism, multilingualism and foreign language study as special resources for the development of modern European society. All of the current events in Europe relating to these themes are reflected in the portal. For example 'Language Rich Europe', a conference held in England on the 1/12/2012, is reflected in the article by Anna Leclerq Vrang 'Hovedpointer fra den internationale sprogkonference 'Language Rich Europe' – Multilingualism for Stable and Prosperous Societies', which details the highlights of the conference.

The article details some of the points made by the presenters and speakers:

- ◆ Multilingualism is a means to a stable and prosperous society; a society that creates social inclusion and secures stability, while a society that cultivates a linguistically diverse workforce creates wealth.
- ◆ Immigrant languages are often excluded from national language strategies, which tend to focus only on the national language, which must be learned, without the benefit of the foreign language.
- ◆ Knowing languages is a useful tool for getting through a crisis. Individuals who speak multiple languages are much more mobile and can transfer to any location where there is a job.
- ◆ Businesses should be multilingual if they want to secure success on international markets.
- ◆ It is more important to focus on the purpose of a national language strategy than on the process around it.
- ◆ Countries should introduce a national language strategy that combines several levels – not only educational policy but also employment and finance policies.
- ◆ Languages should be looked upon as investments – as business cases.
- ◆ Experience from Switzerland shows that parents request multilingual educational in elementary schools.
- ◆ Experience from Greece shows that students from CLIL schools do better at school than students from traditional schools.

The phenomenon of bilingualism is also supported in articles by journalists from various "intelligent" newspapers, which focus on the different sides of this phenomenon. For example, *Weekendavisen* published an article in 2011 by the science journalist Annete K. Nielsen, 'Den tosprogede hjerne: De kan jonglere'²² (*The bilingual mind. They can juggle*). Here she conducts an interview with American Professor Judith Kroll, which in essence says that all children should learn at least two languages and the sooner the better. Research conducted over the past 10-15 years shows that children with developed bilingualism have a greater propensity for solving analytical problems than their monolingual peers. Neurological research shows that the brain of a bilingual child functions differently: it is as if the brain juggles thoughts, making instantaneous choices between languages, words and expressions. Bilingual people find it easier to focus and their attention is better protected from outside interferences.

²¹ <http://www.thomasharder.dk/da/node/122>.

²² Nielsen, Annete K. Den tosprogede hjerne: De kan jonglere. <http://aknielsen.wordpress.com/videnskab/den-tosprogede-hjerne-de-kan-jonglere/>





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Another example, the media newspaper *Videnskab.dk* published the article “Tosprogede tager klogere beslutninger” (*Bilinguals take better decisions*)²³ in May 2012, written by the Norwegian journalist Hanne Østli Jakobsen, on the cognitive benefits of multilingualism, which can be useful “both in a bar and on the stock market.” She bases her conclusions on new research carried out in neurology in the USA, which points out the newly discovered advantages of being able to communicate in several languages: multilingual people have a better, keener sense of hearing than monolinguals, even in conditions of loud background noise, which does not impair their sense of hearing. The article also makes reference to research into the role of foreign languages in the functional development of the brain and our mental abilities: it does not matter when you learned your second language, with breast milk or in a language school, – it is economically advantageous in further education.

Research

While the Danish government has withdrawn funding for mother tongue teaching for most ethnic non-Danish children – bilingual students, Denmark has generously funded Danish scientists studying the issues of mother tongue education and the phenomenon of bilingualism.

However, funding of this topic of study has been decreasing under government pressure²⁴.

Denmark has a vast amount of research in this area, a long history and an extensive research perspective, and a large number of research and educational institutions are involved in this. This topic in Denmark is studied by excellent researchers, who include psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists and linguists, amongst whom are Professors Anne Holmen, Jens Normann Jørgensen, Frans Gregersen, Marianne Hadegaard, Teresa Cadierno, Cristian Edvard Horst, Paolo Valero, Jan Kampmann, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Karen Risager, lector and researcher Martha Sif Karrebæk, Thomas Gits-Johansen, Michael Pedersen Svendsen, Claus Haas, Bergthora Kristjansdottir, independent analyst and expert Lene Timm and other researchers.

Every new research project discovers more depth and subtlety, suggesting more effective and unexpected pedagogical solutions. So it is no exaggeration to say that Denmark occupies a leading position on the subject in Europe. The study of bilingualism and, connected to it, the teaching of native languages at Copenhagen University has celebrated its 25th anniversary. In a similar vein to the study of bilingualism and at around the same time, in the 80’s, Danish researchers began a new topic of study – intercultural pedagogics²⁵. Within the confines of this topic, studies were started in applied pedagogical subjects in bilingualism such as: education for bilingual students, the right to native language education, multiculturalism and anti-racism, language pedagogy and multicultural pedagogy.

By the year 2000, over 15 years of research showed conclusively the positive effects of native language teaching, of success in Danish language teaching for children of immigrants. It was, then, only to be expected that parliament would pass a new law to increase the amount of native language teaching.

²³ Jakobsen, Hanna Østli. Tosprogede tager klogere beslutninger. <http://videnskab.dk/kultur-samfund/tosprogede-tager-klogere-beslutninger>.

²⁴ In Denmark the national-chauvinistic party Dansk Folkeparti has experienced stellar growth, their membership increased tenfold: from 1.200 in 1998 to 10.200 in 2011. One of the main platforms of Dansk Folkeparti – discriminatory politics regarding immigrants. [http://www.ft.dk/folketinget/oplysningen/faq/~media/Pdf_materiale/Pdf_download/Folketingets%20Oplysning/Partiernes%20medlemstal%20fra%201960%20pdf.ashx](http://www.ft.dk/folketinget/oplysningen/faq/~/media/Pdf_materiale/Pdf_download/Folketingets%20Oplysning/Partiernes%20medlemstal%20fra%201960%20pdf.ashx). Dansk Folkeparti var støtte-parti for Venstre parti Regering af Anders Fogh Rasmussen, daværende Statsminister, nu er han Secretary General of NATO. i 2002. Det blev hans regering har vedtaget en diskriminerende ændring af skoleloven, hvo-refter 90 procent af indvandrerbørn er blevet frataget statsstøtte undervisning i modersmålet.

²⁵ Christian Horst. Interkulturel pædagogik – en introduktion//Interkulturel pædagogik. Flere sprog – problem eller resurse? Red. Christian Horst. Kroghs forlag. 2003, p. 10.





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However, in 2002 Danish politicians amended the laws on education in exactly the opposite direction, cutting back native language teaching almost entirely. These amendments came as a shock to Danish researchers, who retaliated by starting a new set of studies in this area. Currently every Danish university with a faculty of humanities (there are five such universities in Denmark) studies these problems in one way or another, sometimes in interdisciplinary groups spread across several departments. The research is regularly presented at conferences, on corresponding information portals, in the press and is published in journals and books. Two such books are compendiums of material from many years of research, and are handbooks in this area: 'Bilingual Children in Denmark: a textbook' (A. Holmen, N. Jørgensen, 1993)²⁶ and 'Bilingual Children in Danish Society' (ed. Martha S. Karrebæk, 2006)²⁷. While the first book focuses mostly on bilingualism, the second one gives an in-depth account of the language development of a bilingual person and shows the characteristics of their interaction with society; anthropological aspects are examined, as well as cultural, social, demographical, pedagogical and socio-economical aspects. Thus, themes were selected that are most meaningful for Denmark:

- ♦ The language's meaning for bilingual children, the psychological functions of the language, nativism, other languages, foreign language
- ♦ Minorities and majorities in Danish society
- ♦ Racism and equality
- ♦ Bilingualism in anthropological and cultural aspects: the multicultural society, the multicultural school, intercultural pedagogy
- ♦ Bilingual children's confrontation with the Danish school system according to quantitative research methods
- ♦ Conditions of bilingual children's upbringing and the development of competency
- ♦ Collaboration by parents
- ♦ Pedagogic practice in Danish society

Materials collected in research are constantly presented in scientific journals. Particularly outstanding is the interdisciplinary scientific journal 'Language-Forum'²⁸, which was created in 2006 and regularly publishes material on this topic in a variety of aspects. Amongst these are classical and traditional studies of the problems of bilingualism, applied aspects concerning teaching, projects that have a strong social impact and new developments in this topic. In the theoretical direction, there are developments in the studies of the phenomenon of multilingualism, integrated bilingualism, poly-lingualism, multi-ethnolect, and the differences between them.

The overview of university research in Denmark from 2007 to 2012 is rich and shows new scientific projects and publications, some of which we will showcase here.

Bergthora Kristjansdottir Lene Timm; "Tvetunget uddannelsespolitik – dokumentation af etnisk ulighed i folkeskolen"²⁹, 2007. The book describes how Danish educational policy increases ethnic inequality at elementary school: the newspaper *Politiken* has been a catalyst behind enforcing and institutionalising ethnic inequality at elementary school. The political framework for the education of bilingual children hinders these bilingual children at school. Students need bilingual education, the book points out. Educational policies are

²⁶ Holmen, A., Jørgensen, N. *Tosprogede børn i Danmark – en grundbog*. København, Hans Reitzel forlag, 1993, p. 177. (original language Danish).

²⁷ *Tosprogede børn i det danske samfund*. Ed. Martha Sif Karrebæk. Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2006, 240 p. (original language Danish. Title in English "Bilingual children in Danish society").

²⁸ *Sprogforum* is published by the Aarhus University Press. The issues from start until 2005 <http://inet.dpb.dpu.dk/infodok/sprogforum/Eabo.html>.

²⁹ Kristjansdottir, Bergthora & Timm, Lene "Tvetunget uddannelsespolitik – dokumentation af etnisk ulighed i folkeskolen", 2007, Publisher: Nyt fra samfundsvidenskaberne. 287 p.





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currently ignoring or denying accusations that they have led to the institutionalisation and discrimination of ethnic minorities. The low grade results of bilingual students make it difficult for them to meet the criteria for secondary education, university education and the labour market. It can, therefore, be inferred that educational policies have major consequences for the integration of ethnic minorities in society.

Lene Timm; 'Danmark har ondt med modersmål'³⁰//Dokumentations- og rådgivningscentret om racediskrimination', 2008. This is a report for the European Commission GD for Education and Culture, Brussels, which states that from the time it entered the EU in 1972 up to 2002 Denmark has fulfilled its obligation in relation to promoting foreign language education in bilingual children's native language for working immigrants, paragraph 77/486/EØF, in respect of both children as EU citizens and children with a third-world citizenship. Bilingual education was given on equal grounds for all bilingual children 3 to 5 hours a week. When the current political party came to power in 2002 the law changed regarding bilingual educational, which resulted in the government's support for bilingual education being cut, except for children who are EU citizens and children from Greenland and the Faroe Islands. The result was a substantial decrease in the quality and presence of bilingual education for the majority of bilingual children in Denmark – children with a third world citizenship.

Bergthora Kristjansdottir Lene Timm; 'Unheard Voices – Language related minority parents and collaboration with the school'³¹, 2011. The book is a research report documenting how the integration of people with an ethnic background causes problems and poses the question; how come children from the same group score low in the PISA-International Student Assessment?

Recognition of new-Danish³² children's language and culture strengthens their confidence and self-esteem, which is a prerequisite for their approach to positive and constructive learning. Some authors are of the opinion that in some areas this recognition is lacking. The Elementary School Act caters for a monoculture even though people agree that "shared goals" to some degree open up to a necessary multi-culture with a global approach. It is a catastrophe that most municipalities do not provide equal access to new-Danish children's native language.

The book also states that new-Danish children's language and cultural background tends to be viewed as something lacking and a handicap that must be overcome and not dealt with as a resource. The theories of the famous psychologist Vygotskijs concerning the nearest development zone does not convince everyone that it is necessary to take new-Danish children's native language and culture as a point of departure. The book builds upon Denmark's and foreign research as well as interviews with new-Danish parents.

Danish-Swedish research 'The teaching of bilingual pupils in Denmark and Sweden',³³ was completed by researchers from the National Institute for Municipalities and Regions Analysis and Research. A new study of the teaching of multilinguals in Denmark and Sweden, Used Municipal Research (UMC) has been carried out and presents new findings on

³⁰ Lene Timm. Danmark har ondt med modersmål//Dokumentations- og rådgivningscentret om racediskrimination. <http://www.arnehansen.net/081118LTondtimodersmaal.pdf>.

³¹ Kristjansdottir, Bergthora & Timm, Lene. Uhørte stemmer Uhørte stemmer – sproglige minoritetsforældre og samarbejde med skolen. 2011, Publisher: ViaSysteme, 190 p.

³² New-Danish, "ny danske" in Danish, is a term used in modern Denmark in relation to minority children.

³³ Tosprogede elever undervisning i Danmark og Sverige. Rapport, november 2011. AKF, Kbh. Mehlbye, Jill; Beatrice Schindler Rangvid, Britt Larsen, Anders Fredriksson og Katrine Sjørslev Nielsen. Rapport, november 2011. AKF, National Institut for Kommuners og Regioners Analyse og Forskning, Kbh. http://www.akf.dk/udgivelser/container/2011/udgivelse_1163.





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the subject. The study shows that there is no harm in children living in Denmark and Sweden using their native or parents' language, even if it is a language other than Danish or Swedish; quite the contrary, in fact. This report researches the differences and similarities in the Danish and Swedish approaches to the bilingual education of students of an immigrant background, with the intention of evaluating what attempts can be made to improve the academic results of students of an immigrant background in Denmark. The conclusion is that multilingual students in Denmark and Sweden who receive mother tongue education after school hours do better on average than other multilingual students, when we compare the students and their academic results – both in reading and in mathematics. The results of the project are based partly on register-based analyses, partly on qualitative analyses in the form of documentary studies and case studies at six schools in both Denmark and Sweden.

Research project by Gitz-Johansen, Thomas; 'Den flerkulturelle barnehage i rurale strøk', 2007-2011. The project is financed by the programme 'Practice-oriented FoU for kindergartens, basic training, teachers' education' and 'Norway's Scientific'. This project presents results from a survey that was carried out in kindergartens in rural areas in Norway. The findings of this survey provide information on how kindergartens work with a diverse group of children, and thus function as a basis from which to critically plan future educational policies in the field of early childhood education in a multicultural society. For clarification, a multicultural kindergarten was defined in the survey as a kindergarten attended by children from linguistic and cultural minorities. The research study asked how kindergartens worked with children and families from linguistic and cultural minorities in their institutions, how they worked with linguistic minorities to teach Norwegian and to support home languages in formal and informal activities, and how all the children can gain access to Norway's multicultural society.

Claus Haas, Anna Holmen, Christian Horst Bergthora Kristjansdottir; 'Ret til dansk: Uddannelse, sprog og kultur'v³⁴, 2011. The book serves as a powerful addition to the insightful debate on the bilingual's role in a multicultural society. This book is thorough and presents a theoretically supported overview of how the terms 'cultural heritage', 'freedom' and 'equality' have come to be viewed over the last decades, while simultaneously placing emphasis on the former right-oriented political party for bilinguals. All four authors of the book have researched the language and culture of immigrants and all regard the government's actions of forcing the spread of students and the elimination of bilingual education as being discriminatory and directly conflicting with international conventions, and all of the authors maintain that there are now grounds for research into the government's policies in the aforementioned areas.

Hedegaard, M.; 'Minority Children's Development of Multiple Cultural Identities. A Cultural-Historical Approach'³⁵, 2012. In this book the author proposes a way of transcending frequently encountered descriptions that connect problems children from immigrant families encounter at school to children's cultural identity, understood as a national or ethnic identity. The author argues that children create their identity as a multiple cultural identity, and develop as agents for creating activities and acquiring strategies and motives for handling demands.

³⁴ Haas, Claus, Holmen, Anna, Horst, Christian Kristjansdottir Bergthora. Ret til dansk : Uddannelse, sprog og kultur. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 439 p.

³⁵ Hedegaard, M. Minority children's development of multiple cultural identities. A Cultural-Historical approach. To be published in: Wulff, M. Kontopodis B. Fichtner (Eds.), Emerging educational challenges. Cultural psychological and historical-anthropological approaches to children and childhood. Cambridge University Press.





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Another author, Danish-Russian researcher Margarita Popova,³⁶ also focuses on the extra-linguistic characteristics of bilingualism and explores the phenomenon of bicultural identity. The author describes the paradoxes of a dual-culture identity, dialogical world image constructing, the psychological markers of the bilingual, and shows that language identity does not always coincide with cultural and ethnic identity, and components of identity can express themselves differently in communicative behaviour. The author introduces a new concept for understanding bilingualism – “forced natural bilingualism” and offers a pedagogical solution of forming a bicultural identity in the school system.

International project: ‘Investigating Discourses of Inheritance and Identity in Four Multilingual European Settings (IDI4MES)’; 2009–2011. Principal Investigator, Denmark site: Professor Jørgensen, Jens Normann, Copenhagen University. Sources of financing: HERA (Humanities and Social Sciences Unit), European Science Foundation.

Subjects of the research (group being studied): Globalisation and global mobility are creating multilingual and multi-ethnic societies throughout Europe and beyond. ‘Inheritance’ and ‘identity’ are no longer necessarily tied to the nation-state. Rather, allegiances and cultural traditions travel across national boundaries, as diasporic groups differentially retain affiliation to national heritage, and global communication transcends traditional borders. Many parts of Europe are now characterised by ‘super-diversity’, distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among multiple-origin, transnationally connected migrants. Modes of migrant transnationalism, negotiated in everyday interactions, remain seriously under-studied. This sociolinguistic ethnographic project investigates how multilingual young people negotiate ‘inheritance’ and ‘identity’ in four European settings. Young people of migrant heritage in Denmark, Sweden, The Netherlands and Great Britain may identify with a distant territory but also ‘belong’ in their present home and in global popular culture. In this study a research team across four universities investigates how cultural heritage and identity are discursively constructed in and beyond educational settings, and how multilingual young people negotiate inheritance and belonging. The project extends current understandings of cultural heritage and local, national and global identities.

Most research material over the last five years has been written by Professor J. N. Jørgensen – individually and with colleagues. We have given several examples here as an illustration of his research.

The article ‘Polylingual Development among Turkish Speakers in a Danish Primary School – A critical view of the fourth grade slump’³⁷ (JS Møller, JN Jørgensen, A Holmen, 2012) is a report on a longitudinal study of the linguistic development of Turkish-speaking children in Denmark. A series of data was collected from a group of children attending a public school during the period 1989-1998. The language was analysed in three different situations: in groups of both Danish and Turkish language speakers; in groups of Turkish speakers only; individual interviews. The authors note an overall tendency to speak Danish more and more as time passes, but they are also aware that children keep mixing the languages; what comes naturally and what does not depends on the level of language knowl-

³⁶ This article published in collaboration with the German-Russian scientist E. Koudrjavitseva: Попова М. В., Кудрявцева Е.Л. (2012) Социально-педагогические и психологические аспекты билингвизма в книге: « III международные научно-методические чтения «Русский язык как неродной: новое в теории и методике» 18 мая 2012 / Под ред. М.С. Берсеновой. – Москва: Московский гуманитарный педагогический институт, 2012. – С. 63-75 (original language – Russian, title in English: Russian as one of two languages of the bilingual child methodological practical aspects).

³⁷ Møller, JS, Jørgensen, JN Holmen, A 2012, ‘ Polylingual development among Turkish speakers in a Danish primary school – a critical view of the fourth grade slump ’ International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism.





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edge. Some of the children observed have experienced academic problems; however, this can hardly be attributed to stagnation in their language development. It is more likely that school activities do not allow these children to benefit from their full linguistic resources as these conflict with mainstream ideas about monolingual norms.

JN Jørgensen, 'Ideologies and Norms in Language and Education Policies in Europe and their Relationship with Everyday Language Behaviours'³⁸, 2012. In the article the author notes that the concept of 'languages' as separable entities is a concept that cannot be upheld with respect to the real-life behaviours of speakers. Based on examples from ongoing studies of youth language, the author suggests that other norms are more relevant, in particular so-called poly-linguaging, a term that covers the use of various features regardless of their ideologically determined association with 'languages'. In this connection, the author also states that the scholarly task ahead is not to understand how an individual learns a language. The time has passed when there was an urgent need to understand how Germans acquire English. What we need to understand is linguistic superdiversity. How do late modern individuals cope with their superdiverse surroundings?

JN Jørgensen, MS Karrebæk, LM Madsen, JS Møller, 'Polylinguaging in Superdiversity'³⁹, 2011. In this paper the authors challenge one of the most widely held views of language as a social, human phenomenon, i.e. that "language" can be separated into different "languages". The authors claim that "languages" are abstractions and suggest treating "language" as a set of linguistic features. Using examples of language use among adolescents in superdiverse societies, the authors show that the level of a linguistic feature is better suited as the basis for the analysis of language use than the level of "a language". The idea of "learning a language" means that speakers acquire a range of these features (both words and grammar). However, human beings do not learn "languages" in this sense. People primarily learn and use linguistic features and their use.

The authors are also saying that the concept of "national languages" is very strong. The European educational systems would break down overnight if they were forced to teach language the way people really use language.

Project title: 'Mother Tongue Education for Linguistic Minority Children in the Superdiverse Metropolis of Copenhagen', 2012. Project leader: Martha Sif Karrebæk. This is a project for researching language practices, including literacy, in relation to bilingual education in the capital. The project consists of five semi-projects examining native language classes in Turkish, Arabic, Farsi and Polish. The research describes what status and meaning bilingual and native education has for the individual participants (children, teachers and parents) and how bilingual native education impacts on the individual's identity and vocabulary. Methodologically, the project is based on linguistic ethnography and linguistic socialisation.

A remarkable new development has been made in the area of research methodology, for example the article by Pia Quist (2008) 'Sociolinguistic approaches to multiethnolect: language variety and stylistic practice'⁴⁰. The article is dedicated to a linguistic phenomenon called a multiethnolect – a variety or style, which has developed in multiethnic urban communities and which is associated with speakers of mixed ethnic groups, and presents the findings of two studies, where two different analytical approaches – variety and stylistic – to studying the speech of bilingual youth in Copenhagen were applied. Among the conclu-

³⁸ Jørgensen, JN 2012, 'Ideologies and norms in language and education policies in Europe and their relationship with everyday language behaviours'. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, vol 25, nr. 1, s. 57-70.

³⁹ Jørgensen, JN, Karrebæk, MS, Madsen, LM Møller, JS 2011, 'Polylinguaging in Superdiversity' *Diversities*, vol 13, nr. 2, s. 23-37.

⁴⁰ Quist, P 2008, 'Sociolinguistic approaches to multiethnolect: language variety and stylistic practice' *International Journal of Bilingualism*, vol 12, nr. 1-2, s. 43-61.





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sions, the author states that multiethnolect is not a result of the acts of isolated groups of speakers, neither is it a more or less automatic outcome of language contact.

Amongst the developments in new lines of research in Denmark we can count the following:

- ♦ Project 'Tegn på sprog' (*'Signs of Language'*) (2008–2014), project leader Helle Pia Laursen, shows that bilingual children only have one mother tongue and one second language: bilingual children are not bilingual, they are multilingual. And they perform better at Danish when teachers draw on their multilingual competencies in the teaching.
- ♦ Action research 'Multicultural Teaching Professionalism as Reflection Practice' (2012) by Signe White Thingstrup⁴¹ shows that the conflict between monocultural, monolingual reflection and multicultural reflection in teachers' professional skills can in fact be a resource for positive actions in modern diversity schools.
- ♦ Action research 'Psychology Lessons for Children and Teenagers' (2007–2017) by Margarita Popova⁴² shows that psychology lessons are a remarkable resource not only for developing language, but also for establishing a connection between the two identities of bilingual children and ultimately integrating them.

Conclusion and Outlook

In summary of what has been said, it is worth while pointing out that research in this topic in Denmark is characterised by its interdisciplinary character, and has a solid foundation in both theoretical questions and in solutions to applied pedagogical challenges. The phenomenon of natural bilingualism is looked at in direct connection with mother tongue instruction as well as the rights of children to learn their mother tongue and to learn to use their mother tongue. These problems are examined in depth, going far beyond the boundaries of linguistics across a fairly wide scientific context of social, anthropological, didactic, pedagogical, political and socio-economic issues. Appropriate methods of research are being developed for these areas.

Danish researchers make good arguments to support the idea that parallel bilingualism⁴³ both at school and in professional education is a worthwhile endeavour. However, the argument is for parallel bilingualism with English. In our view, parallel bilingualism with German, French and Russian is no less important than English regarding science, education and business; and for example Turkish, Russian and Spanish regarding tourism, etc.

Natural bilingualism is a very concrete and clear resource for the development of society, but it is only a potential resource. Both society and wise political decision-making will determine whether this potential will become ready to work for the benefit of the members of this society.

When discussing the topics of bilingualism in Denmark it is not productive to distinguish between mother tongue and native language. In publications and discussions only "mother tongue" is used, where it means the language of the immigrant family.

The concept of "bilingualism" is treated as a linguistic and social phenomenon, the ratio of which is regarded as being dependent on the language. If a second language is a socially "desired" language such as English, the term "bilingualism" is used with the connotation of being "good", if the second language is a socially "undesired" language – the undertone is negative.

⁴¹ Thingstrup, Signe Hvid (2012): Multikulturel lærerfaglighed som refleksionspraksis. Forskerskolen i Livslang Læring, Roskilde Universitet: Roskilde. (original sprog dansk).

⁴² Попова М. Остаться русским! Школьный психолог, 5: 7-11 (original language Russian) /Popova, M. (2011) To remain a Russian // School psychologist, 5: 7-11.

⁴³ Center for internationalization and parallel language use, Copenhagen University <http://cip.ku.dk/english/>





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The problem of the native language education of immigrant children in Denmark has been discussed not only by scholars and practitioners but also journalists and human rights organisations, such as Unicef, indicating a violation of Danish law and the rights of the child to a mother tongue education and training in their native language, enshrined by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

Publications reflect the conflict between the Danish cultural elite (scientists, journalists and teachers) and politicians – specifically the right wing parties which are supported by nationalistic ones. The essence of the debate is that most scientists and experts believe in the positive effect of children learning their native language and that this should be sustained at schools with financial, moral and educational support from the state. However, political resistance is preventing a legal framework for mother tongue education from being made. Scientists argue that mother tongue education improves children's academic performance at school, their education and their integration into Danish society. Political discourses disregard researchers' arguments and continue the policy of assimilation and social stigmatisation.

As a result of the foregoing analysis, the Danish attitude with regard to mother tongue education for children of migrants can be briefly summarised as follows: professionals – teachers and educators – as well as professional institutions are caught in a cross-fire, and so exist in a state of “professional confusion” – on the one hand they have experts advising them to support the native languages, on the other hand the government does not allow them to do so.

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