



Common Report

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Preface

This report has been produced within the international research and developmental project Language acquisition and democratic citizenship (LADECI), kindly supported by the European Commission, programme Erasmus+. The report represents Intellectual output 1 (IO1). Researchers and practitioners from Sweden, Italy, Germany and Denmark have contributed with substantial insights into how the countries' institutions and various stakeholders are responding to the educational needs of newly arrived migrant and refugee children, primarily with second language acquisition, and to continuous needs of all students for further development of citizenship values.

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1 Introduction

The aim of IO1 is to provide an overview of experiences, existing knowledge and knowledge gaps as well as best/promising practices on what is de facto carried out in the classrooms in terms of fostering language acquisition and education for democratic citizenship. The overview has been conducted as desktop research by team members from Germany, Italy, Denmark and Sweden. The material has been collected from research, evaluations, reports produced by national and local authorities responsible for education, media accounts and from other legitimate sources. The aim of the research overview is to identify the demands and requirements of teachers across the countries related to the overall aims of the LADECI project. Additionally, the report has been set to identify and explore common challenges and elaborate transnationally comparable needs. Finally, the findings in IO1 have enabled the project to subsequently build upon the existing knowledge in an attempt to propose a set of innovative practices on how to tackle the pressing issue of language acquisition for newly arrived migrant children in combination with democratic citizenship for all children across Europe and elsewhere.

In this introductory part some of the main conclusions emanating from the country reports will be summarised and discussed.

1.1 Language and languages

One of the most important aspects of newly arrived students' – one of the major target-groups for the LADECI project – inclusion in educational settings is the acquisition of second language. As evident from the country contributions the language issue is highly present, researched and debated in all contexts. It is virtually impossible to trace down any source, from government documents and legislation to media accounts and interviews with migrants as reported in research contributions, that denies the importance of second language proficiency for future life-chances of newly arrived migrant children. This is an obvious, but nevertheless relevant fact to establish, since a broad agreement that something is needed, lays groundwork for effective policy measures, allocation of resources and creation of promising practices.

Some countries, like Sweden, have gone pretty far in institutionalising second language as an academic subject with equal status in schools' meritocratic system as the "ordinary Swedish". It means that unlike models that merely "attempt" to transfer basic language skills to immigrant children, the subject provides eligibility to further education, but is simultaneously adjusted to language needs of children with bi- or multilingual background. However, the subject founds itself engulfed in a public and academic discussions on integration and segregation. Serving primarily the needs of immigrant children is recurrently being used as a major objection to its existence, as it supposedly contributes to cement physical, educational and symbolic separation between "us" and "them". Thus, Swedish as a second language is

not only in the purview of newly arrived, but all students with another first language than Swedish can be enrolled in those classes.

The acquisition of second language does not mean the students ought to “forget” or stop using their first language. On the contrary, compelling evidences from different parts of the world have time after time proved that first and second language are not mutually exclusive, but rather mutually perpetuating entities. There are no scientific evidences arguing that further promotion of first language somehow impedes on or slows down the acquisition of second language (Takanishi & Le Menestrel 2017). Another method, even designated as a promising practice (Bunar 2019) is using first language as a vehicle for learning. It means that multilingual language assistance (Dávila & Bunar 2020) is provided inside and outside of classroom to support language learning children in academic subjects, through their first language. The practice appears as a win-win situation, children learn academic subjects and have a plausible chance to attain grades and simultaneously they strengthen their first language. However, a hard-to-describe resistance is detectable across educational institutions. Partly due to lack of qualified multilanguage teacher assistants and partly due to resistance to using children’s first language in schools. As the popular argument goes, all time, energy and resources should be devoted to second language acquisition (see Bunar 2019). Another reasonable explanation could be that the policy-makers and the educators alike do not really understand the difference between mother-tongue tuition and supporting second language learners through their first language.

It is here that certain differences in policy and practical approaches are detectable in the country reports. Sweden is the only country having mother-tongue tuition integrated into the school curriculum. In other countries it is up to parents and/or language communities to set up complementary language schools. Concerning multilingual classroom assistants, labelled differently in various countries, there is a demand from the teachers’ side, but it is not always backed by the countries’ policies.

Nevertheless, second language acquisition and the role of children’s first language in schools are among the most frequent topics reported in the country reports. There is a broad consensus that proficiency in second language is an indispensable prerequisite for learning and becoming a citizen. The role of first language is more contested, although not among the educators, but as it appears among policy-makers and in public opinion. One suggestion for overcoming these powerful barriers is to have scientists from the field of second language acquisition more actively disseminate the results of their studies on the role of first language. This is something that LADECI partners have devoted great deal of time throughout the project.

1.2 Inclusion and organisational models

Besides the language, the question of the most efficient organisational models for reception and inclusion of newly arrived students in schools has been catapulted on the agenda throughout Europe and elsewhere. Not least after the arrival of a large group of refugees, mainly from Syria in 2015-2016. The responses have ranged from schools only for refugees,

separate classes to direct immersion into mainstream classes. What is peculiar with all these models – that to a high degree are mutually exclusive – and as evident from the country reports, is that they all claim to promote inclusion. So even if a student upon arrival is placed in a school only admitting newly arrived migrant students or if a student is directly placed into a mainstream class, it is done with reference to inclusion.

Indeed, different arguments are provided. In the former case it is called inclusion through exclusion, where children are expected to attain good knowledge in second language and learn about visible and invisible school rules in a safe environment and with highly educated teachers. Thereafter, they can be transferred and relatively smoothly included into mainstream classes. In the latter case, the argument is more straightforward, the children learn best the language and the rules through daily and dense interactions with non-newly arrived peers.

The research has never given a clear answer on the often-posed question: Which model is preferable? That answer cannot be given on a policy level, since newly arrived children have different background and various educational needs. For some, i.e. students without basic literacy skills, the separate class is perhaps initially the most appropriate. Yet for others, it is direct immersion. This decision has to be made individually and based on a meticulous screening of a child's previous learning experiences.

Another issue in this context is a confusion about what inclusion really means. Bunar (2018, 2019) has in several reports delved into the notion of inclusion and concluded that at least three conditions must be met in order to designate a practice or a model as inclusion promoting:

- Removal of barriers
- Shared physical space with non-newly arrived students
- Support based on individual needs

The conclusion is that the starting point for organisation of education of newly arrived children should not be different models, but the children's individual needs.

1.3 Democracy, lived and learned

The idea of citizenship education is diverse in all countries. However, the need to deal with democratic education in schools is undisputed, as this report shows. Not only because of the rise of right-wing movements in democratic societies but also because of the falling turnouts at European elections. Learning about democracy nowadays means understanding the political system, as well as dealing with the values and living them at school.

Creating an atmosphere, where students can experience self-efficacy, the advantages of living in a multicultural society and learn to take responsibility, is still challenging for most schools. We can find several methods, like service-learning, class-council, student parliament or political plan games to help with that. But also, the idea of the student-teacher-role and the learning process itself is viable for a democratic school culture (see Achenbach 2018).

Participation from students is still often reduced to very low-level-decisions, such as destinations for day trips. To encourage schools to promote learning through democracy and prepare children to be an active member of a society, the governments have created programmes or focused more on that topic in the school curriculum. Still, it seems that these objectives have not been fully achieved. In Germany, the necessity of methods for democratic education, such as the class council, is often closely linked with newly arrived migrant children in schools. This holds the risk for stigmatisation (see Foitzik et al 2019) On the other hand there is a very limited perspective on the benefits of citizenship education for a democratic society.

1.4 Professional development of school staff

Obviously, there is a large amount of responsibility on the side of the educators to cater for educational needs of newly arrived students, ranging from second language acquisition, the maintenance of first language, social inclusion, attention to potentially traumatic experiences to safety and access to equal education in all academic subjects. In order to enable the educators to live up to these commitments, they need to be properly and professionally equipped through allocation of additional resources, more support staff and professional development.

The country contributions in this report suggest that this support is being provided, but only up to a certain, although insufficient, level. The country reports exemplify, through research accounts and teachers' voices, the urgent demand for policy-makers to step up and make sure that attractive documents on cultural diversity, promotion of multilingualism and equity, do not merely remain paper products. Furthermore, newly arrived students and realisation of their educational rights cannot be of interest for second language teachers only. The entire school ought to be included, mainly through enhancing knowledge on how language and content integrated learning can be carried out, how social inclusion can be supported and how democratic values, most notably the absence of bullying, discrimination, racism and other forms of exclusion, can be promoted.

Another important method is enabling teachers to work with collective learning, supporting each other and sharing experiences on working methods. This is a strategy successfully applied in many countries, and widely recognised as a promising practice (Timperley 2011).

The conclusion, emanating from the country reports and other research evidences, is that professional development of teachers and principals is an integral part of providing an inclusive and safe learning environment for newly arrived students. And, what is good for these students is good for the rest of the school as well.

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2 Sweden

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2.1 Introduction

Second language acquisition and citizenship education as defined and used in Swedish research, policy and practice are in focus for this contribution. With regard to the general extent and quality, Swedish research on bi(multi)lingual development among migrant students as well as second language acquisition among newly arrived migrant students is mixed. A number of original research publications, dating back to early 1970s, including research overviews and manuals are available but some research strands continue to be underdeveloped.

The focus of research on citizenship education is primarily on measuring democratic attitudes, values, and trust in political system by the students. Additionally, a number of research publications deal with social relations and the prevalence of racism in schools.

2.2 Second language acquisition

In recent years, Sweden has accepted a relatively large number of refugees and asylum-seekers. Many of them are children. Between 2014 and 2017, approximately 100,000 children under the age of 18 applied for asylum, together with their families or as unaccompanied minors (almost 40 000). Additionally, a few thousand children arrive every year as children of labour migrants from the EU and elsewhere. Educational background, as well as other social circumstances vary considerably among newly arrived children. Nevertheless, they have two things in common: they are new to the Swedish education system and they are new to the Swedish language.

For many years, newly arrived children were placed in separate classes where they primarily were taught Swedish as a second language, without a deeper connection to the content of other school subjects. Once satisfactory language proficiency was achieved, they were expected to be transferred to mainstream classes. What constituted the satisfactory proficiency was a matter of local practices. In some cases, more attention was given to a school's organisational challenges (available places in mainstream classes) than to students' individual needs. Learning the language in isolation and the experienced social exclusion prompted harsh criticism from researchers and the National School Inspectorate (Bunar 2010, Skolinspektionen 2009, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017a, 2017b).

The government responded by initiating a total overhaul of the system from reception to inclusion and learning for all newly arrived students in compulsory schools. In 2016, it resulted in a comprehensive legislation catering for these students' particular needs. In short, a definition of who and for how long time (four years) is to be considered as a newly arrived student was adopted; the use of separate classes was regulated (max two years and partially);

students' rights to equal number of teaching hours during the remaining time in school as all other students were clarified; teaching hours could be reallocated from other subjects to Swedish as a second language during a maximum of one year; and the pivotal role of multilingual classroom assistants (Dávila & Bunar 2020) was further corroborated as one of the most important pedagogical practices. In addition, a number of national and local initiatives aimed at promoting inclusion and learning, has been implemented over the last years (Bunar 2017).

The following contribution will focus on four important factors with regard to practices, policies, and research findings within the area of second language acquisition.

2.2.1 Swedish as a second language

Swedish as a second language (SSL) is a major formal educational structure and a strategy for second language acquisition in Sweden. It has in various ways existed since 1966. First it was a supplementary strategy in schools, since 1989 it is a core subject in upper-secondary schools and since 1995, it has been a core subject in elementary schools with its own syllabus (Hyltenstam & Milani 2012). The school principal decides which students attend SSL classes. Parents can object the principal's selection decision but cannot appeal. Formally, there are no differences between Swedish and SSL since both are so-called core subjects (together with English and Mathematics) which when fulfilled at an adequate level provides basic eligibility to upper-secondary or higher education. Teachers in both subjects are university educated and there is a postgraduate programme in both SSL and Swedish. However, SSL's structure and pedagogical content are adjusted to linguistic conditions of second language learners and children with another first language. Thus, SSL is offered not only to newly arrived students without any previous knowledge in Swedish, but also to children who were born in Sweden and attended early childhood education in the country. The question is whether Sweden-born children need a specifically designed school subject that suits their bi(multi)lingualism?

SSL has from the very beginning, despite being a core subject, experienced a number of challenges during implementation. The shortage of well-educated teachers, low status and accusation of cementing divisions between Swedes and immigrants, and lack of equal implementation (since in some school principals decided that only Swedish will be offered) are among the most referred (Bunar 2010, Fridlund 2011). Today, SSL is to a great extent associated with second language learners which has increased parents' reluctance to have their Sweden-born children attend SSL (SOU 2017:54). Many have raised the need to reform SSL to be restricted to newly arrived students, with a new name: Swedish for beginners. Students who do not fit the SSL restrictions of being newly arrived would be provided Swedish but with individual accommodations depending on the student's needs (SOU 2017:54, Bigestans & Kaya 2018).

Most Swedish researchers (see Hyltenstam & Lindberg 2004 for a number of contributions) agree that SSL, despite its didactical advantages, cannot be viewed and used as an isolated practice. Moreover, many argue that it must be implemented in an organisational and linguistic context that champions and recognises intercultural pedagogy and multilingualism as an essential approach to working in multicultural settings. Mother-tongue training,

multilingual classroom assistance, and language and content integrated learning are other corner stones of this approach.

An interesting practice in this regard is the National Centre for Swedish as a Second Language (NC). The NC is a national resource and development centre focused on the teaching of Swedish as a second language, commissioned by the Swedish Government. Its main mission is to bridge the gap between research and practice and to support teachers and schools in developing models for teaching Swedish as a second language. It focuses on the learning needs of multilingual pupils and combines expertise on all levels of education from pre-school to adult education. The NC is based at Stockholm University (and benefits from access to its considerable academic resources, research, and reputation) but is not part of its traditional academic structure. It also delivers professional development for school staff, with recently increasing requests for services as a result of rising numbers of asylum seekers and thus of pupils whose first language is not Swedish.¹

2.2.2 Mother-tongue tuition

There is no contradiction between second language acquisition and the first language maintenance or having both languages developing simultaneously. As the US National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (Takanishi & Le Menestrel 2017) concludes after a thorough review of evidences from previous research:

There is no evidence to indicate that the use of two languages in the home or the use of one in the home and another in an early care and education setting confuses dual languages learners or puts the development of one or both of their languages at risk. Given adequate exposure to two languages, young children have the capacity to develop competence in vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and pragmatics in both. (p. 147)

The importance of first language for identity, culture, and communicative skills with family members is recognised among policy makers and researchers alike and across the world. Being functionally bilingual or multilingual, is often presented as an asset for an individual in a globalised labour market. But what role the first language plays for bilingual children's school success is a more contested issue, even among researchers. Perhaps the most contested issue among policy-makers is how the balance between second language acquisition and first language development should look like. Should schools actively promote the use of first language and even make it part of regular curriculum for these students?

In Sweden, mother tongue has been an optional school subject integrated into curriculum since 1977 (Hyltenstam & Milani 2012), which makes Sweden quite unique from an international perspective. In the past, students with another language than Swedish as a frequent communication tool in the home, could choose to attend home-language classes (as it was labelled) for about 60 minutes per week. Since classes were fully integrated into their schedule, the students would have needed to replace teaching in another subject with home-language tuition. With the reform in 1985, the eligibility for training was reduced to students who had another language than Swedish as a daily language of communication with at least one of their parents. In 1991, home-language education was partially removed from regular

¹ Source: ICF 2017, p. 136. For further details, see www.andrasprak.su.se.

curriculum. Although still organised in schools, it would no longer replace other classes. Home-language education could be organised after the end of the regular school day, on Saturdays, or as part of student's individual choice. In 1997, the subject was renamed to mother-tongue tuition. It has to be offered if there are at least five students in the municipality sharing a particular language, if parents request it, and if there is a qualified teacher. Students can get grades and they need to have a certain command of the language before enrolling. Mother-tongue education for upper-secondary schools (age 16-19) have to be offered according to the same principles as for compulsory elementary school (age 7-15), but only students who have grades in mother-tongue from the last year in elementary school are eligible to attend. Mother-tongue tuition for early education is reduced to optional mother-tongue support. Currently, there are five nationally recognised minority languages in Sweden: Sami, Yiddish, Finnish, Romani Chib and Meänkieli. Students have a right to mother-tongue education in these languages even if they are fewer than five in the municipality and there is no requirement to prior language proficiency (see SOU 2019:18).

Despite the long presence of within-school organised mother-tongue tuition, the research about implementation and outcomes is relatively scarce. The primary orientation has been more on contextual circumstances and implementation challenges (unclear policy, lack of teachers and resources, organisational matters) and the status of the subject and teachers (Svensson & Torpsten 2013), rather than on its pedagogical content (Hyltenstam & Milani 2012, Ganuza & Hedman 2015, Avery 2017, Duek 2017). In that sense, it resembles similar problems faced by Swedish as a second language. Some early studies have shown that participation in mother-tongue classes did not have any decisive impact on students' grades (Elmeroth 1997, Fredriksson 2002). Instead, the subject had a powerful symbolic meaning, recognising linguistic pluralism as an important feature of modern Sweden. Some other studies, using Cummins (1979, 2000) theory of underlying language proficiency (and recently even theories on translanguaging, see García & Wei 2014) have pointed out that a well-developed first language contribute to cognitive development and to a faster and deeper development of second language (Hill 1996, Skolverket 2008, SOU 2019:18).

One interesting example of how mother-tongue could be used as a promising practice for enhanced learning for newly arrived students is through a bilingual class. As reported by Nilsson and Gynnhammar (2016, p. 44), who worked in a municipality that recently had received a relatively large number of Somali speaking students, the major idea behind having bilingual classes was to use both mother tongue and Swedish as a resource for learning and development of both languages. Thus, all newly arrived Somali speaking students were gathered in one class. Moreover, mother tongue teachers, multilingual classroom assistants and teachers in Swedish as a second language were appointed to work in the class, along with teachers in other subject areas. According to Nilsson and Gynnhammar, the class achieved very good results and the majority of student were eligible to enrol in one of upper-secondary schools' regular programmes.

Recently, the role of mother-tongue has in policy and research been more closely linked to newly arrived students. However, even if the importance has been highlighted as unequivocal, it has not been done through mother-tongue tuition in itself, but instead through

using the existing first language proficiency as a vehicle for learning other school subjects. It is here we turn to our next important factor, multilingual classroom assistance.

2.2.3 Multilingual classroom assistance

Multilingual classroom assistance (MCA, in Swedish *studiehandledare*) is a supplementary support offered to students in order to achieve knowledge-related goals in all school subjects. Students, often newly arrived, have the right to this support which is regulated in the Swedish legislation for elementary and upper-secondary education (Skollagen, Skolförordningen, Gymnasieförordningen). The legislation does not specify how many hours per week students are eligible to MCA support as it ultimately depends on students' individual needs and the attained level of the Swedish language. In the majority of municipalities, students are granted up to two hours weekly. However, the National School Inspectorate has shown in a number of their audit reports (Skolinspektionen 2009, 2014, 2017a, 2017b) that some schools do not provide MCA for their students. In response, schools often refer to two circumstances: lack of resources and even more often, difficulties to recruit an assistant with necessary qualifications (Bunar 2015). Multilingual classroom assistants are not teachers per se and therefore, they do not need to hold a degree from higher education. Good knowledge in Swedish and the students' first language, a minimum of an upper-secondary education, and personal qualifications are basic requirements. The assistants are not expected to teach mother-tongue or to teach other school subjects (in bilingual classes) in students' first language. They are primarily expected to act as a bridge between students' language(s) and the content of school subjects. They help students understand the central content of lessons, teaching materials, subject requirements as well as to prepare for and assist with tests. Students can for instance answer the questions in written form using both their first language and Swedish. An assistant will then translate it for their teacher, who can grade the work based on knowledge in that particular subject independently of language proficiency. This approach demands a high grade of cooperation between the assistants and the subject teachers.

Although, the MCA functions as a supplementary support system and has existed in the legislation for decades, the research is limited. Indeed, inspection reports and publications by National Agency for Education (Skolverket 2013a) which provide practical advice on how to organise MCA exist. Yet, in all these publications and some recent research output (Reath Warren 2013, 2017, Bunar 2018, Dávila & Bunar 2020), the MCA is presented as the most important pedagogical intervention for newly arrived students. It has also been linked to theories on translanguaging as a social space and pedagogical practice (see Dávila & Bunar, 2020). Furthermore, in all of these publications, a set of common problems facing multilingual language assistants has been identified: their low status, the lack of cooperation from subject teachers, time constraints due to being over booked across many schools, and the lack of MCA understanding from other teachers. In a rare attempt to empirically understand how MCA should be implemented in schools, Sheikhi and Ucar (2017) argue for a thematic approach, where students are encouraged to use their language repertoires in order to understand the central content of certain curriculum topics, but also to assist with development of Swedish and further development of students' first language.

2.2.4 Language and content integrated learning

Previous three factors dealt with three distinct and highly regulated school topics: two core subjects and a supplementary support. Specialised staff is responsible for implementing curriculum into practice: teachers in Swedish as a second language, mother-tongue teachers and multilingual classroom assistants. On the contrary, language and content integrated learning (LCIL) is a pedagogical approach and practice engaging the entire school and all teachers. Its primary aim is to ensure that language acquisition and content learning come together and are developed simultaneously in all subjects. LCIL is now a widely recommended practice in Sweden, frequently referred to by researchers and policy-makers as well, when best practices for language and knowledge development are discussed. Theoretically, the practice is based on the work by Gibbons (2013) and divided into several elements (Kaya & Rehman 2015, p. 11):

- a) Students' previous experiences and knowledge is a starting point for teaching.
- b) Some major defining principles of the teaching are meaningfulness, high expectations, cognitively challenging tasks and flexibility.
- c) Students' first language (mother-tongue) is used as a resource in teaching and for learning.
- d) Students are provided with opportunities to speak and interact with other students, in larger and smaller groups.
- e) Students are provided with possibilities to develop language and content-relevant knowledge simultaneously.
- f) Students are offered scaffolding based on their individual circumstances and needs.

There is a growing research on LCIL in Sweden. For example, there is a research regarding science education in bilingual classes (Unsal 2017) and teaching newly arrived students in Mathematics (Abdoka 2017, Svensson Källberg 2018). According to Böttrius and Danielsson (2016, p. 299), LCIL is characterised by: clear goals, teaching occurs on a cognitively high level, teaching moves from concrete to abstract level, plenty of opportunities for students to use the second language, a starting point for teaching is a clear context, focus is on learning strategies, and teaching is explicit (with clear expectations) whereas scaffolding is a central part of the entire process.

As evident from previous research (see also Simola & Hanson 2017), LCIL encapsulates four perspectives:

- A social perspective – there is no LCIL without regular interactions between second language learners and first language speakers and unless the policy of inclusion pervades all school activities.
- A “whole student approach” perspective – mapping and recognising students' previous knowledge, experiences and first language as an asset to further build subsequent inclusion and learning strategies on.

- An additional support perspective on the second language acquisition through MCA, scaffolding and high expectations.
- A professional skills perspective – professional development of teachers and school leadership.

The last point is regularly invoked by the national and local governments, principals, and teachers themselves in various reports (see Bunar 2018, Skolinspektionen 2017). It is clear, teachers need more tools and greater contextual understanding of the difficulties their newly arrived students are facing. The teachers need to gain knowledge on how to harness the students' previous formal and informal schooling and apply it to the existing educational framework. Providing professional development in LCIC, based on some of the central points highlighted above, is a necessary step in order to provide second language learners with equal education of high quality.

2.2.5 Summary on second language acquisition

Several conclusions emerge from this brief review of Swedish research and policy with regard to second language acquisition. First of all, the country has been through a fairly rapid demographic transformation process due to globalisation and migration since beginning of the new millennium. Today, more than one quarter of all students in elementary schools have migrant origin (born abroad or born in Sweden with both parents born abroad). Many of these students are functionally bilingual (first language and Swedish) when they start school, so the matter for the vast majority is not how the schools are going to “learn” them second language, but rather how the schools are responding to their multilingualism and cultural diversity. As it appears with solely, a very much contested, Swedish as a second language.

Secondly, the inflow of newly arrived asylum-seeking and refugee students has been constant for the last decades (excluding the exceptional year of 2015). It means that schools and teachers have had on average five to seven thousand students without previous knowledge in Swedish to work with every year. Due to these experiences it could be expected that the knowledge base is well-developed and transferred between schools and municipalities. But, that's not the case. On the contrary, as proved by National School Inspectorate, teachers and school leaders have rather limited knowledge on how to support second language learners, pedagogically and socially.

Thirdly, virtually all research and evaluation reports as well as hands-on manuals, ask for more professional development of school staff in the area of second language acquisition and language and content integrated learning.

Fourthly, when it comes to separate school subjects (SSL and mother-tongue tuition) and support forms (MCA), aiming at facilitating language and content-relevant development for second language learners, it seems that they are so much involved in symbolic and organisational struggles for their legitimacy and survival, that the ongoing and vital internal development has been interrupted. As such, these separate organisational models are in acute need of overhaul and improvement.

Finally, the informal learning of second language through daily interactions between second language learners and first language speakers in settings inside and outside of schools deserve much more attention.

2.3 Citizenship education

Citizenship education is an integrated part of the Swedish school curricula at all levels (Skolverket 2013b). What citizenship means in educational contexts and how it should be addressed in daily practices does not always appear clear to the educators (Amnå et al. 2010). The three general goals of education are to develop children's cognitive skills, subject area related knowledge (learning to labour market) and a set of citizenship skills. This learning to citizenship could be presented through three dimensions of school activities.

2.3.1 Three dimensions

The first one concerns teaching about democracy, parliamentary political system, political history, human rights, and diversity, primarily through the academic subjects of History and Social Science. Over the years the criticism grew stronger that teaching about democracy and democratic norms has been reduced to an isolated set of knowledge in a highly compartmentalised curriculum of a competitive school system. The critics argue that citizenship education is not a soft appendix ("a poetry part") to the curriculum, but a central focus of all teaching (Skolinspektionen 2012). Additionally, the teaching material should contain more up-to-date examples that students can relate to. In the era of social media and variety of news sources (some more shady and fake than others) it is even more important to promote critical thinking and critical evaluation of what is being served as a truth.

The second dimension concerns the patterns of communication inside schools and lived democratic norms in their daily activities. It is partly done through students' participation in formal decision-making structures and partly through the quality of social relations between students and between students and school staff. Without actively fighting and preventing violence, bullying, discrimination, racism, exclusion, and all kinds of harassment, no school can be regarded as a safe environment. Safety is a prerequisite for having democratic norms pervading school culture (Skolinspektionen 2012). According to Arneback and Jämte (2017) there has been a considerable intrusion of legal norms into school relations for the last decade. Violence, harassment and hate-speech, for instance, ought to be reported to the police. The signal is that the same norms regulating and punishing negative behaviour in society will be applied in schools as well.

The third dimension concerns schools' cooperation with external actors, such as parents and their organisations, social services, local police officers, cultural and ethnic organisations, local businesses etc. Working together with local community is particularly important in time of severe challenges schools may face in terms of hate crime, religious and ideological radicalisation, conflicts, criminality, narcotic abuse, guns and violence. These problems cannot be solved by schools themselves but must be addressed together with institutions and civil society.

Teaching about democracy and democratic values, norms and attitudes; exercising them through daily relations and communications inside schools; and fostering strong and positive relations with local community make up a core of citizenship education in Sweden.

2.3.2 Main challenges

The main challenges, as reported in research and evaluations (Skolinspektionen 2012, Skolverket 2012, 2017, Arneback & Jämte 2017), with regard to democratic norms are related to bullying and violence, negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigrants and gender (sexual harassment).

The results of the School Survey on self-reported exposure to crime, violence, offenses and participation in crime among 15-years old conducted by National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ 2016), show:

- That almost one-half of the students stated that they were victims of theft, assault, threats, robbery, or sexual offences at least once during the most recent twelve months. In other words, it is common for young people to be victims of crime.
- Approximately one-half of the students stated that they committed some form of theft offence, violent offence, or vandalism, or experimented with narcotics, on at least one occasion during the most recent twelve months.
- The results show a clear connection between exposure to bullying and crime victimisation. Among those students who said that they had been the victims of bullying sometimes or often, a significantly greater percentage also stated that they were the victim of various types of offences (assault, threats, robbery, violence, and sexual offences).

Considering the social structure of violence and offenses the following conclusions could be drawn from the same report (BRÅ 2016):

- Ethnicity – Foreign-born or children to foreign born parents are more exposed to all types of crimes and offences (except for sexual violence/harassment) than Swedish-born and children to Swedish-born parents.
- Gender – Girls are overrepresented as victims of sexual harassment (24 percent to compare of 6 percent for boys). No differences in relation to theft and bullying, but less exposed to physical violence than boys.
- Socio-economic background – Children to parents with lower education, workers, divorced parents and living in rented apartments are at far greater risk to be victimised.
- Place – Personal robbery is more common outside of school. All other types of violence and offences are more common in schools (theft, bullying, physical assault, vandalism, sexual harassment). Social media is a space with increasing importance for harassment.

The occurrence of negative attitudes and behavioural patterns affects recurrently the socially weakest groups. Having almost one-quarter of all 15 years old girls exposed to sexual harassment, the majority in schools, is a devastating figure. These results are interesting in a light of international comparative studies portraying Swedish youth as among the most democratic and open-minded in the world. Thus, in the latest International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), which is an international comparative study among 14 years old students in different countries on how they are being prepared to become citizens, we can read that (Skolverket 2017, p. 7):

- On a test about knowledge on democracy, citizenship and society, the Swedish students achieve 62 points higher results than the average of all participating countries. No other country has significantly better results.
- Swedish students are together with their Norwegian counterparts most positive to equal opportunities for women and men. Nevertheless, 10 percent believe men are better equipped to hold political positions than women.
- Swedish students have among all participating European countries the highest proportion of endorsement for equal opportunities for immigrants. Only Taiwan had higher scores in the entire study. Nevertheless, 18 percent of students disagree that immigrants should have possibility to continue speak their first language in Sweden and 17 percent disagree the immigrants should have an opportunity to stay devoted to their culture.
- There is a high frequency of discussions among Swedish students about current political development in the country and the world. Political self-reliance has increased.

As evident from these short examples, the state of “democratic minds and deeds” among Swedish students seems to be mixed. When asked formal questions about democracy and its content, the Swedish students achieve among the highest score in the world. When asked to assess how democracy, at least in some aspects, works in their schools, the results point in another direction. Obviously, there is a gap between theoretical knowledge about democracy and its practical usage. Consequently, it could be argued that citizenship education only partially is successful.

The most detrimental factors contributing to widening this gap in schools are the staff’s silent acceptance of the “mildest” forms of non-democratic attitudes and behaviour. Ineptness to address roots of present school culture that generates negative relations between students and between students and teachers and blaming everybody else as a primary response strategy without an even slightest attempt to change something in their own organisations, are two additional factors.

Yet, another citizenship education related issue has been frequently brought up in the last years, mostly in the media. It is about religious radicalisation among young people with an immigrant origin residing in some of the country’s most socially deprived neighbourhoods. Restricting the freedom of immigrant girls in all aspects, supporting or even joining terrorist groups in Syria and Somalia are presented as evidences of cultural conservatism taking roots

in poor areas. Although being a contested question – many opposite voices claim segregation and exclusion, and not religion, are the main culprits accusing media for further stigmatisation of already vulnerable neighbourhoods (Dahlstedt 2018) – the schools are expected to address these issues through citizenship education, in Sweden and elsewhere (Davies 2018).

2.3.3 What to do about it?

In a recent report *How to Prevent and Tackle Bullying and School Violence - Evidence and Practices for Strategies for Inclusive and Safe Schools*, Downes and Cefai (2016, p. 7) argue that “International reviews of whole school approaches to bullying prevention do not endorse one particular model but they highlight some key features of successful interventions. The most effective programme elements associated with a decrease in bullying others are: parent training/meetings, teacher training, improved playground supervision, videos about the consequences of bullying, disciplinary methods (that are not reducible to punitive or zero tolerance approaches), cooperative group work between professionals, school assemblies, support for parents, appropriate classroom management and rules, and a whole school anti-bullying policy.”

The point is that there is no one single best approach that can be implemented everywhere. But there seems to be a pretty broad agreement on what constitutes the generic approach to promoting democracy and democratic values through citizenship education. In Sweden, all schools have to produce and regularly update local plans for equal treatment (in Swedish *Likabehandlingsplaner*) defining their major measures aiming at preventing harassment, racism, and violence and promoting positive social relations. The four cornerstones of these plans are: Promote, Prevent, Act and Follow up and Evaluate. The National School Inspectorate (Skolinspektionen 2012) encourages schools to use these documents as a starting point in internal discussions, but also to go beyond them. A vivid democracy is not best served by a total consensus and silence about “sensitive” issues. Discussions, examples and analyses are the best practices to deal with uncomfortable views.

There are a number of governmental organisations in Sweden that support schools in their work with citizenship education, for democratic values and against hate and prejudices. One of the most active is The Living History Forum (in Swedish *Forum för levande historia*). As presented on their website, it is a Swedish public authority which, using the Holocaust and other crimes against humanity as a starting point, works with issues on tolerance, democracy and human rights (<http://www.levandehistoria.se/english>). The Forum has produced a variety of educational material and programmes about tolerance, racism, human rights, norms etc. that in addition to exhibition and online lectures can be used in schools’ daily work with citizenship education.

Another source of teaching material and ideas is National Agency for Education (Skolverket). On the website www.skolverket.se there is a compilation of legislation, advices and hands-on examples for teachers how to teach about citizenship and democracy and how to deal with controversial issues in the classroom.

2.3.4 Summary on citizenship education

Citizenship education is an integrated part of all learning in our schools. It is not just teaching about democratic norms and values, but also making sure they are an indispensable aspect of schools' daily life, social relations and communication patterns. There is a broad agreement in the Swedish society what the generic values should contain, and the Swedish students perform excellent in international tests about democracy knowledge and devotion to equality and human rights. However, there is a gap between this ideological adherence and the practice. Bullying is widespread and sexual harassment among 15-years old girls, as self-reported in BRÅ (2016) study, calls for an immediate action. Increasing housing and school segregation based on migration, discrimination and social background has prompted concerns about the emerging conservative norms and values in impoverished suburbs and their underperforming schools.

The educators' major response to this development has been more of the same, that is: discussions about how racism is bad, and cultural diversity is enriching, how men and women are equal, how great the current political system is, how everyone should exercise his/her political right to vote etc. Undoubtedly, these are important topics to bring up for discussions and deliberations. Equally unquestionable is the fact that something else must change in how schools approach discussions on segregation and social differences in the society. The true democracy and strong citizenship are forged at the intersection of individual responsibility and social equality.

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3 Italy

Egle Mocciaro

3.1 The context

In Italy, “language learning” and “democratic citizenship education” converge in the formula “democratic language education”, which became a major topic of reflection in the 1970s, a season characterised by crucial reforms deeply involving school and education. In this period, “language acquisition” means “acquisition of Italian L2 by people speaking an Italo-Romance dialect as an L1”.²

In 1975, the GISCEL (Intervention and study group in the field of linguistic education, a branch of the Society of Italian Linguistics³, proposed the *Dieci tesi per l’educazione linguistica democratica* (“Ten theses for democratic linguistic education”), a collective document (based on a De Mauro’s draft) aimed at drawing “the basic theoretical assumptions and lines of intervention of linguistic education, proposing them to the attention of Italian scholars and teachers and all the forces that, today, in Italy, work for a democratic school” (from the website). According to thesis 4 (“Linguistic rights in the Constitution”), “effective linguistic pedagogy is democratic [...] if and only if it accepts and implements the linguistic principles expressed in the article 3 of the Italian Constitution, which recognises the equality of all citizens “without distinctions of language” and encourages such equality, removing the obstacles impeding it, as a goal of the Republic’s action”; hence the need for “a coordinated and multiple effort of all the institutions that activate (or should activate) the mass cultural life”.

Thesis 8 (“Principles of democratic linguistic education”) summarises in ten points the main tenets: 1. The development of verbal skills should be promoted in close and mutual relationship with socialisation and psycho-motor development; 2. The development of language skills should be an instrument of a richer participation in social and intellectual life; 3. Linguistic education should start from the identification of pupils’ personal, familiar and environmental linguistic-cultural background; 4. This allows to explore the spatial and temporal, geographical, social, historical variation characterising every language; 5. Both productive and receptive skills should be developed; 6. Both written and oral language should be developed; 7. Linguistic education should stimulate pupils’ ability to pass from the most

² In 1962 the law n. 1859 raised the compulsory schooling at the age of 14 and established the unification of the middle school (previously split in ‘middle school’ and ‘professional school’). A new audience of pupils traditionally stuck to elementary education, namely the children of the working class and peasant classes, appeared for the first time in high school, and this radical transformation in the composition of the public school was not painless (Lo Duca 2003: 22). At that time Italian society was characterised by a widespread dialectophony: masses of very young pupils, coming from little or no schooled families, started to deal with complex disciplinary contents, conveyed in a language still largely “foreign”, and with teachers who have always been accustomed to the very different role of trainers of the future ruling class of the country. The obvious consequence was that thousands of young people, placed in middle school, were then regularly expelled after a few years of frustrating experiences (Lo Duca 2010).

³ www.giscel.it

local, colloquial, informal expressions to more meditated, reflexive and formal expressions; 8. Linguistic education should train to more official ways of using language; 9. It should promote the ability to reflect on language, i.e. metalinguistic competence; 10. It should make pupils aware of the functional value of linguistic forms. Thesis 9 is dedicated to teachers training, which involves “competences so far conceived of as reserved to specialists and detached from one another”; while thesis 10 deals with the necessity of local and regional centres for linguistic and educational training, which represent an administrative and civil commitment, thus a political responsibility.

Manifesto of the 1970s socio-cultural climate, the *Dieci tesi* quickly became the main reference point for any future debate and research on democratic linguistic education. The impact on Italian school was quite strong⁴, at least for a new generation of teachers, who really tried to conform their didactic action to the new democratic principles. Inspired to the *Dieci tesi*, host of training courses, study groups, seminars and conferences – local, regional, national – were organised starting from the early 1980s, and the best specialists in the field (both linguists and pedagogues), as well as less known school teachers produced numerous (often collective) publications facing the crucial themes of democratic linguistic education. These militant research and action were largely nourished by the work of the teachers’ associations born in the early 1970s, such as the already-mentioned GISCEL, LEND (*Lingua e nuova didattica* ‘Language and new didactics’, www.lend.it), and CIDI (*Centro di iniziativa democratica degli insegnanti* ‘Centre for teachers’ democratic initiative’, www.cidi.it). Still active in organising training courses, seminars and conferences, they give a fundamental contribution to research on democratic and linguistic education, by means of a continuous debate on cultural, didactic, or school policies topics, through annual conferences, publications and national journals (e.g. *Insegnare*, by CIDI, <http://www.insegnareonline.com/>), as well as local reports. The volumes of GISCEL deserve attention (e.g. *Quaderni del Giscel*, hosting both the proceedings of the annual conferences and individual studies by university and school scholars), as well as large syntheses and works reporting the status of art in the field, such as Lavinio (1992), Ferreri (2002), Ferreri and Guerriero (1998) and GISCEL (2007), taking on the entire range of topics outlined in the *Dieci tesi*, as well as the new challenges issued by the changed linguistic scenario.

In a nutshell, the most relevant and better analysed topics in the field of democratic linguistic education are: 1) The development of the basic linguistic skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing), a topic nourished by Text linguistics, which directed researchers’ attention on the variety of texts normally occurring in different communication situations and their specificities and regularity. 2) New methods for teaching of grammar (cf. Lo Duca 2004), also taking into account the Italian sociolinguistic varieties. 3) Plurilingualism, linguistic and social disadvantage, inclusion. The idea that linguistic disadvantage results in social disadvantage has been among the most frequent topics in democratic linguistic education (De

⁴ At the normative level as well: the new programmes for middle school (1979) and for elementary school (1985) exhibit many ideas of the democratic linguistic education, a line of research which has continued to give “official” fruits, e.g. the ‘Guidelines for the curriculum’ (2007), for the first cycle of education.

Mauro 1963), intertwining with the problem of the widespread dialectophony and the low level of literacy in the lower classes.⁵

Starting from the early 2000s, the topic of plurilingualism spreads to Italian as an L2 for new immigrants, hence to the topic of linguistic and social inclusion of young and very young immigrants. The *Dieci tesi* are still at work, at least at the theoretical level: on the one hand, the pupils' right to use their individual linguistic repertoires, which are generally plural; on the other hand, the right to equality of educational opportunities, as an opportunity to continue learning and using the language of origin and to acquire other languages and linguistic varieties, useful for personal development and social inclusion (Calò 2015).

In 2016, a special issue on *Dieci tesi* has been published online by the *Treccani* Institut. Scholars reflect on the legacy of the *Dieci tesi* principles and their current value.⁶ Rosa Calò deals with the role of plurilingualism in present-day teachers' action and perception. She reports the survey conducted in the Nineties (Colombo and Romani 1996), which showed that 45% of Italian teachers considered "the prevalent or exclusive dialectophony as a factor of serious linguistic disadvantage" and 38% declared a partial agreement with this assumption. 2,31% completely and 50% partially agreed with the statement that who speaks Italian has good results at school. "In short, the perception of teachers is that monolingualism is an asset for scholastic success. Teachers showed a "lack of flexibility to move [...] towards the [...] perception of the linguistic diversity of pupils as a didactic resource".

Ten years later (GISCEL 2007), about 90% totally or partially agreed with the principles of democratic linguistic education; in the didactic practice, 65% was looking for strategies to solve problems of linguistic disadvantage; but only 40% recognised the relevance of the linguistic background and showed openness to linguistic varieties. A more recent survey (Sordella 2015) indicates that linguistic diversity is perceived as the cause of many spelling errors (73%), produces problems to understand the most elaborated levels of language (72%) and hinders the learning process of Italian (65%). Furthermore, working in a multilingual classroom increases the difficulty in teaching Italian to the whole classroom (42%), but it also presents some advantages. It may create opportunities to help all pupils to reflect on errors (82%) and allows reflection on language by comparing pupils' different languages (73%). In short, much remains to be done in the school for democratic linguistic education (Calò 2015).

Foreign students enrolled in Italian classrooms represent about 9% of the school population (Openopolis 2015), thus the languages at school today are increasingly numerous: in addition to the languages of origin, to what remains of the local dialects, to the foreign languages, to the Italian language, there are the languages of the different disciplines. Thus, adequate interventions should be made to ensure that multilingualism is an educational resource rather than a source of disadvantage and discrimination. A first type of intervention is already widely practiced: in present-day classrooms, foreign students are offered courses of Italian

5 See inter al. Marchese 2002, Calò 2015. The most recent publication in the field is probably Loiero and Marchese 2018, a collection of the most relevant De Mauro's texts on democratic linguistic education and its evolution in the social, politic and school Italian context; among the topic issued: plurilingualism, literate and not literate societies, needs and tools for a democratic linguistic education, spoken and written language and its value of social emancipation, school disadvantage, etc.

6 http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/speciali/tesi/mainSpeciale.html

L2. However, around 36% of them still find difficulties and accumulate delays (Openpolis 2015).

According to Calò (2016), in order to provide the same educational opportunities to each student, it would be helpful to assume the perspective of the *Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for a plurilingual and pluricultural education* (Béacco et al. 2011). The *Guide* suggests developing a plurilingual curriculum, whose aim should be the education to linguistic diversity, not only in terms of awareness, but developing plurilingual skills. It must be founded on: a) Awareness of students' linguistic repertoires, including dialects, regional or local varieties of Italian, lower and slang variants practiced in daily life, foreign students' linguistic skills in their native languages and in Italian L2; b) Didactic approach focusing on linguistic variation. Linguistic education should offer to all students the means to understand and be understood, to participate in the interaction within and outside the classrooms (at the oral and written levels, in the media, in the plurality and variety of texts, in diversity of communicative situations); c) Integrated learning contexts. The different linguistic teachings (language of origin, language of the school, foreign languages) should be coordinated and connected and accompanied by the constant practice of cross-linguistic reflection, as well as by gradual experiences of linguistic mediation; d) Individualisation and differentiation of didactic interventions, in order to support linguistically the pupils in the learning of the different disciplines, favouring the school success of each one.

3.1.1 Major critique

Italian research shows a rather active educational system, at least in principle, in promoting democratic culture and linguistic education, both in terms of diffuse sensitivity and good practices, but still needing massive interventions to make inclusion, plurality, and democratic participation concrete and pervasive practices. Ambel (2016) points out three types of problems, corresponding to strategic objectives already indicated by *Dieci tesi* but not yet achieved or disregarded:

- 1) *Understanding and participation in active life*, i.e. “the problem of the effective comprehension of texts and more generally of the many forms of present-day communication, as a guarantee of active participation in democratic life.” This problem has been often pointed out by De Mauro, the last time at the national meeting of CIDI (interview by C. Bagni, Naples, 20/02/2016): 70% of individuals between 16 and 65 years find difficult understanding a chart, a newspaper article, and these data come from the *All* survey, an international research project which tested adults' skills in seven countries between 2003 and 2005.
- 2) *Language teachability and resistance to change*. In last decades, language teaching failed in taking into account language changes and internal variation in Italian, while it has confirmed traditional and often not effective ways to teach Italian. The didactic perspectives and practices suggested in *Dieci tesi* are the less used today at school (e.g. involvement of all the disciplines in teaching Italian, attention to oral skills), while the most widespread didactic practices are those deterred by *Dieci tesi* (e.g. normative and

transmitting teaching of grammar, writing practice only as compositions or summaries, etc.).

- 3) *Inclusion and political and cultural weakness.* Inclusion (based on the respect and promotion of individual linguistic and cultural backgrounds) is obviously related to school's reaction to old and new inequalities coexisting in it. However, while it works strenuously in this direction, especially in the most difficult socio-cultural contexts, school still cannot face social inequalities without a coherent action by the whole cultural, media and political context – although it is often forced to do it in spite of (or against) this context.

Colombo (2016) observes that “When we ask why the incidence of the *Dieci tesi* on teaching practice has been so limited, we must [...] ask what the University and the Ministry of Education did for their training, where are the ‘local and regional centres for linguistic and educational training and information’ that were supposed to support the change, what was the awareness of the linguistic question in politics, in media, in publishing.”⁷

Teachers' training at the national level (i.e. national qualification courses and, more recently, studying programmes needed for the national exam to become a teacher) is scarcely sensitive towards notions as those indicated by *Dieci tesi*, e.g. plurilingualism. This lack is much more surprising as there have been in Italy some very important training experiences over the years, such as the project “Poseidon. Materials for linguistic education” in 2006, promoted by MIUR (Ministry of Education, University, Research) and INDIRE (National Institute of Documentation, Innovation, and Educational Research), in which many above-mentioned associations actively participated. “Poseidon” aimed at training tutors for the linguistic area, able in managing e-learning paths addressed to virtual classrooms of trainees, while a shorter training segment in presence was managed by USRs (Regional School Offices) at the territorial level.⁸

A more specific training is requested to “teachers of Italian as L2 in the low secondary school”, a new teaching class (A23, since 2015). The last national examination allowed the access to A23 profession but, in contrast to other teaching classes, a preliminary qualification course was still lacking, thus future A23 teachers were asked to possess both a national qualification in a close class (e.g. “Italian”) and a further title (e.g. an MA) in Didactics of Italian L2. The new national qualification (based on the last Reform of the School, Law 107/2015, the so-called “Buona scuola” [Good school]) seems to solve this void, introducing a training path following the successful completion of the national competition; however, the activities related to the last competition (2018) are still ongoing, so it is impossible to evaluate the adequacy of the new legislation. Moreover, although the first A23 teachers have been employed already two years ago, it is still anything but clear their specific role (should

⁷ Actually, various tenets of *Dieci tesi* have been adopted in the national school norm and, on this basis, a varied ‘sediment’ of experiences, experiments, and good practices has been established. This is especially true for elementary school teachers (at least up to the return of the “unique” elementary teacher, cf. law no. 169/2008, the so-called “Gelmini” reform, generally considered as a heavy blow for “transversality” and “flexibility”). As we move on secondary level school, however, the attention to democratic linguistic education is much more rare.

⁸ <https://archivio.pubblica.istruzione.it/docenti/allegati/poseidon.pdf>

they operate inside or outside the classroom? individually or with whole groups? independently or alongside other teachers?). Thus, beside the training void schools still suffer a concrete and very urgent problem of *human resources* supporting linguistic inclusion of foreign students.

Another aspect of the problem is adult education and new illiteracy. Adults' illiteracy (D'Agostino 2018) affects the whole country, but is more stable in North East and North West, i.e. where the percentage of foreign population is higher, in particular sub-Saharan Africans and Asians (Census 2011). Models for data collection, however, are largely insufficient, e.g. a registry of the levels of literacy is still lacking, as well as data on schooling and on languages of new-arrived migrants. Data provided by the Ministry of Interior and other national agencies only refer to age, gender, arrival country. Some knowledge derives from reports external to schools, e.g. SPRAR (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), whose 2016 annual report points out that only 25% (4.569/19.263) of people attending language courses has been included in pre-literacy courses, a label given to courses offering learning paths of reading and writing beside Italian language.

In the same direction, a study commissioned by UNICEF and implemented by REACH (June 2017) shows that on a sample of 570 unaccompanied foreign minors (especially males, 15-17 years old) arrived in Sicily in 2016, 13% stated to be not able to read, 29% only little and 58% fluently; for the ability to write, 14% stated to be not able to write, 32% little and 54% fluently. Additional data come from tests on reading and writing skills at the School of Italian for Foreigners of Palermo. Out of 570, 16-30 years old, migrants who have requested to access the courses of Italian, from June to October 2017 (80% arrived by sea with the new migration flow, see Amoruso, D'Agostino and Jaralla 2015 and <http://www.pontidiparole.it>), about ¼ resulted in very little or non-literate, based on the tests (therefore not through self-declaration). The creation of CPIAs (Territorial Centre for Adult Education, 2014) has been an adequate institutional response, but teachers are not yet trained to face the challenge of new adult and young illiterates or low literates. The problem is not even mentioned in the CPIAs' national regulation. Precisely to sensitise towards this regulatory void, Paola Casi promoted a petition already in September 2013, "Illiteracy: paralysis and care for Italy", whose first signatory was Tullio De Mauro. Despite this authoritative appeal, despite the data and the many experiences in CPIAs classrooms, in which literates are a little minority throughout Italy, 5 years later the situation is the same.⁹ Consistent with this situation, the system hypothesised by MIUR for the construction of the CPIA's School Registry (2017-2018) does not include learning paths lower than the level A1 of the CEFR.

⁹ The presence of low or not literate users is now recognised in the *Guidelines* for the planning of regional plans for the civic and language training of foreign people, funded by AMIF (OS 2 - ON 2 - Specific training actions - experimental paths - Transmission of experimentation protocol, note MIUR 2303/2016, protocol N. 3298). In this context, a pre-A1 course is planned which contains only 25 hours for literacy activities. However, pre-A1 literacy goals are: understanding the basic idea of a sentence and start to understand the notion of text; using writing and punctuation conventions, even with errors; being oriented within the book-object using the index; reading globally and analytically familiar and/or simple words; writing these words; reading a sentence tying its components; writing very short sentences, even with errors; starting using learning strategies; understanding the main teaching techniques in the classroom and profit from it.

3.1.2 Empirical examples of good practices

In the host of good practices, many of which widely described in didactic research, three representative cases will be here mentioned, which cross Italy from the North to the South:

- (1) **Centro COME**, Milan.¹⁰ Created in 1994 after an agreement with the Province of Milan (Department of Social policies), COME actively promotes: social and cultural inclusion of foreign children and young people in Italy; educational and scholastic insertion of pupils who have origins elsewhere; exchange and enhancement of personal biographies, cultural references and languages of origin; protection of vulnerable situations through attention to the history of each individual. It is an essential reference point for teachers, educators, school managers, as well as also social workers, volunteers, parents, foreigners, students, mediators. COME organises educational projects with territorial public (e.g. schools) and private bodies. It also operate through the website for support and distance counselling (come.net), providing services such as: information on seminars, courses, welcoming, teaching Italian L2, intercultural education; updated bibliographies and sites, documentation centres; legislation on school integration of foreign students and its application; teaching materials (Italian L2, intercultural, plurilingual information materials); models of (organisational and educational) projects, experimented in various cities and counselling for the design of actions and interventions.
- (2) **ASINITAS**, Rome.¹¹ Since 2005, this non-profit organisation experiments alternative ways of teaching Italian in different places in the city, opening schools and classes, whose features are gradually defined by means of a continuous cooperation between theory and practice, research and action. Through the creation of such “educating contexts”, built up together with the addressees of the teaching action, the association promotes the existence of plural voices, shedding light on the condition of migration, exile and, more in general, marginalisation. Asinitas’ activity is addressed to asylum seekers, migrants, foreign women with children, and Italians, and is carried out through two intercultural centres in Rome where various actions are organised: experimental courses of Italian L2, workshops on manual expression, a listening area for Italian and foreign women and families, theatre workshops, socio-medical and legal guidance, training and professional courses, training courses for teachers, operators and educators. “Active education, person-centered care, story-telling, and gathering of biographies and testimony are the privileged methodologies. As an interdisciplinary working group, it focuses on second language acquisition research with students who have a low level of literacy in their L1 by adapting several methods, from Montessori to Freinet, to the Italian experience of active learning with Cemea and the Movement for cooperative learning” (from the website).
- (3) **ITASTRA**, Palermo.¹² Created in 2008, the School of Italian language for Foreigner of the University of Palermo is actively involved in linguistic and cultural inclusion of the migrant communities in Palermo, both through innovative teaching projects of Italian L2 in schools with a dense presence of non-Italian speaking pupils, and through linguistic

10 <http://www.centrocome.it/>

11 www.asinitas.org

12 <http://www.unipa.it/strutture/scuolaitalianastranieri/>

and educational paths addressed to adult immigrants (e.g. women in the project ESF “Knowledge for inclusion”, 2014-2015). Since 2011, ItaStra also welcomes unaccompanied minors, a large part of which is low or not literate in L1, and organises both language and literacy courses, as well as other educational activities aiming at social inclusion, in which thousands of new arrived minors have been involved up to now. Based on an agreement with the Municipality of Palermo (2014), ItaStra coordinates and supervises the linguistic inclusion for minors and asylum seekers housed in the SPRAR centres in Palermo. To meet illiterates’ learning needs, a manual of Italian language has been produced¹³, which aims at facilitating learners’ relationship with the city context (documents, CVs etc.). The work with illiterate migrants has developed in two further directions: 1) initial teacher training, with the definition of the new professional profile specifically dedicated to low educated users, which is a segment of the Master (=MA) in Theory, design and didactics of Italian as L2/LS, closely related to the ItaStra activities; 2) in-service teacher training, among which CPIAs’ teachers (cf. D’Agostino & Sorce 2016). ItaStra is actively involved in research on the acquisition of Italian by low literate learners and the role of the migrants’ plurilingual competence in language acquisition; in addition, plurilingualism is concretely used to produce didactic tools (e.g. linguistic autobiographies) aiming at migrants’ active participation and inclusion.

What the teaching experiences just described above have in common is the attention to plurilingualism, not only as a characteristic of the migrants’ universe, but as a wide didactic perspective. As such, it can be easily transferred to every context in Europe where different languages and cultures coexist.

3.1.3 Knowledge gaps and well-researched topics

In short, the role of plurilingualism as an educational programme for a democratic school is very well studied, and is today a cornerstone of teaching Italian L2 to migrants in different educational contexts throughout Italy.

On the other hand, new migrants’ learning needs still deserve attention, especially in relation of situations of non-immersion in language (e.g. in hosting centres, where the exposure to linguistic input is very poor, due to operators’ tendency to use a too simplified language, the isolation from the linguistic community outside, the linguistic exchange among migrants through vehicular languages, e.g. English, French, Wolof etc.). Besides, a serious reflection on the relationship between literacy and acquisition of oral skills is still lacking.

3.2 Italian as a second language

In 2009, Calo and Ferreri edited the Italian version of DERLE, a preparatory study on “languages of education (and the right to a plurilingual and intercultural education)”, a topic to which the Division of linguistic policies of the Council of Europe has been working since 2005. The plural form “languages” includes mother tongues and standard languages, national and regional languages, the most common foreign languages as well as culture languages,

13 www.pontidiparole.it

cross-border languages and languages arrived in Europe through migration; languages of science and history, language as a subject and intermediary for other subjects. In analysing possible models to manage linguistic plurality, the Council of Europe mentions Italian linguistic education as it emerges from the *Dieci tesi*. Made concrete in the programmes for the elementary and middle schools and in the didactic practice of the elementary school, such principles provided unexpected results in terms of inclusion and social cohesion. As a means to produce the “European citizen”, plurilingualism should be conceived of not only as a mere linguistic condition characterising present-day Europe, but as an educational perspective. This would allow the European educational systems “to assume a common strategy, which does not flatten differences and rather broadens the horizon of each country, as it gives each European citizen ‘both roots and wings’, according to the metaphor of Beck and Grande”. This is a new paradigm which could overcome the difficulties of harmonise the school systems of many countries with different educational traditions. Provided that a new and strong connection among linguistic disciplines is established: we are dealing with an “integrated didactics of languages”, in the spirit of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* but with some additional features, i.e. the attention to the contextual usage of multiple languages (linguistic alternation) and the attention to metalinguistic activity, as suitable tools to construct the intercultural citizenship.

The same perspective can also be found in more operational didactic publications, as in the case of the wide Favaro’s work on intercultural education as a basis for democratic participation (cf. Demetrio and Favaro 1997; Favaro 2002; Favaro and Papa 2009). What emerges from Favaro’s work is the idea that the more intercultural education focuses exclusively on the problems related to new migrations to Europe, the less it can be a trump card for pedagogical innovation; vice versa, the more it is conceived of as a general process of pedagogical innovation, the more it can be effective with respect to learning difficulties (not to mention conflict resolution). Schooling paths are much more difficult for foreign pupils: there is a higher rate of school lateness, early dispersion and school failure, which increase progressively by school order, so that a large part of foreign students does not overstep the first level of the secondary school (and who oversteps this threshold then normally opts for professional paths). A reduced competence in Italian language (especially Italian for studying, i.e. the so-called “Italstudio”, more than Italian to communicative purposes) is generally indicated as the main cause of such difficulties. The most suitable teaching tools to pursue this pedagogical attitude are, according to Favaro, the autobiographical method and narration, which allow to locate pupils’ plural identities at the centre of teaching activity.

Two very popular and explaining volumes on Italian school should be mentioned, i.e., Ongini (2011) and Tobagi (2016). Ongini (2011) is an inquiry on the status of the multicultural school conducted throughout Italy, which reports many case studies and various experiences of good integration of “foreign” students (paying attention to the actual meaning of the adjective “foreign”, which generally also applies to pupils born in Italy and speaking Italian as L1 but with foreign parents, i.e. over the 40% of the cases, with a peak of 80% in the nursery school). Tobagi (2016) is an inquiry as well, which aims at showing, by means of concrete examples, how the presence of foreign minors (about 10% of the public-school

population) contributes in widening the cultural horizon of the entire school population: growing up and learning in a mixed class allows to approach and know a bigger part of world. However, Tobagi also points out that good practices are not enough to achieve integration, and denounces how little it is waded in Italy in this direction.

At the institutional level, MIUR's documents generally refer to language education and (or as) inclusion, showing the recognition of the main messages and ideas elaborated within didactic research (attention to both oral and reading/writing skills; involvement of all the disciplines; role of plurilingualism); see *Linee guida per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri* ('Guidelines for welcome and integration of foreign pupils', 2014), as well as various national projects on plurilingualism at school.

INDIRE (National Institute for Documentation, Innovation, Educational Research) has just produced a study on "Italian language as an instrument for active citizenship", focussed on illiteracy and widely inspired to De Mauro's work.¹⁴

INVALSI (National Institute for Assessment of the Educational System) proposes an annual national text to assess pupils' competences in Italian (as well as math) at different levels of school. For the 2017 test, the variable "foreign pupil" (distinguishing between first and second generation) has been considered. The analysis of the results shows that foreign students (especially first generation) get lower results than their Italian counterparts; the little gap between second-generation and Italians decreases from primary to secondary school, so that, at the end of the first cycle of education, it is about 10 points in Italian; however, the difference is again increased in upper secondary school (about 4 points).¹⁵

In 2011, Lo Duca published on the website of INVALSI an acute reflection on the results of the test for that year. She observed that while there is no doubt that immigrant pupils (first generation and, at a lower degree, second generation) achieve worse results, the results are bad for *all* pupils and denounce the persistence of an obsolete way of doing grammar, focusing more on the notionistic accumulation of labels than on the reflection on the linguistic competence of the students: a useless method for native speakers, a detrimental one for non-natives.¹⁶

As already mentioned, Italy is full of good practices and it would be very difficult to provide a review here. Many examples are published in *Sesamo. Didattica interculturale*, an online journal publishing reports, articles and examples of learning paths inspired to democratic linguistic education.¹⁷ The website "La fucina delle idee" could also be mentioned¹⁸, which reports on research and activity in Tuscan.

What is here worth mentioning is the activity of many CPIAs which, more on a voluntary basis, undertake training experiences to meet the linguistic and inclusion needs of the many foreign students who populate them. We should report, at least: the CPIA Palermo 1, which cooperated with the University of Palermo (see above) both in organising language and

14 <http://www.indire.it/memorysafe/approfondimenti/analfabetismo-di-ritorno-in-italia/>

15 https://invalsi-areaprove.cineca.it/docs/file/Rapporto_Prove_INVALSI_2017.pdf

16 http://www.invalsi.it/download/wp/wp22_LoDuca.pdf

17 <http://www.giuntiscuola.it/sesamo/italiano-l2/italiano-l2-articoli/>

18 <http://www.fucinadelleidee.eu/>

literacy courses for new arrived unaccompanied minors, and in training their teachers (not only teachers of Italian); see D’Agostino and Sorce (2015); the CPIA “Reggio sud” of Reggio Emilia, which systematically promotes activities on literacy and citizenship, through conferences, seminars, courses etc. More in general, the municipality of Reggio Emilia is heavily involved in promoting linguistic activities addressed to migrants, and also cooperates with the university in online training activities addressed to teachers and inspired to the findings of second language acquisition.¹⁹ To this list, “ScuoleMigranti. Rete per l’integrazione linguistica e sociale” (‘MigrantSchools. Network for linguistic and social inclusion’) should be added, a network of volunteers linking together various associations teaching (for free) Italian L2 to adult and young migrants in Lazio.

In most cases, the people involved in these activities and reflections interact strongly (when they do not even coincide) with those involved in the world of educational research; consequently, they share both the contents of the critique and the proposals of intervention (plurilingual education as a didactic perspective, European framework). They exert continuous pressure on the Institutions, which are asked not only for a greater attention to the issues discussed here, but above all concrete and systematic actions (rather than generic indications) in school policies (and teacher training).

3.3 Media accounts

Italian media do not show a specific attention to the issue of language acquisition and democratic citizenship. Public communication seems to be rather dominated by an attitude towards (real or supposed) “emergencies”, which does not favour a serious reflection on these topics (at the moment, the attention is especially focussed on immigration flows from Africa, on the one hand, and on the lack of *ius soli*, on the other hand). Only sometimes we find some more in-depth analysis. This is the case of Benedetta Tobagi’s articles on *Repubblica*, reporting on some (linguistic) integration experiences in Italian (public) schools, then merged in her above-mentioned book *La scuola salvata dai bambini*. Tobagi’s interventions and the debate around her book contain a critique to the national policies (last but not least the so-called “Buona scuola”, law 107). In an interview on *Repubblica*, Tobagi claimed: “My journey among the scholastic realities of Italy has been rending; I rejoiced and I got angry. [...] In the field, I saw effective tools to change things, to improve the situation. This is not the case of law 107 is not, neither of a competition [*the national qualification competition, 2012*] whose commissioners were paid 50 cents per candidate”.²⁰

Among other episodic examples, a serious analysis is found in “At school of Italian to construct citizenship”, article published in 2013 in *Manifesto* by a R. Biasillo, who reflects on an experience (in which she is directly involved) in Rome: a school of Italian language belonging to a wider project called “La città di Utopia”, started at the beginning of 2000s and aimed at the construction of a model of active citizenship. “An experiment of education and

¹⁹ <https://interlingua.comune.re.it/>

²⁰ On this topic, see also the interview to De Mauro on MICOmega online: <http://temi.repubblica.it/micromega-online/de-mauro-%E2%80%99Cla-buona-scuola-da-bocciare-e-non-chiamatela-riforma-%E2%80%A6%E2%80%9D-2/>

self-learning for participation and common discussion, a physical place in which sociality and solidarity become a concrete practice. The feeling of being an active citizen is the horizon within which teaching Italian should be framed, and toward which, with different paths, students and teachers are oriented. Citizenship and immigration are dialoguing terms which are not mutually exclusive, if by “citizenship” we mean the process of decoding and assuming a position towards the society we belong to. Reading of reality, taking of position towards what happens in the reality, the feeling of being part of it are the needs of everyone, not only migrants [...]. Knowledge of the language of the country in which we live is one of the possible tools for inclusion and is one of the possible connecting elements between citizenship (always intended on a practical and non-formal level) and immigration. [...] The decree of 4 June 2010 of the Ministry of the Interior has introduced the obligation for foreigners requesting a residence permit [...] to certify the basic knowledge of the Italian language, without offering services or facilitations to migrants, without proposing a clear action in this regard, but limited its action to manage the certification exams through existing bodies. Much of the linguistic “support” offered is entrusted to the free choice of individuals and volunteering, most of the time adequately qualified. [...] teaching Italian becomes a political choice that individuals and groups undertake by substituting for the government’s deficiencies”.

Summing up, a quick view on national media, especially newspapers, only show sporadic attention to the topic of language acquisition and democratic citizenship. When this attention is actually at work, we find similar positions and perspective as those testified in research on democratic linguistic education, i.e. language as a means to democratically participating to the life of the country, a right for all; attention to (cultural, linguistic) diversity of people constituting the country.

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4 Germany

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4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, insights and experiences from Germany are presented and discussed. The starting point for the LADECI project are the concepts of:

- education for democratic citizenship
- multicultural and multilingual target groups
- constructive learning atmosphere → how to handle conflicts in a democratic way

They are similarly taken as a starting point for presentation of the German case²¹ and mainly elaborated through the results from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 (Abs & Hahn- Laudenberg 2017) and Expertise for the pilot programme “Demokratie lernen und leben” (Edelstein & Fauser 2001).²²

In the following table some useful concepts for the LADECI project are presented.

Study/Programme	Identified Problem in scope of our project	Suggestion	Example (if regarded necessary)
International Civic and Citizenship Education Study	On average low level of knowledge and ability to argue for pupils with a migration background	culturally relevant teaching – not culturally responsive teaching	Intensified work with parents; use of proverbs from different languages; take up different narratives (for example in teaching history)
	When political issues discussed in class, pupils feel less encouraged by their teachers to give one's opinion and to take a position	Open question which didactic / methods forms encouraged students; especially in controversial debates	
	lower willingness to civic & problem-oriented-participation	Service-Learning	
	Group work in school can contribute to the consolidation of social groups	Group puzzle: (Teachers ensure that students work together in the second phase, mixed-origin)	
	Volunteering is less	Service-Learning	

21 Studies on the role of bi- or multilingualism in the context of school that mainly aimed at the academic performance of children and young people are omitted. LSA like TIMSS/III and PISA 2000 & PISA 2003 offer a variety of research on the issue of language deficits cumulatively affecting cognitive test scores in subject knowledges (Baumert & Schümer 2001). I also ignored research and programmes on (second/third) language acquisition in psycholinguistic and/or medical-therapeutic perspectives.

22The expertise is written in German. For this task I translated its title into “Learning and living Democracy”.

	common among students with less social and cultural capital.		
	lower problem awareness and/or low self-efficacy and lack of identification with the school as a socially positive actor	Teachers and students work towards a common goal. No individual action of a teacher or class, but permanently institutionalised	
Learning and living Democracy	Democratic Speaking	Forms of democratic speech: Discussing, Debating, Deliberating	As we experienced it on our first meeting in Berlin at the Haus of the Wannsee Conference
	Leadership Training	Developing the willingness and the ability to take responsibility	

4.2 Focusing on refugees in schools since 2015

Since 2015, numerous thematic books on migration and schooling have been published in German educational science journals. Until the beginning of 2017, school practice-oriented thematic issues dominated. Scientific articles - let alone complete (educational) science-oriented thematic issues - are only to be found with considerable delay. The subject area of German as a second language occupies a considerable space. However, most of the articles are not scientific publications in the narrower sense, i.e. no research results are presented or theoretical perspectives on social phenomena are opened up. Instead, the main focus is on field reports from schools and teaching practice, the presentation of school and teaching concepts, project reports, practical material and positioning.

The latter are often accompanied by criticism of the current situation in schools. They have too few resources, especially in terms of time and money (Klaus 2015), and teachers lack qualifications and experience in dealing with refugees, for example in the field of language competence diagnostics (Panesar 2016). Against this background, a need or even lack (Goschler 2016) for adequate further training is identified (Heimann 2015, Schratz 2016). The criticism is formulated in part as a general description of the situation, while school and education policy (Hückelheim & Millmann 2015, Berthold 2015) and school administration (Berthold 2015) are addressed directly as responsible actors.

Against the backdrop of heterogeneous pupils, a teacher training course is presented in Hamburg on the subject of intercultural openness in school development processes. Teachers are trained as "intercultural coordinators" (Panesar 2016) in a training course, comprised of 80 hours over two years. An intercultural opening of the school is aimed at by means of the anti-bias approach and aims at a relationship at eye level between refugee and non-refugee students and teachers. Ultimately, questions of school cohabitation are linked in this article with the necessity of a successful second language acquisition.

4.2.1 Topic: Language

German as a second language is seen as central to the successful integration of refugee students and is therefore regarded as a “core competence for all teachers” (Panesar 2016:74, our translation). Sometimes, however, it is also a problem that by focusing on language acquisition, the refugee pupils run the risk of losing connection to their peers (Vogel & Karakaşoğlu 2015). The question of how technical learning can take place successfully despite a low level of German and what role teaching materials and media can play in the language of origin are designated as desideratum (ibid.). Also, in the field of language, reports from schools and statements highlighting the importance of language teaching and promotion, dominate in the thematic issues. In some articles, the importance of multilingualism for secondary language learning and for the development of a sense of togetherness and the resulting opportunities for participation is emphasised (Bluhm & Schladitz 2015) as well as the language of education as a particularly elementary aspect of language learning for success at school (ibid.; Weber & Wolfertstetter 2015).

Promoting language learning and democratic learning are treated in a largely isolated manner. In the course of the increased immigration of refugees to Germany since 2015, German as a second language has increasingly become the focus of general pedagogical and educational science literature. However, the majority of reports are based on experience compared to research results. Research has focused on issues such as competences in the field of German as a second language (Gültekin-Karakoç et al. 2016) and on beliefs about multilingualism in schools (Hammer et al. 2016); in both cases related to students of teaching professions. Concerning multilingualism, the authors sum up,

“[...] that the university teacher education introduces the students to the subject of multilingualism in the school context, but does not sufficiently prepare them for the decisive step of implementation” (ibid. 167, our translation).

Against this backdrop, the inclusion of multilingualism in a training programme aimed at promoting language learning, among other things, seems to make sense.

4.3 The political perspective

In a political perspective, the Ministry for Culture, Youth and Sport Baden-Württemberg offers different programmes and support for refugees and immigrants. It also offers a variety of support for teachers in the scope of the LADECI project.

One perspective, which we consider especially important, is the one of vocational training for adolescents with no or low proficiency in a country’s official language. As we focus on young people between 14 and 16 years of age, we might consider this perspective as well.

At the Institute for Religious Education in Freiburg (Germany), the project “Year of preparation for occupation without German language skills”²³ offer support for RE teachers in vocational schools to pupils with no/low ability in German. This project is linked to an initiative by the Ministry for Culture, Youth and Sport Baden-Württemberg.

23 VABO: Vorbereitungsjahr Arbeit/Beruf ohne Deutschkenntnisse.

The teaching materials and the professional development courses for teachers have a focus on, among other things, social, legal and political themes and topics in Religious Education, for example equal rights/gender roles, religious liberty etc. They also offer supervision for (RE) teachers coping with the past situation of their pupils.

4.4 Messages, concerns and recommendations

The purpose of this section is to report on the main messages, concerns and recommendations made by German institutions regarding language acquisition and political education for young immigrants and refugees. Some recommendations and comments could be applied for general target groups in both topics. The report focuses its attention in the current needs of educational staff, and general recommendations for teachers who work with refugee adolescents.

4.4.1 Language Acquisition

According to the Action Committee for Education, teachers in Germany are facing challenges in schools due to the high influx of refugee children and adolescents. Among the most pressing necessities to be solved, is the emphasised that teachers must be trained to cope with diversity in classrooms, and be able to individualise learning experiences in such contexts. Additionally, teachers require specific knowledge of second language acquisition, and awareness about psychological and educational challenges for children with traumatic experiences. Taking this into account, the curricula of teacher training at universities and subsequent practical training must address diversity of learners, inclusion, language-sensitive subject teaching, and German as a foreign language.²⁴

On the part of the Federal Students Conference, a stronger focus is needed in the pedagogical and didactic modules of professional development programmes, with emphasis in practical competences to prepare educating staff for everyday situations. Aspects of integration and inclusion should be thoroughly integrated into the preparation of teachers as a basis for everyday life in school. Topics about sexual and gender diversity should also be included in professional development, in order to improve the sensibility of teachers toward students, and serve as an example for their pupils.²⁵

Despite current efforts in Germany, there is still a need to coherently and comprehensively map common standards for curricula of teachers' education, and to achieve a high level of vocational field-based and evidence-based teacher education. There is also a need for further reinforcement in the coherence of the different training phases. Furthermore, regardless of the consistent assertion about the importance of continuous training in Germany, there are still few binding requirements for teachers. Requirements regarding continuing vocational training are determined by Federal States. In general, there are no clear stipulations (with

²⁴ http://www.aktionsrat-bildung.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/ARB_Gutachten_Integration_gesamt_mit_Cover.pdf (Page 201)

²⁵ https://lsaberlin.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Positionspapier_BSK_Lehramtsausbildung_Flensburg_13.05.2017.pdf

some exceptions) about how many training courses and over what period of time should be completed by educational staff.²⁶

The findings suggest so far that, given the existing framework conditions (little obligation, freedom of content, no common standards), teachers prefer to stick to their existing interests. For example, secondary education teachers are more interested in continuing education in topics such as language acquisition, teaching methodologies and reading literacy. In the overall picture, less interest is shown in topics such as promotion of children and adolescents with migration experiences, internal differentiation, support for low-learning students, or intercultural education.²⁷

Vocational training and further educational programmes for teachers are very wide and arbitrary, that is, further education often depends on the needs expressed by teachers and their particular interests. In addition, supply and demand are recorded at the level of Federal States, and training is carried out locally. Due to the large number of content and topics, there has been hitherto a lack of common comparable standards. Therefore, it is currently difficult to determine the number of training courses aimed at supporting students with migration and fleeing experiences, and the needs of teachers. Lastly, there is an urgent need of research in terms of the description of the current situation of professional development and the effects of training in practice.²⁸

According to contemporary research, the primary task lies in the rapid and competent acquisition of the German language by adolescents. This is a prerequisite for almost all other promotional measures in the education system. Improving language proficiency increases the chance of integration of immigrants, especially those of Muslim faith. Due to the increased flow of immigrants, a sufficient offer of transitional classes and support courses is required. Financial resources are needed to implement these integration efforts.²⁹

There is also a lack of qualified educational staff for this age group. This requires consistent education of teachers and training measures. Instructors should be able to attend courses they deem necessary for their needs and subjects. Moreover, teachers should be encouraged to attend courses on German as a second language, and dealing with diversity in the classroom. Teachers require the support of assistants, who could get qualified outside of the formal teachers' programme, bringing the flexibility needed in current conditions. Participation of young people with immigration and fleeing experiences as refugees should be included as volunteers or learning assistants. Volunteers should be able to express themselves in German, and to be actively involved in classrooms activities and cooperative forms of learning.³⁰

Furthermore, teachers need to be aware of the level of technical language they use in their lessons and work assignments, and must adapt their vocabulary depending on the language

26 http://www.aktionsrat-bildung.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/ARB_Gutachten_Integration_gesamt_mit_Cover.pdf
(Page 196)

27 http://www.aktionsrat-bildung.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/ARB_Gutachten_Integration_gesamt_mit_Cover.pdf
(Page 202)

28 Ibid

29 http://www.aktionsrat-bildung.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/ARB_Gutachten_Integration_gesamt_mit_Cover.pdf
(Page 201)

30 http://www.aktionsrat-bildung.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/ARB_Gutachten_Integration_gesamt_mit_Cover.pdf
(Page 202)

competences of their pupils. This requires a systematic training of teachers of all school levels. Topics such as multilingualism and German as a second language should be compulsory in universities that provide training for future teachers.³¹

The Action Committee for Education of Deutschland makes the following suggestions:

- The primary duty of educational staff is to counter negative stereotypes about immigrants, as prejudices represent a threat to effective learning and the performances of all pupils.
- Educational staff should promote an optimistic learning attitude among immigrant students and enhance their learning motivation through informative, honest and encouraging feedback.
- Beside the standard institutional requirements, instructors should offer challenging learning tasks to immigrant students. Pupils perceive this positively as their self-esteem and confidence increases, making the learning process more effective³².

Following recommendations are presented by the Robert Bosch Expert Commission on the Reorientation of Refugee Policy:

- Voluntary language teaching initiatives, especially for Syrian refugees, should be systematically supported by public funds. Prerequisites for support must observe the quality of the offers. Voluntary teachers should have the opportunity to enter further education programmes that enable them to teach German as a foreign or second language. Community involvement could be stimulated through a co-financing model, where every donated euro is matched by four euros granted by public funds.
- Federal states and local authorities should build volunteer networks and try alternative integration projects. Retired teachers of German language should be activated in their communities to provide language education in order to reduce workload for teachers. Language education for refugee families can be supplemented simultaneously to adults and children. Parents and children could learn partially together.³³

4.4.2 Political Education

Democracy is characterised by an open society, where a variety of opinions, political concepts in competition, and multiple world views coexist. Additionally, an essential feature of democracy is the participation of citizens in the political process, either via referendums, being elected, voting, or in public demonstrations. The subject “Political Education” creates essential prerequisites for a participation of quality in democratic societies. Through political education, young people are encouraged to orient themselves within the political spectrum. They could also critically reflect on political perspectives, assess them and make up their own

31 Ibid

32 http://www.aktionsrat-bildung.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/ARB_Gutachten_Integration_gesamt_mit_Cover.pdf
(Page 257)

33 http://www.bosch-stiftung.de/sites/default/files/publications/pdf_import/Kommissionsbericht_Fluechtlingspolitik_Sprache.pdf
(Pages 17-19)

judgments. Additionally, young people could benefit from political education by honing their presentation, argumentative and analytical skills, and learning how to express their opinions and represent them properly.

Political maturity requires political knowledge. Politically educated youngsters develop a critical view of current social events, which are not always addressed in the planned curricula in schools. The subject of political education has the task to bring up current issues and controversies in “real time” to make them visible and understandable. Teachers should not presume “correct” views. Rather, it is their job to offer different positions, analysing the views and interests of political actors, and explaining the different perspectives from which an issue could be observed. Moreover, dealing with controversial topics plays an important role in reflecting upon one’s own views and prejudices.³⁴

In spite of all this, the subject of political education is only one element, although essential, of teaching democratic values in schools. Democratic education should permeate all subjects and educational spaces throughout the life of students. Democracy must be experienced as a way of life, rather than an abstract concept.

Value formation is an essential part of interdisciplinary competence development. It takes place in individuals who are actively engaged with their environment, and in the course of socialisation and education. A student who is formed in democratic values has the ability to deal constructively with different, and even competing values. Youngster could manage conflicts more productively making use of reflection, communication, understanding of other values, and dialogue. Hence, young people learn how to justify perspectives in an affirmative way or to reject them, and make conscious decisions using arguments.³⁵ Being competent as a democratic actor includes the ability to endure in conflicts, cope with tense situations, and settle them in a peaceful, fair and cooperative way. Peaceful resolution of conflicts requires a bundle of skills and competences, such as empathy, clear communication, and the ability to consider different perspectives. Other competences include the ability to establish good and sustainable relationships, the ability to work together, awareness of multicultural and socio-economic dimensions of societies, as well as understanding the difference between value systems of different religions or ethnic groups.

Based on the former discussion, the State Institute for Schools and Media of Berlin-Brandenburg (LISUM) points out that many educators are concerned with democratic value formation, but is still rare to see political education as a cross-sectional issue in everyday education. That is meant to be changed, since the formation of social and democratic behaviors in an increasingly more and more diverse society is crucial and conforms the base for any democratic bargain. In order to support teachers in Berlin, the institute has prepared curricular material on topics like anti-Semitism, Salafism and a practical guide to deal with Islamist violence in classrooms.³⁶

As a source of interesting empirical examples, the Kreuzberg Initiative against anti-Semitism (KIga) in Berlin has implemented projects to reduce prejudices and appreciate diversity. Their

34 <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/studienfoerderung/13881.pdf> (Page 51)

35 <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/studienfoerderung/13881.pdf> (Page 53-54)

36 <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/studienfoerderung/13881.pdf> (Page 55)

experience provides insightful recommendations to advance political education programmes with migrants and refugee adolescents. In order to actualise their projects, the initiative set as their main objective to find out what are the needs for political education among young migrants, and the challenges that teachers face dealing with political topics while teaching German as a foreign language. Additionally, the team was seeking to revise or develop new methods for specific target groups, namely: young refugees. The research team interviewed educational staff and refugee adolescents, observed educative spaces such as language classes in primary schools, and “Welcome classes” in high schools.

Among the results, many teachers perceive a “diffuse” need for political education in class, but they are not able to meet this need by themselves. Additionally, teachers report some difficulties in welcome classes, for example, the presence of anti-Semitic resentments, youth refugees facing prejudices themselves, as well as racial discrimination and conflict among them.³⁷

More specifically, “Welcome classes” are challenging for educators. Teachers have identified two main difficulties regarding class conditions, which are also relevant for political educators: 1) the low level of German language skills; 2) the heterogeneity of the learning group given by different nationalities, languages and ethnic backgrounds, and a large age range that oscillates between 12 and 18 years.³⁸ In addition, some teachers reported on their concern about how to deal with traumatised pupils.

As a general recommendation, the initiative points out that political education projects work better with the help of language mediators and translators. Teachers must revise their pedagogical concepts and materials, or develop new ones in order to accommodate classes to students of different maturities, languages, levels of education and prior thematic knowledge. Despite the difficulties mentioned above, some of the teachers tried to introduce historical and political topics or to talk about religion in their language lessons. During these lessons, the research team was able to experience the difficulties teachers and students struggle with, especially related to language barriers, strong prejudices and emotions, and apathy.³⁹

In order to stimulate the discussion about political and historical education with young refugees, the KIgA initiative proposes the following theses which are the result of field work analysis, scientific research, own practice experience -in Welcome classes and with unaccompanied minor refugees, and other practical experience and perspectives carried out by the team⁴⁰:

- Refugees are not a homogeneous group. They are extremely diverse.
- Specific biographical and social experiences of students must be taken into account in class, and connect political topics with their lives.
- Value multilingualism of the target groups and address language challenges in a creative manner.

37 http://www.kiga-berlin.org/uploads/Discover_Diversity.pdf (Page 34)

38 Ibid

39 http://www.kiga-berlin.org/uploads/Discover_Diversity.pdf (Page 37)

40 http://www.kiga-berlin.org/uploads/Discover_Diversity.pdf (Page 48-50)

- The social situation of refugees is precarious. Many suffer from mental stress, and, despite the state and civil society's widespread welcome culture, the lives of many refugees are shaped by racist experiences.
- Knowledge must be oriented towards the host country and the host society.
- Young adults with fleeing and migration experiences should be integrated as multipliers and language mediators in the educational process.
- Refugees are acting subjects that must be met at eye level.
- Learning objectives should not be rigid. Political education work should be flexible and process-oriented. In addition to imparting the contents of political and historical-political education and skills, it is also about strengthening the cohesion in class, for example, consideration towards weaker or new classmates. Dealing with different perspectives on politics and history poses a challenge for pupils, especially if they have already experienced other forms of historical education.
- Missing curricula and teaching materials are both a challenge and an opportunity. Extracurricular competences can complement school education. Moreover, the lack of a standard curricula for history and politics in welcome classes creates the possibility to integrate educational measures in different formats such as individual workshops, project school days or seminar weeks. Political education should be a subject of instruction in welcome classes. Teachers need further education and support in the form of suitable teaching materials and didactic concepts.
- Political education classes should focus on understanding, and the creation of spaces for open discussion. Paternalism and indoctrination should be avoided.

From their part, the Federal Students Conference proclaims explicit support for a subject dealing extensively with politics and social issues. This subject should be taught in all school levels across Germany, and should be used to analyse in depth current events in the political sphere. In order to provide lessons and discussions of high academic quality, educational staff should be trained in a comprehensible way in topics dealing with culture, religion, and effects of international displacement. Teacher training must contain as a mandatory subject German as foreign language. Additionally, the subject of German must be taught in a way that teachers are qualified to deal with posttraumatic disorders that students might suffer.⁴¹

As a final remark, it is important for pupils with immigration background to appreciate their own cultural origin, and combine this process with the perception and acceptance of the values and social practices of the host society. The same goes for students without a migration background. The acceptance of the other group not only strengthens mutual understanding, but also promotes a tolerant and open environment in schools.⁴²

⁴¹https://saberlin.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Pressemitteilung_und_Positionspapier_Gefl%C3%BCchtete_und_Schule_BSK_Hannover_2015-12-13.pdf

⁴² Ibid

4.5 Media Accounts

The purpose of this section is to report on projects and approaches related to language acquisition and democratic citizenship published in local and national media. The research was conducted online and focused on newspaper and magazine articles. Most of the articles are dated from September 2017 and February 2018, and cover stories in at least six federal states of Germany⁴³.

4.5.1 Language Acquisition

In numerous places in Germany it is reported that a growing number of children in kindergarten and schools (especially primary schools) struggle with the German language⁴⁴. The percentage of children that don't or rarely speak German at home depends on the area they live⁴⁵ ⁴⁶. In some schools these children are in the majority (for example in every tenth primary school in North Rhine-Westphalia). In Berlin and Bremen this is the case in 40 percent of all schools⁴⁷. This phenomenon does not only consider newly arrived refugee children, but also children that were born in Germany, whose first language is not German. At the same time, the fact that Germany is facing a shortage of teachers and educators, is adding a burden to the situation in educational institutions. Even if the educational staff is qualified to support language learning, which is not always the case, there is not enough time to work with the children and give them the support they would need to improve their language skills⁴⁸. In the overall media coverage this is described as a huge problem. The necessity of language support is beyond question.

Therefore, special programmes like "Sprach-Kitas"⁴⁹ (language-kindergartens), where kindergartens get qualified experts on German as a second language are assessed as good⁵⁰. Not all children in Germany visit the kindergarten though. To improve the educational opportunities, which is directly linked to language learning, the Berlin Senate invites children that are not visiting a kindergarten to a language test. If the result shows major gaps concerning the language skills, the children are obligated to visit an 18-month course to improve their language skills before starting school. The problem is that only a small percentage of children that are invited show up for the test and also only 12 percent of children, who fail the test, take the course. To change this situation payment of fines is being discussed⁵¹. The media links language skills with integration⁵² and being part of the German society.

43 Articles report on the following cities: Essen, Husum, Duisburg, Siegburg, Salzgitter-Bad, Bautzen, Bonn, Berlin, München.

44 <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/integration-an-manchen-schulen-bleiben-migrantenkinder-fast-unter-sich-a-1200736.html>

45 <https://www.waz.de/politik/schule-und-campus/viele-kita-kinder-in-oberhausen-sprechen-kaum-deutsch-id213862639.html>

46 <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/einschulung-in-berlin-alles-auf-anfang-31162618>

47 <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/integration-an-manchen-schulen-bleiben-migrantenkinder-fast-unter-sich-a-1200736.html>

48 https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/kitas-und-grundschulen-warum-die-sprachfoerderung-auf-der.1001.de.html?dram:article_id=415495

49 <https://sprach-kitas.fruehe-chancen.de/programm/ueber-das-programm/>

50 <https://www.haz.de/Hannover/Aus-der-Stadt/Uebersicht/Region-Hannover-finanziert-ihre-Sprachfoerderung-im-Kindergarten-zukuenftig-selbst>

51 <https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article213929555/Kita-Sprachfoerderung-fuer-kleine-Kinder-greift-nicht.html>

52 <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/integration-an-manchen-schulen-bleiben-migrantenkinder-fast-unter-sich-a-1200736.html>

Several reported initiatives are directed towards “tolerated refugees”, meaning refugees who are in Germany but have not received a permanent resident status. According to the law, people who find themselves labelled under this status are not allowed to attend language or integration courses. For this group it is particularly difficult to access language acquisition and they will be “slowly but surely detached from society”⁵³. This is described as a problematic considering that learning the language is a key factor, if not the most important, in a sustainable integration process.

To counter the effects of this situation some institutions like deaconries and adult education centres offer German courses supported only on volunteer work⁵⁴. These courses are usually provided in the lodging facilities where refugees live. Local educational authorities recognise the help of the communities and the State but require more financial support and patience to see successful results.

Some local NGOs provide intermediation services between refugees and German citizens who act as “godfathers” or “sponsors” in the frame of language partnerships⁵⁵. There is a sense of “great disposition” among citizens to help refugees with language needs. NGO directors consider the support very meaningful and volunteers’ companionship essential. Specially during the summer many free time activities are organised with kids where the main goal is learning German. These partnerships are possible within the project “People strengthen people” an initiative of the Federal Government.

Additionally, some projects work only with refugee children who don’t have access to kindergartens or nursery schools. These projects aim at preparing children for primary school in many facets including language acquisition but also an introduction to the rules found in schools⁵⁶. One way to introduce children to the German school culture is through popular games, leading to a familiarity with social norms that facilitate the integration process. Many volunteers who work in these projects used to be refugee children themselves, now as adults they recognise the importance of such activities from an early age.

Regarding projects that maximise available human capital, we find examples in which refugees who worked as school teachers in their countries of origin are trained to be educational assistants. On the one hand, these projects help relieve the burden on schools and make it easier for refugee students to integrate. On the other hand, they provide refugees with opportunities to find access to the labour market.

In one example, the training is composed of a three-month internship in classrooms where trainees contribute to bridge communication gaps between refugee children, native children and teachers. Then, with improved German language skills, the project participants begin their training as “educational staff”. This course is designed to engage participants at schools two days a week in order to learn how pedagogical theory is applied in practice by German teachers. This pilot is described as “a contribution to a successful integration”⁵⁷. The pilot will

53 <https://www.shz.de/lokales/husumer-nachrichten/spagat-fuer-den-spracherwerb-id18796981.html>

54 <https://www.swp.de/suedwesten/staedte/reutlingen/weihnachtsueberraschung-fuer-gefluechtete-24477496.html>

55 https://rp-online.de/nrw/staedte/duisburg/sprachpaten-sind-wichtige-helfer-bei-der-integration_aid-17691975

56 <http://www.general-anzeiger-bonn.de/region/sieg-und-rhein/siegburg/Fl%C3%BChtlingskinder-im-Kreis-werden-auf-die-Schule-vorbereitet-article3631706.html>

57 <https://regionalsalzgitter.de/start-in-den-lehrberuf-lehrer-auf-der-schulbank/>

last for three years. The political authorities are already discussing its prolongation and replication.

There is an additional pilot project with similar goals known as “Teachers Plus”. This pilot also provides formal education to refugee teachers in order to reinforce school staff. The availability and motivation of this human capital is recognised as a unique opportunity by local authorities in charge of integration, and school directors of schools. Most of the trainees come from Afghanistan, Turkey and Syria. Priority subjects are math, chemistry, languages, physics and sports. Again, the pilot is considered as a win-win situation, providing benefits for professional refugees, refugee children and schools facing personnel shortages⁵⁸.

Additional ideas reported on media outlets emphasise the support and training that teachers need before taking on classes with refugee children. It is also reported that refugee children should start school as soon as possible after they enter the country because school represents a “tremendously stabilising factor in children's lives”. Children should not be treated in a “special way” but as new classmates. It sounds obvious but friendships are the most important thing to ensure a well-integrated child⁵⁹.

Lastly, a relevant outcome from the evaluation of “Welcome Classes” is that if students are immediately integrated into the regular lessons, after teachers give them essential vocabulary, refugee children start speaking German with native classmates⁶⁰. If, on the other hand, children stay longer in the welcome classes they are perceived by the German students as outsiders making integration more difficult.

4.5.2 Democratic Citizenship Education

Articles reporting on the current public discussion about the importance of political education in schools are particularly relevant for our purpose. After the “PISA shock” in Germany, the majority of high schools have directed their teaching efforts to the subjects of natural sciences, math and informatics. The so called “hard sciences” dominate the curricula which means an “abandonment of the humanities” as expressed by the former director of the Office for Political Education in Saxony.

Political education has been neglected in Saxony for many years. Nevertheless, the subject is experiencing a rebirth recently. Members of the government coalition consider this an important topic in face of the rise of populist movements and the lack of discussion about social issues in the classrooms. Experts point out that politics should be discussed in the classrooms and social controversies should be reflected and analysed in schools. Political education is essential for students so they are capable to solve their own affairs within the norms of a democratic school culture⁶¹.

Some sceptics from the right of the political spectrum point out that such class experiments might be “dangerous” and there is certain resistance on behalf of the teachers regarding the

58 <https://www.waz.de/politik/nach-der-flucht-ins-klassenzimmer-id213178607.html>

59 <http://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/fluechtlingskinder-an-schulen-was-lehrer-und-eltern-tun-koennen-a-1080432.html>

60 <http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2017-09/integration-fluechtlinge-bilanz-migrationsforschung/seite-2>

61 <http://www.taz.de/!5471630/>

responsibility of undertaking an additional task. Consultants of the State Ministry of Education are optimistic about finding support for the initiative, meaning the introduction of a political education class in the curricula, as long as the importance of political education is recognised and accepted.

This “rebirth” of political and democratic education seems almost necessary according to school teachers, political scientists and educators. Students are less and less aware of history and politics. For example, according to a study of the Free University of Berlin conducted in 2012: Up to 60% of students of 9th and 10th grade cannot distinguish between a democratic and a dictatorial regime, and only 50 percent of students consider Nazi Germany as a dictatorship⁶². Once again, since the PISA results, languages and science have become particularly important in schools, but subjects like history and politics are in decline.

Some teachers think that the classes should be more about developing a “healthy mistrust” in order to preserve German democracy. The study of these subjects would become more important than ever due to the appearance of populist movements which promise simple and radical solution to complex problems.

A study about democratic education in schools shows that democratic education isn’t considered to be a high priority for most of the teachers (only 4 percent). Therefore, only a small number of students has the chance to participate in a process in school, for example in school student parliaments⁶³. Official positions are differentiated throughout the Federal States. The Ministry of Culture of Bavaria sees no possibility of more History lessons in the curricula, and instead demands more enthusiasm and effort from the teachers. In Berlin, the director of the city high schools has raised his voice against the plan of the Ministry of Education of Berlin pertaining the introduction of the subject of political education to the regular study plan mainly because the subject has to be graded apart from other humanities, and because from the 10th grade students will have an additional hour of class per week, which means a heavier workload for teachers⁶⁴.

Following the recommendation of the School Committee of the State, the Ministry of Education of Berlin wants to revalidate the subject of political education and make it a permanent graded subject in high schools. The main reason behind the measure is to provide students with knowledge and political consciousness since pupils have shown deficiencies in topics like separation of powers of the State and the European Union. The Committee of Teachers of Berlin announced the possibility of accepting this “contingent measure” in exchange of a raise in payment⁶⁵. At the end of January of 2018 several newspapers from Berlin reported on the decision of the Ministry of Education that the subject of political education is obligatory for all high school students from the school year of 2019/2020 onwards^{66 67 68}. In the State of Thuringia, the Minister of Culture also calls for more

62 https://www.br.de/br-fernsehen/sendungen/kontrovers/videos/geschichte-unterricht-bildung-schule-100-_node-b4afee8a-3c26-45d2-b309-9a77e4821d55_-5f8f220bf4e207c00c7083f149712d3e41d3d416.html

63 <https://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/schule/lehrer-umfrage-zu-wenig-demokratieunterricht-in-der-schule-a-1238410.html>

64 <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/politische-bildung-leiter-der-berliner-gymnasien-lehnen-neues-schulfach-ab-29475426>

65 <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/politische-bildung-leiter-der-berliner-gymnasien-lehnen-neues-schulfach-ab-29475426>

66 <https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article213214377/Politik-wird-zum-Pflichtfach-an-Berliner-Schulen.html>

67 <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik/neues-fach--an-berliner-schulen-wird-es-wieder-politisch-29552494>

68 <https://bildungsklick.de/schule/meldung/berlin-staerkt-das-schulfach-politische-bildung/>

democracy education in the schools with a focus on democracy building, specially teaching children how to dialogue and convince others with arguments⁶⁹. In Saxony the Government also wants to strengthen democratic education. The teachers and school directors should all visit courses about democratic education. This should also become part of the study, obligatory for the students that want to become teachers. In East-Germany there was a critical distance towards democratic educations, because of the experience with the SED- Regime⁷⁰.

Outside of the classrooms there are some initiatives to provide political education for refugees. In Bonn, for example, the pilot project "Giving refugees a chance" financed through the federal programme "Living Democracy" seeks to encourage refugees to take part in codetermination and personal responsibility initiatives developing opportunities for active participation in democratic processes. The ultimate goal is that refugees create their own social and political networks and groups, and activate them to become independent actors in the political sphere⁷¹.

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⁶⁹ <http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/schule/kultusministerkonferenz-mehr-demokratie-bildung-an-schulen-54343102.bild.html>

⁷⁰ <http://www.taz.de/!5504100/>

⁷¹ <http://sondershausen.thueringer-allgemeine.de/web/sondershausen/startseite/detail/-/specific/Lokale-Partnerschaft-fuer-Demokratie-wird-gefoerdert-958486635>

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5 Denmark

Rikke Osbahr Ebsen and Christian Quvang

5.1 Introduction

With this paper our purpose is to give an overview of important issues related to LADECI and hereby contribute to both design and content in this collaborative project. After a short introduction with focus on the present political approach to the core elements in the project – citizenship and literacy follows a more in-depth presentation of important and hence relevant research related to the LADECI project. Finally, this paper will point to some possible contributions, developed as tools etc. in the research department at UC SOUTHERN DENMARK. With this paper our aim is to present an informative picture of recent developments and the actual status in Denmark regarding these topics.

5.2 Political agenda and status; now and in the near future

In 1980 the number of inhabitants in Denmark was 5,1 million and in 2018 the number is 5,8 million. In 1980 the number of inhabitants with other than Western background was 50,000, whereas today in 2018 it is almost 500,000 people which is approximately 8.5 percent of the total population. The total number of students in the Danish Folkeskole amounts to 548,000 in 2016/2017.

In year 2015, 2016 and 2017 the percentage of children included in the common organised teaching and classes has been consistent on a level which equal to 95 percent after the Danish Government in 2012 made a strong decision on the level of inclusion measured in numbers.⁷²

The number of students with other than Danish background in the Danish school grew from approximately 30,000 in 1992 to 60,000 in 2012. The number of students with other than Danish background in school is 10,5 percent in 2017 whilst the percentage of teachers with other than Danish background is 2,4 percent.

The number of schools with more than 40 percent students with multilanguage background is increasing in certain areas of the urban parts of the country but seems unstable due to local policies for distributing students to other schools than the local, due to a ‘spreading’ policy.

Already in 2017, the Minister of Education Merete Riisager concluded that the Danish school system had failed including and supporting non-Western students. The Ministry of Education has collected several results showing that as early as when children are one-and-a-half-year-old, they are doing poorer in literacy and the poor results seem to continue throughout school years and years in further education even though they are born in Denmark. The survey also

72 <https://www.uvm.dk/statistik/grundskolen/elever/specialundervisning>

shows the importance of teachers-parents collaboration and setting up specific expectations for parents' responsibility in supporting their children.

In Denmark there is a lot of focus on certain areas in the larger cities named as “ghettos” and in 2017 the number of those areas was 22. On March 1, 2018 the ruling liberal government issued a political agenda intended to battle the so called ‘parallel societies’ across Denmark. In the programme for the agenda it is stated that the government wants “... *a coherent Denmark ... that builds on democratic values as freedom and justice, equality and broadmindedness. Tolerance and equality. A Denmark where everybody participates actively*”.

This initiative is based on arguments related to results from four compulsory National Tests carried through in the year 2016/2017 where 212,720 students participated in the subject Literacy (Danish) and Reading and 108,363 students participated in math. The conclusion was that⁷³:

- Students with a non-Western background are making poorer results in the national tests in both Literacy, Reading and Math.
- The differences in test results between students with a Danish ethnic background and non-Western background is most massive amongst students with highly educated parents.
- Fewer non-Western background students achieve poor results in Literacy and Reading.

Another important benchmark regarding the multilingual issue is the PISA Ethnic 2015 test published in 2017 in the report “How Students With other background than Danish manage in the PISA test”. This test, covering students' academic skills, attitudes and expectations, focused on students with other background than Danish regarding the academic subjects in Science, Literacy and Math.⁷⁴

The results in this test showed that the gap in performance between students with other ethnic background than Danish being first generation migrants and Danish students had diminished compared to the level in 2012 from almost 1/3 in science to 1/4 in literacy and 1/8 in math. Compared to results in other Nordic countries the reduction in the performance gap was lower in Denmark, in almost all areas. The results for second generation migrants compared to Danish students were poorer as the gap in all three academic subjects was rather small, if any, and typically amounted to just a few points.

Another issue related to LADECI is the democratic and citizenship dimension. Related to this it could be relevant to make another reference to the above presented PISA 2015. In this test, the results concerning 'problem solving' and 'cooperation' showed good results for students in Danish schools, whereas just 10 countries out of 51 participating in the survey produced significantly better results than Danish girls and boys.

73 <https://uvm.dk/aktuelt/nyheder/uvm/2018/feb/180227-elever-af-ikke-vestlig-herkomst-halter-efter-i-de-nationale-test>

74 <https://www.kora.dk/media/6977513/10599-pisa-etnisk-2015.pdf>

Regarding school in general on a qualitative level there seems to be strong challenges related to distributing, organising and teaching in the field of ethnicity when it comes to student with a non-Western background. These challenges relate to various issues spanning from apparently lack of discipline, rough language, poor motivation for learning, teachers with lack of education in the area of teaching with ethnicity as a resource and also missing knowledge about didactics when it comes to Special Educational Needs (SEN).

5.3 Research Status in Denmark, important examples with relevance for LADECI

In Denmark there is and has always been a strong focus on democracy and how this idea is supported. A study by the ICCS (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) on research on Democracy – knowledge and values among Danish students shows that Danish pupils have a high score, when it comes to knowledge about politics and democratic values, but also new-comers to Denmark have a high score in knowledge about democracy compared to other countries (see Henriksen). This knowledge is not limited to a theoretical level, but also followed by possibilities for implementation in school practices. Beneath, a few examples of local and national activities will be presented.

Sct. Nicolai school is a public school, with a systematic frame where they put democratic citizenship in the time-schedule, 45 minutes a week. The focusing is on learning through democracy and not only about democracy. The pupils practice democratic processes: free speech and decision making. The pupils are in charge, they have to make an agenda for the meeting, choose a leader and a referent. The classes on different levels make suggestions on practical issues in school. For instance, how to arrange the school's annual "Exercise day". The pupils learn to accept one another and show respect to different opinions. They see that they have a voice, and that they can influent on their environment. Skills, that are useful in becoming a democratic citizen.

Philosophy with children P4C, is a concept increasingly spreading in Denmark. P4C is a concept that encourages children to think and reason in groups. Furthermore, it helps children, particularly those facing disadvantage, to become lifelong learners – motivated for participation. Finally, it encourages children to think and reason as a group, according to Lipmann thinking skills: creative thinking, critically thinking, caring thinking, collaborative thinking. The approach is⁷⁵:

- Warm up – Creating a good atmosphere, getting comfortable with one another
- Stimulus – Making the pupils curious, wondering... Pictures, movies – connecting to something that the children have experience with, find important. For instance, the topic "Friendship".
- Pupils and teacher cooperate finding a philosophical question. Write the question.

75 Read more here: <http://www.filosofipatruljen.dk/> inspired by: <https://www.sapere.org.uk/>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OJb1COYPHZsk/>

- Conversation – not a discussion. Sitting in a circle. Rules: Be yourself, ask good question (be curious on the subject), Listen – be present, take your time to think, It is ok to doubt, try to argument.
- Summary

At last, it should be mentioned that the Ministry of teaching has launched a campaign, a national week called “Developing democracy” where schools are encouraged to work with democracy.⁷⁶

5.3.1 Literacy, bilingual and intercultural practices and experiences in Denmark

Non-Danish speaking children get an introduction to the Danish language and school system by starting in a reception class. The pupil can also start in an ordinary class, with support in the Danish language. A reception class is a class with less pupils (6-7), all being non-Danish speaking. The reception classes are placed in public schools.

To identify what is best for the student, a teacher will uncover the student’s skills, in languages as well as in literacy and numeracy, in a conversation with the parents and the student. After this, the teacher will recommend either an ordinary class with support, or a reception class. The aim of the basic teaching in the reception class is to get the pupils to participate in a mainstream class. This basic teaching has a strong focus on language and Danish school culture.⁷⁷

Regarding linguistic development the focus is on the value of cooperation with the teacher in the mainstream classes. The importance of and supporting the transition from the reception class to ordinary class is highlighted, e.g. there is a focus on basic words, wordlists that pupils use in the transition.⁷⁸

In a large project from the Danish organisation “Red barnet” called “From refuge to school” the focus is on mentally issues concerning refugee children and a strong focus on objectives for the reception classes. How to strengthen the children’s skills, to notice and understand their own feelings, to gain confidence and the feeling of belonging are just examples. Another example is through focus on how to interfere in social connections and how to train children’s cognitive ability to remember and understand emotions and translate them to language.

Teachers demands for help, to meet and cope with the children’s challenges, is also an important theme. The project also focuses on developing teaching materials – for instance movies, that talks to the children beyond linguistic barriers. A pivotal perspective in the project focusses on developing workshops for parents, based on the assumption and experience that cooperation with parents is crucial to obtain a positive relation between all agents.

76 On the website you find ideas and materials: <http://demokratiunderudvikling.de>

77 Look for more on: www.emu.dk or the website from the Danish Ministry of Education, with curriculum and guidelines for teaching practice. <https://www.emu.dk/omraade/gsk-l%C3%A6rer>

78 <https://skoleliv.dk/nyheder/art6236773/Millionprojekt-skal-hj%C3%A6lpe-flygtningeb%C3%B8rn-i-modtageklasser> -

Finally, in this overview on relevant initiatives in Denmark we would like to mention the project "Signs of Language – a 10 years research- and development programme".

The programme is a collaboration between a number of University Colleges, universities and municipalities. A fellow follows five classes across the country from kindergarten to 9th grade. The overall objective for the programme is to gain knowledge and insight into the literacy of bilingual students and to develop reading and writing pedagogy.⁷⁹

Literacy and bilingual teaching and activities in refugee and migrant centres is another important topic. Like a number of other European countries, Denmark has also received a number of refugees and migrants in the last couple of years. When children arrive in Denmark with or without their family they are entitled to be housed in asylum centres for a period of time. In 2016 41 percent of the asylum seekers were children. In the biggest asylum centres these children attended an internal kindergarten or school, although in some centres this will take place at the local school. After some time and when these children are capable of understanding the Danish language on a sufficient level they will start in the local school in reception classes. In the Danish school the children will not receive lessons in their mother tongue.

5.4 Summary – Barriers and possibilities in a Danish perspective

As stated above there are many research projects and experiences of great value from Denmark with relevance for the LADECI project. The contribution could focus on indicators pointing at challenges and dilemmas and hence barriers and possibilities could be an interesting outset for setting up both national but also common joint projects and initiatives within the LADECI project and the collaborative countries. To share experiences and perspectives in the group of participators in this project could be fruitful for obtaining ideas and innovation for further development of how to cope with the European challenge regarding teaching refugees and migrants not just literacy and math but also democracy and citizenship.

In UC Southern Denmark, the Department for Research, Innovation and Development and in The National Research Centre for Inclusive Practice a couple of projects could contribute to how to work with both the content and structure for the LADECI project. Specially two projects could be of benefit for LADECI:

- Boys life on the edge... a report on what boys in an urban disadvantaged area are reflecting upon.
- Special Educational Needs and Practice in an Inclusive perspective.

In addition to these two other projects could perhaps contribute to structuring the LADECI project:

⁷⁹ Read more here: <https://ucc.dk/forskning/om-forskning-i-ucc/formidling-af-uccs-forskning/forskning-paa-hjemmesiden/tegn-pa-sprog>

- "Inkluderingshåndbogen" (in Danish) or "Index for Inclusion" in the 2012 edition written by Tony Booth and Mel Ainscow with many indicators and proposals for activities and actions related to academic subjects and curriculum.
- "Inclusion Compass" a tool for school management to work with inclusion based on cooperation with all stakeholders in school (see Appendix 1).

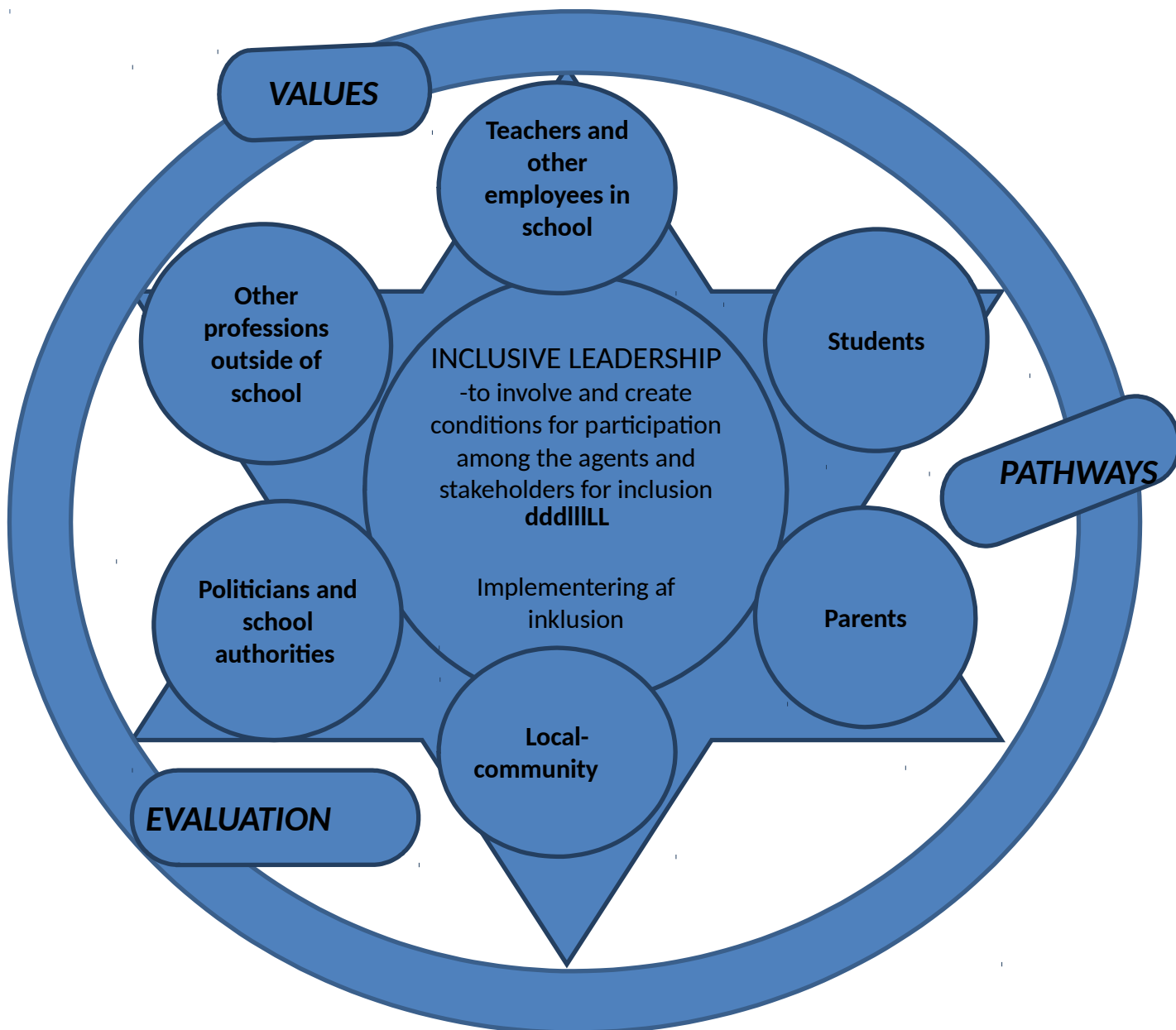
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Appendix 1

THE NVIE INCLUSION-COMPASS[®]

Direction and framework in a 360 degrees school management



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Comments; 'Pocket manual'*⁸⁰

Introduction

This way of working with inclusion is originally developed as a tool for school-management in Denmark. It is developed by NVIE or National Centre for Inclusive Research and Practice in collaboration with the board for The Danish School Leaders Association ("Skolelederforeningen"). In spite of this 'situated history' of the genesis of the compass, the compass can be useful in other connections. With the focus and objective on how to retain newly educated teachers in school, the agenda for inclusive schools indeed can be used as a template for the RETAIN project. Given the fact that inclusion is or should be an overall value in school it is obvious that the intention for inclusion also encompasses retaining newly educated teachers as well.

Using the NVIE Inclusion- Compass

To use this compass in the very complex process related to inclusion, one must realise that being a school manager or with responsibility for leading functions in school one has to take into account how the agents e.g. parents, students and employees, experience the process. The NVIE Inclusion-Compass is a way to work with and shift between different perspectives. For example when you look at a specific dilemma related to inclusion for a student and once having reflected about the pro and cons for solutions from the school management perspective you can change your perspective to the teacher agent perspective to reflect over the same dilemma, but now of course from the teacher perspective and so on. So once, to continue the example from above, having chosen the student perspective as one of the agent perspectives from the outset the next step working with the compass is to have a dialogue in the team of professionals on what VALUES it is possible to make an agreement about should be the basis for activities and decisions. And related to the values agreed on next step is to propose PATHWAYS on how to support the values and last but not least agree on how to EVALUATE to what degree the chosen values are fulfilled. The process is obviously related to the systemic paradigm and way of looking for unexpected knowledge and new ideas and ways of thinking, more than the process is focused on solutions and what to do the next time the dilemma pops up. Hence this process is a systemic loop which can go on and on with new values.

Working with the compass it is important to stress that reflections and dialogue never is a matter of convincing anyone or even 'get right'. Hence working with the compass must be based on a conversation and not a discussion.

VALUES

⁸⁰ The original material consists of a 12 pages booklet presentation of how to understand and use the compass. In the material there are references for every statement in the text which can be found in research etc. that justifies and documents. This documentation can be found on the homepage for the School Leader Association.

The values are the ethics that all professions must define as the frame for their inclusive actions and work, be it teaching, nursing or whatever.

PATHWAYS

To settle on pathways to obtain objectives for inclusion is related to methods based on theory and experience from practice and the research related.

EVALUATION

Working with inclusion makes it necessary to evaluate again and again focused on indicators for participation and diversity to settle new objectives.