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WHY *MULTILINGUAL MATTERS*
ALTERNATIVE CHANGE AGENTS IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY

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July 2014

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*The title of this paper can be read as a condensed form of the key question investigated in this report, namely Why multilingual matters are increasingly important in education. At the same time, it implies a reference to the international publisher Multilingual Matters whose titles focus exclusively on bilingualism, multilingualism and language (in) education.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Languages are powerful tools for change and have ceased to be only national symbols. In this focus paper, the overall question to be tackled is why and how the multilingual paradigm challenges nation-states and its institutions with a special focus on the domain of state education. While the former ideal monolingual citizen of the nation-state has been substituted by a multilingual intercultural speaker, top-down language education policies remain heavily influenced by monolingual ideologies and a preference for English as a foreign / global language. Departing from fresh approaches to linguistic diversity, this paper will analyze how a pluralistic society like Germany has dealt with the gusts of change through immigration, mobility and increasing linguistic, social, and cultural diversity in the past decades. It will furthermore be argued, that despite the official paradigm shift from regarding multilingualism as a problem to looking at (linguistic) diversity as a resource and potential for individuals and society, plurilingual children who grow up in families with a history of migration still do not have the same chances to succeed in the selective German educational system. Against this backdrop of institutional discrimination, the importance of alternative change agents will be highlighted who initiate valuable changes in language policy and educational settings in a bottom-up grassroots fashion. This ground-up push for pluralism will be illustrated by empirical evidence from an ongoing ethnographic monitoring study at an elementary school in urban Hanover. A number of key stakeholders like principals, parents and pupils will be identified and the impact of an alternative bilingual Turkish-German language program will be discussed.

Introduction

This analysis takes language policy as its core focus point and deals with one of the most challenging educational issues in the German educational system: segregated schools and educational achievement of immigrant children. As a result of large-scale workforce immigration since the 1960's, urban development in many large European cities has become highly stratified. Many working class immigrants are concentrated in inner suburbs of large urban centers creating ethnic 'ghettos' where immigrant populations are excluded from mainstream society on a structural basis. On the one hand, policy makers and opinion leaders in the society emphasize the necessity of socio-cultural and linguistic integration of immigrants, but, on the other hand, no concrete actions are taken to end urban segregation. Such segregated inner suburbs lead to segregated schools attended mostly by the lower social-economic status (SES) immigrant minority children (cf. Morris-Lange et al. 2013). Parents belonging to the mainstream society do not send their children to such 'ethnic' schools. In some countries like the Netherlands, these schools are even named 'black schools' showing the level of stigmatization surrounding such schools. Even policy makers do not hesitate to talk about 'white' versus 'black' schools. School achievement in such schools in poor suburbs is quite low. Instead of searching for the cause of failure elsewhere, some even blame the victims. Dronkers e.g. (2010) bases his arguments on the findings of the PISA study and claims that ethnic diversity in schools correlates to lower educational achievement. Instead of looking into crucial factors such as the facilities in the schools, the number of children in each class, teachers' qualifications and skills, the way identity is negotiated at school, parental involvement, the SES level of the parents and so forth, the 'color' of the school is taken

as the only variable to explain school failure. Such unfounded claims strengthen the prejudice among native parents against multicultural schools. Ethnic diversity and multilingualism become problems in the mainstream discourse, which leads to further 'white flight' from such schools, aggravating the harmful downward spiral they are stuck in.

Policy makers can take strong measures to deal with the high percentages of school failure in multiethnic schools; however, they also seem to be searching for the causes in ethnicity, religion, socio-cultural differences, insufficient integration levels, and in the home language of children. Dealing with linguistic differences and valuing the home languages of immigrant minority children might make a huge difference in their educational achievement. This requires a solid school language policy. It is usually the state institutions that do the planning by making use of a policy that is based on an ideology. According to Ricento, earlier research on language policy mostly dealt with governmental acts, whereas other relevant issues such as language choice, identity, socioeconomic structure and distribution of power in society were ignored (cf Ricento 2000: 200). Taking the discussion further, McCarty (2011: xii) emphasizes the complex and multi-layered nature of policy as "a situated socio-cultural process, the complex of practices, ideologies, attitudes and formal and informal mechanisms that influence people's choices in profound and pervasive everyday ways."

Social practices and individual choices are important dimensions of language policy research. There are of course different actors and agents in educational planning. Especially in centralized power structures, a single actor cannot make much difference. However, in a decentralized educational system such as the Federal Republic of Germany, a single school director can make a huge difference in the lives and educational careers of many children. Here we present a case study conducted at an elementary school in Hanover with valuable evidence regarding the transformation of a highly stigmatized 'ethnic' school into a high-achieving school. The study shows the value and the impact of institutional practices once again. Studying multilingualism among school populations without any reflection on the context of the situation and the institutional ideologies and practices would not reveal an accurate picture. Multilingualism research requires more than language use, choice and linguistic repertoire of individual children. The socio-cultural context, dominant ideology in the society regarding language use and the restrictions imposed on individuals need to be understood so that multilingual practices can be adequately described. The empirical evidence presented in the second part of this study provides a profound understanding of highly complex issues.

In order to contextualize the evidence presented in the second part, overall developments in the European contexts and specific national developments in the German context are presented in the first section. Many institutions in the European Union promote multilingualism, linguistic diversity and human rights; however, in some cases, national practices might fall short of European ideals and ambitions. The paper will first present a discussion on the effects of globalization and superdiversity on European discourse. Subsequently specific societal issues confronting German policy makers and schools are presented. The second part provides empirical evidence whereas the third part sums up the discussion by synthesizing the issues in the first two parts.

Effects of globalization and superdiversity on European nation-states

As a consequence of socio-economically and culturally determined processes of migration and minorization, the traditional patterns of language variation across Western Europe have changed considerably over the last decades. Most nation-states find it difficult to deal with the significant demographic changes they are faced with. Nation-state institutions not only want to retain their traditional structures but also want to strengthen their connection with old practice, local identity, and attachments. Faced with deep transformations in society, policy makers struggle to find adequate solutions to ever-pressing problems. Politicians and media might opt for the easy way out by simply blaming 'newcomers' as the cause of all social 'problems' but such unfounded simplistic accusations lead to growing anti-immigrant feelings and antagonism in the mainstream society, which turn out to be a serious threat to social cohesion in actuality.

Migration is taking new forms as diverse cultural, ethnic, racial, religious, and language groups move between borders much more freely. Especially in the EU, people move across national borders. Not only indigenous populations but also immigrant populations seek employment beyond national borders within the EU, which leads to increasing transnationalism. As the immigrant-receiving societies become more and more diverse, nation-states need to find adequate ways of dealing with this diversity. Public and educational institutions are challenged by this increasing diversity. Most nation-states in the EU are reluctant to consider themselves as multicultural societies. In some EU countries the explicit goal is the assimilation of newcomers. In France, for instance, if immigrants want to be full citizens they need to assimilate into the mainstream society. They are required to surrender their languages and cultures in order to become full citizens (Castles 2004, Archibald 2002). In Germany, on the other hand, on the basis of their blood-bond, the *Aussiedler* (ethnic Germans from Eastern European and former Soviet Union countries) are seen as a privileged group compared to other immigrants (Bühler-Otten & Fürstenau 2004). The issues of democratic citizenship, language rights of regional versus immigrant groups and social cohesion versus linguistic diversity are unresolved issues facing immigrant-receiving societies (see Extra & Yağmur 2004 for a detailed discussion). However, the gap between the democratic ideals in European nation-states and the daily educational experiences of immigrant minority groups in schools continue to challenge nation-state ideologies. Policy-makers still persistently ignore the *bottom-up* push for pluralism. Present language regimes in European schools mostly ignore immigrant languages. As indicated by Coulmas (2005), schools are where language regimes and their social effects are most in evidence and where it is most obvious that a language regime bears on both structure and use. The act of abolishing immigrant language instruction in primary schools in some EU countries shows that some languages are not yet admissible in the classroom and in the schoolyard. On the basis of the demographic and sociolinguistic evidence derived from this study, we agree with Coulmas (2005) that proscribing the use of immigrant minority languages will gradually become more difficult because pluralist language regimes will gradually take over the national language regimes.

It is important to note that while in many countries 'multilingual' regimes have been introduced (such as e.g. India or Spain) and language rights of minority populations have been recognized. Many

other states have a so-called 'rationalized' language regime which means a language has been imposed as the only language for educational and administrative purposes (cf. Laitin 2000 with reference to Weber 1968). In some multilingual contexts, some minority group members have neither the regional language nor the mainstream language as their mother tongue. Such speakers are often trilingual. For instance, Turkish speakers in Friesland in the Netherlands may be trilingual in Dutch, Fries, and Turkish. Yet, Turkish does not have any form of legal status in the mainstream society. Most immigrant minority communities within EU countries share this de facto multilingual position.

Multilingualism and European identity

Major changes in the form and type of international mobility have led to the development of concepts such as a transnational citizenship and transnational multiple identities. Inhabitants of Europe no longer identify exclusively with singular nation-states, instead give increasing evidence of multiple affiliations. At the EU level, the notion of a European identity was formally expressed for the first time in the *Declaration on European Identity* of December 1973 in Copenhagen. Numerous institutions and documents have propagated and promoted this idea ever since. The most concrete and tangible expressions of this idea to date have been the introduction of a European currency in 2002 and a European constitution in 2004. In discussing the concept of a European identity, Oakes (2001: 127–131) emphasizes that the recognition of the concept of multiple transnational identities is a prerequisite rather than an obstacle for the acceptance of a European identity. The recognition of multiple transnational identities not only occurs among the traditional inhabitants of European nation-states but also among newcomers to Europe.

Multiple transnational identities and affiliations will require new competences of European citizens in the 21st century. These include the ability to deal with increasing cultural diversity and heterogeneity (cf. Van Londen & De Ruijter 1999). Multilingualism can be considered a core competence for such ability. In this context, processes of both convergence and divergence occur. In the European and global arena, English has increasingly assumed the role of *lingua franca* for international communication (Oakes 2001; House 2003). The rise of English has occurred to the cost of all other national languages of Europe, including French. At the same time, a growing number of newcomers to the national arenas of the EU member-states need competence in the languages of their source and target countries.

Europe has a rich diversity of languages. This fact is usually illustrated by reference to the national languages of the EU. However, the inhabitants of Europe speak many more languages. Examples of such languages are Welsh and Basque, or Arabic and Turkish. These languages are usually referred to as 'minority languages' even though there is no one-majority language in Europe as a whole because all languages are spoken by a numerical minority. The languages referred to are representatives of regional minority and immigrant minority languages, respectively.

Regional minority and immigrant languages have much more in common than what is commonly thought. On their sociolinguistic, educational, and political agendas, we find issues such as their actual spread, their domestic and public vitality, the processes and determinants of language maintenance *versus* language shift towards majority languages, the relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity, and the status of minority languages in schools, in particular in the compulsory stages of primary and secondary education. The origin of most regional minority languages as *minority* languages lies in the 19th century, when, during the processes of state-formation in Europe,

they found themselves excluded from the state level, in particular from general education. Centralizing tendencies and the ideology of *one language - one state* have threatened the continued existence of regional minority languages. The greatest threat to regional minority languages, however, is a lack of intergenerational transmission. When parents stop speaking the ancestral language with their children, it becomes almost impossible to reverse the ensuing language shift. Education can also be a major factor in the maintenance and promotion of a minority language. For most regional minority languages, some kind of educational provisions have been established in an attempt to reverse the ongoing language shift. Only in the past few decades have some of these regional minority languages become relatively well-protected in legal terms, as well as by affirmative educational policies and programs, both at the level of various nation-states and at the level of the EU (cf. Edwards & Pritchard 2009).

There have always been speakers of immigrant minority languages in Europe, but these languages have only recently emerged as community languages spoken on a wide scale in urban Europe due to intensified processes of migration. Turkish and Arabic are good examples of so-called non-European languages that are spoken and learned by millions of inhabitants of the EU member-states. Although immigrant minority languages are often conceived of and transmitted as core values by immigrant minority language groups, they are much less protected than regional minority languages by affirmative action and legal measures as, for instance, in education. In fact, the learning and certainly the teaching of immigrant minority languages are often seen as obstacles to integration by speakers of dominant languages and by policy makers. At the European level, guidelines and directives regarding immigrant minority languages are scant and outdated.

European discourse on immigrant minorities and integration

In the European public discourse on immigrant minority groups, two major characteristics emerge: immigrant minority groups are often referred to as *foreigners* (*étrangers*, *Ausländer*) and as being in need of *integration* (Extra & Yağmur, 2004). First of all, it is common practice to refer to immigrant minority groups in terms of *non-national* residents and to their languages in terms of *non-territorial*, *non-regional*, *non-indigenous,* or *non-European* languages. The call for integration is in sharp contrast to the language of exclusion. This conceptual exclusion rather than inclusion in the European public discourse derives from a restrictive interpretation of the notions of citizenship and nationality. From a historical point of view, such notions are commonly shaped by a constitutional *ius sanguinis* (law of the blood), in terms of which nationality derives from parental origins, in contrast to *ius soli* (law of the ground), in terms of which nationality derives from the country of birth. When European emigrants left their continent in the past and colonized countries abroad, they legitimized their claim to citizenship by spelling out *ius soli* in the constitutions of these countries of settlement. Good examples of this strategy can be found in English-dominant immigration countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In establishing the constitutions of these (sub-) continents, no consultation took place with native inhabitants, such as Indians, Inuit, Aboriginals, and Zulus, respectively. At home, however, Europeans predominantly upheld *ius sanguinis* in their constitutions and/or perceptions of nationality and citizenship, in spite of the growing numbers of newcomers who strive for equal status as citizens.

A second major characteristic of the European public discourse on immigrant minority groups is the focus on *integration*. This notion is both popular and vague, and it may actually refer to a whole spec-

trum of underlying concepts that vary over space and time. The extremes of the conceptual spectrum range from assimilation to multiculturalism. The concept of assimilation is based on the premise that cultural differences between immigrant minority groups and established majority groups should and will disappear over time in a society which is proclaimed to be culturally homogeneous. On the other side of the spectrum, the concept of multiculturalism is based on the premise that such differences are an asset to a pluralist society, which actually promotes cultural diversity in terms of new resources and opportunities. While the concept of assimilation focuses on unilateral tasks of *newcomers*, the concept of multiculturalism focuses on multilateral tasks for all inhabitants in changing societies. In practice, established majority groups often make strong demands on immigrant minority groups to assimilate and are commonly very reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment.

It is interesting to compare the underlying assumptions of 'integration' in the European public discourse on immigrant minority groups at the national level with assumptions at the level of cross national cooperation and legislation. In the latter context, European politicians are eager to stress the importance of a proper balance between the loss and the maintenance of 'national' norms and values. A prime concern in the public debate on such norms and values is cultural and linguistic diversity, mainly in terms of the national languages of the EU. National languages are often referred to as core values of cultural identity. Paradoxically, in the same public discourse, immigrant minority languages and cultures are commonly conceived of as sources of problems and deficits and as obstacles to integration, while national languages and cultures in an expanding EU are regarded as sources of enrichment and as prerequisites for integration.

The public discourse on the integration of immigrant minority groups in terms of assimilation *versus* multiculturalism can also be noticed in the domain of education. Due to a growing influx of immigrant minority pupils, schools are faced with the challenge of adapting their curricula to this trend. The pattern of modification may be inspired by a strong and unilateral emphasis on learning (in) the language of the majority of society, given the significance of this language for success in school and in the labor market, or by the awareness that the response to emerging multicultural school populations cannot be reduced to monolingual education programming. In the former case, the focus is on learning (in) the national language as a second language only, in the latter case, on offering more languages in the school curriculum.

The German context: Moving from monolingualism to multilingualism

Since the 1960s, many Western European nation states experienced mass immigration. Germany, too, called for guest workers in order to accomplish what has later been celebrated as the 'German economic miracle.' Large scale migration to Germany started in the 1960s and a second large wave followed in the 1990s. According to the German Bureau of Statistics, the total population of Germany in the first month of 2013 was 80.5 million.[3] More than 20% of the total population has a so-called migration background. The largest group of the migrants are from Turkey (19%), followed by Poland (9%), Russia (8%), Kazakhstan (6%), and Italy (5%).

Although Germany has one of the highest numbers of immigrants in Europe, the acceptance of being an immigration country was not easy. For a long time, people have referred to second or third-generation immigrants as 'guest-workers.' In line with Bourhis et al.'s (1997) ideological clustering, the societal

3 Cf. https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/Migration/Migration.html. Access April 28, 2014

climate in Germany is often perceived and described as ethnist by immigrants and host society members (Yağmur & van de Vijver 2012). The distinction between civic and ethnic nations is one of the most common categorizations in the study of interethnic relations (Bourhis et al. 1997; Koenig 1999). In this ideological clustering, ethnic (cultural) nations are based on common heritage, language, national territory, religion, customs, and history, whereas civic nations are based on a historic territory, laws and institutions, the legal and political equality of all citizens. The ethnic nation is based on a common descent; a common language and customs are the key elements of the ethnic nation. The ideology of monolingualism is very strong in the ethnic state. Koenig (1999) suggests that the ethnic nation state has been based on policies of homogenizing culturally and linguistically diverse populations. Germany is identified as a typical ethnic nation encouraging monolingualism among the people in its territory (Bourhis et al. 1997). Nevertheless, German policy makers have taken concrete steps towards *ius solis* naturalization applications recently. According to the German Bureau of Statistics, the German government has agreed upon a new bill on dual citizenship. It is planned that, under specific conditions, children of foreign parents will be exempted from the obligation to choose between the German citizenship and their parents' citizenship. Previously, children, who were born in Germany, were obliged to choose between their parents' country of citizenship or German citizenship.[4]

Emerging superdiversity and its effects on nation-states

Similar to many European nation states, Germany had to deal with emerging socio-cultural and linguistic diversity. The new global economy and fast globalizing processes in public domains such as the media, politics, workspace, science and education as well as tourism and popular culture have led to increasingly multilingual practices. The multilingual paradigm, however, challenges the monolingual ideology of the nation state which has been grounded on the illusion of the container image 'one nation – one people – one language.' Traditionally, the nation-state was regarded as a public space within the borders of a territory in which a population shared a common culture with the national language being its key component or national symbol (cf. Pujolar 2007:72). The introduction of compulsory state education and the emergence of the modern German nation-state in the 19th century are very much seen as inseparable processes. Schools guaranteed the young German government not only an urgently needed skilled workforce but also loyal and responsible citizens (cf. Schiffauer 2002: 2). The national language has played a key role in the process of homogenization in the classrooms throughout the regions of the former multiethnic Prussian. Based on the concept of the 'ideal imagined citizen' (Anderson 1983 in Moyer & Rojo 2007: 141), common knowledge and national values have been transmitted through the standard language. Hobsbawm (1990) has demonstrated that the nation-state was seen as an "organic essence, and as a linguistically and culturally homogeneous entity, linked to territory and to a people" (Martin-Jones et al.: 2014: 2). These views in Western thought of the 19th century coincided with practices of standardizing, codifying, and setting boundaries to languages – according to studies in language ideology - so that grammarians and lexicographers, too, are seen to have contributed significantly to the ideological processes which linked language to political authority and legitimacy (cf. Martin-Jones et al. 2014). Hence, languages were likewise constructed as a fixed system of set grammar rules and lexis. The ideal language was bound between two book covers. In order to guarantee the purity of their national languages, nation states like Germany

4 Cf. https://www.destatis.de/EN/Homepage.html, Accessed: April 28 2014.

or France established language academies which monitor the correct use of their languages to the present day.

Nowadays, the influence of the nation-state on language policy seems to erode in the wake of globalized trading, fast increasing mobility and the internationalization of politics. International organizations such as the UNESCO and the EU and supranational institutions like the United Nations or World Bank as well as international companies have all implemented internal language policies. As processes of international trade and communication transcend national boundaries, the 'language industry' has moved to the heart of the new global economy. The demand for 'language workers' has been growing rapidly and fluent bilinguals are not only needed for interpreting, translating, editing, proof reading, language planning but also for marketing, teaching, and especially call-centers (cf. Da Silva, McLaughlin & Richards 2007). Text-based services like the media, culture industries, advertising, and insurances are likewise growing internationally which means that services heavily rely on bilingual language competencies, too. Hence, the ideal citizen has ceased to be a monolingual native and multilingual demands have been challenging the monolingual ideology of the nation-state.

Schools as major sites for blending or melting

One of the most crucial domains where we see the effects of superdiversity is education. Yet, nation-state ideology uses schools as the most important apparatus to instill the national ideology in young minds. Achieving social cohesion and national unity through a common language has been one of the most important goals in nation-states. Language planning is responsible for achieving linguistic unity. In its traditional definition, language planning is a set of "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (Cooper 1989: 45). In 1997, an orthography reform of the German language was introduced by all German speaking countries which can serve as another example of corpus planning and of top-down language policy issued by governments (cf. Truchot 2004: 337). Various other domains of intervention can be distinguished in which measures of language planning and language policies are considered necessary by the nation-state: The choice of status given to a language e.g. as an official language or as an acknowledged minority language; furthermore, the use of language in legislation, administration, justice, science, technology, media, culture, or information in urban public spaces. However, language *education* policies have always been regarded as the most important tool for language policies available to the nation-state. Schools are the most important site for the state to impose institutional power and to distribute social capital. Bourdieu (1991) has shown in his studies how dominant groups in societies use language to exercise symbolic power in the way they speak and write and has called this 'symbolic capital.' For him, schools are the most important state institutions for the legitimization of languages as they provide access to symbolic capital and, thus, play a major role for the imposition of a particular symbolic order and social and cultural reproduction (cf. Martin-Jones 2014: 5). According to Bourdieu's model "symbolic domination is achieved when dominated groups come to see legitimized language varieties as inherently superior to their own linguistic resources" (Martin-Jones 2014: 6).

The feeling of superiority emerges best in classrooms in which the monolingual ideology heavily influences teaching practices. Teachers are social agents who execute institutional power in subtle ways through their teaching practices based on official curricula but also through the way they evaluate students' work and in the way they assign value to the (linguistic) resources the children bring into the classroom. Moreover, teachers tend

to teach the way they were taught during their own schooling. In other words, teachers who ignore the various linguistic resources of children who grow up in multilingual families and who regard their competences in the dominant (legitimate) school language as flawed or even incompetent, produce power differences amongst students and contribute to the feeling that being monolingual means feeling superior (cf. Moyer & Rojo 2007: 7). By measuring content learning against the norms of the standard language and by comparing the work of plurilingual students always with that of monolingual students, teachers play an important role as agents of social selection and in the process of social inclusion and exclusion.

Given the growing linguistic diversity in schools in postwar Germany, the German school system was faced with the question of how to integrate large numbers of non-German speaking children. As an official guideline a so-called 'double-strategy' was followed: on the one hand, the children's home languages and cultures were to be maintained in order to enable re-migration; on the other hand, assimilation to the German culture and language was seen as essential as well (cf. Beck 2010: 7 quoting KMK guidelines). This led to a mixture of various approaches, as different federal states experimented with different concepts, from preparatory classes in German in order to quickly mainstream children into the school system – to native language only instruction in classes without any German-speaking children attending. Most approaches failed and the failure rate amongst certain groups of immigrants was enormous. Especially Turkish and also Italian-speaking pupils have experienced school failure. Preparing language minority children for more successful school careers ideally requires a balanced bilingual approach in which children's greater proficiency in the home language is utilized to promote general cognitive development and acquisition of the school language (Leseman & van Tuijl, 2001). However, given the widespread use of submersion models[5] in most European schools, immigrant children's first language skills cannot be further developed.

Reflecting on the lower school achievement among immigrant children and in particular among Turkish immigrant children, Ammermüller (2005) argues that the main reason for the low performance of immigrant students in the German context should be searched in their later enrollment in schools and the less favorable home environment for learning. Most German students achieve high, because they have more home resources as measured e.g. by the amount of books at home. Many immigrant children have lower achievement levels because about 40 percent of all immigrant students speak a language other than German at home. According to Ammermüller (2005), differences in parental education and family situation are far less important. As in many national contexts, also in the German context, students' home languages are apparently shown to be the culprits for low achievement in the schools. Most of the educational experts and researchers blame multilingualism of immigrant children for lower school achievement. International literature on school achievement shows that there are multiple factors that account for school success (e.g. Cummins 2013, 2014). The school's language policy, the structure of curriculum, the teachers' qualifications and experience with language minority children and parental factors account especially for bilingual children's school achievement. Whether the school has a bilingual approach or a submersion approach would make a huge difference in the language development of minority children. Submersion is the most common bilingual approach in the German school system. Bilingual education as a form of coordinated language teaching and learning has seldom been regarded as

5 The submersive model of education is also known as "sink-or-swim" model, as no extra language support is provided for children who do not speak the school language at home as a family language.

necessary (Luchtenberg 2002). Even though there is a general reluctance to refer to migrant students as bilinguals and to develop bilingual programs for them, there is widespread support for native German students in various bilingual programs. Bilingual programs in high-status languages such as English-German or French-German find huge public support but strong negative attitudes surround immigrant children's bilingualism. In a typical anti-bilingual fashion, many German teachers believe that immigrant children are overloaded by dealing with two languages, which lowers their proficiency in German. Apparently, this old-fashioned separate underlying proficiency model can still find some supporters in the German context. Moreover, home language instruction is not regarded as a proper subject in German schools and in evaluating students' school career no reference is made to their skills in the home language (Bühler-Otten & Fürstenau 2004).

Around the mid-1990s, policy makers became increasingly aware of the educational underachievement among immigrant children and the relationship between education and national development in so-called 'knowledge-based' economies (cf. Cummins 2014: 3). Cummins quotes an OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) study in which it is estimated that an approximate 1% increase in adult literacy level would translate into a 1.5% increase in a country's gross domestic product (cf. Cummins 2014: 6). The rising awareness that immigrants represented human capital and that school failure amongst any segment of the population entailed significant economic costs, led to an initiative launched by the OECD. Ever since the first results appeared in the year 2000 this OECD study is better known under the acronym PISA – *Program for International Student Achievement*. PISA is a triennial international survey which provides feedback on the effectiveness of educational systems to the 'economies' which participate. Worldwide 15-year-old students are tested on and compared in various fields of knowledge and skills, the first testing round focused on reading skills, mathematical, and scientific literacy (cf. www.oecd.org/pisa/).

Why multilingual matters in post-PISA times

The first PISA survey results shook the belief in the German education system. PISA 2000 apparently showed that German schools were only 'average.' The political and educational establishment was shocked, as was the general public (cf. Faas 2014). The self-concept that Germany had one of the best school systems in the world was shattered. Korea and the Czech Republic were performing better according to the PISA ranking. In the reading section of PISA 2000, Germany ranked in the 21st place, even Spain and Italy were higher up in the list. It was painful for the complacent German society to come to terms with the fact that PISA had struck a nerve: the results also revealed that in no other participating country school success was linked so closely to the socio-economic situation a child grows up in. What has been especially alarming was the realization following the next PISA cycles, that 2nd generation children whose parents had immigrated to Germany, were performing worse than children who were born in other countries and immigrated later (cf. Christensen & Segeritz 2008). In other words, children who were born in Germany and spent their entire school days in the German school system were amongst those performing worst. What had gone wrong?

The shock wave PISA had sent through the country triggered many heated debates e.g. about the effectiveness of the selective German school system, which streams pupils after only four years of elementary school into three tiers: a prestigious grammar school (Gymnasium), a middle school (Realschule) and a vocational school (Hauptschule). In post-PISA Germany, many reforms have been implemented such as the introduction of

national educational standards (Bildungstandards) in 2003 as well as language screening measures before entering elementary school. Due to their lower German language skills, large numbers of immigrant children have often considered to be language impaired, and many have subsequently been placed in special needs schools (cf. Yağmur & Konak 2009: 274). In those special schools (Sonderschulen) bilingual children without any physical or mental disabilities suffer not only from stigmatization and separation; the linguistic skills and cognitive development in their home languages are ignored and, thus, recognition of an important part of their identities gets denied. In a representative study carried out in Duisburg, a Turkish-German entrance test was applied and clearly supported Cummins' (1979) interdependence hypothesis "that skills acquired in the first language are transferred to the second language provided that children reach a certain threshold" (Yağmur & Konak 2009: 282). As a consequence of the Duisburg findings, it was recommended that Turkish pupils should receive intensive instruction in Turkish upon entering school in order to reach the threshold level so that concept development in the first language could be transferred to their second language, German (cf. Yağmur & Konak 2009: 283).

The claim that Turkish children should have access to resources which develop their first language (L1) competencies, can be seen as part of a heated debate in post-PISA Germany which can be subsumed under the slogan "bilingual controversy" (cf. Gogolin & Neumann 2009). The discussion 'Why multilingual matters' revolves around the question whether or not bilingual or plurilingual competencies of immigrant children can be regarded as a positive asset for both individuals and society. Hartmut Esser has been the leading protagonist who questions whether or not bilingual competencies of immigrants are valuable as capital for the job market. The Hamburg School around Ingrid Gogolin has been arguing instead that language acquisition is complementary and that L1 development will not be harmful for the development of German competencies but positive for identity development and concept learning. At the same time, public debates in Germany have focused much on the relationship between integration and language competencies. Integration into the German society, it is believed, can be more successful when people have at least basic skills of the language. This led to the introduction of a top-down language policy issued by government in 2005 which makes basic language competencies in German mandatory for individuals who wish to immigrate to Germany. However, in light of this solid language barrier, the German government has not been consistent in applying the new legislation to all individuals. EU citizens, Canadians, Australians, or South Koreans, e.g. do not have to provide proof of basic German upon entering the country, whereas a Turkish woman who intends to join her husband already living in Germany needs to pass an "integration test" as a prerequisite for immigration.[6]

Why multilingualism is a capital?

PISA had revealed that the German school system had a problem – however, what went wrong and where the problem was could not be deducted from the results. The healthy PISA shock has also contributed to the realization which the German society was so reluctant to accept: Germany is a country of immigration. In post-PISA times, the European Union has also started to conceptualize linguistic diversity in a more positive and global way. Only since 2003 have immigrant languages gained the status of languages worthy of being protected within the EU (cf. Moyer & Rojo 2007: 142). Post-PISA Germany has witnessed numerous activities in education and research and changes have become more apparent. Many studies have

6 Cf. http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/european-commission-questions-german-language-tests-for-immigrants-a-914307.html. Accessed May 1, 2014.

emerged and efforts stepped up to improve the performance of plurilingual children from families with a migration history. By the year 2013 and with the advent of the revised *Recommendations for Intercultural Learning and Education* issued by the KMK (Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Culture of the Federal States in Germany), an important paradigm shift in language education policy has been executed: "Schools regard diversity as normal and as a potential for all" (KMK 2013: 3). In the benchmark paper, the KMK explicitly points to the potential of multilingualism by saying that the cultural and linguistic competencies of both, pupils and parents likewise, should be recognized and valued in school. Moreover, competencies of plurilingual children should be appreciated and developed. The paper also raises the point that schools are responsible to actively fight discrimination against individuals and groups by conceptualizing diversity as a norm. This includes an investigation into the impact of structures, routines, rules, and procedures with regard to disadvantage and discrimination. Moreover, strategies should be developed as to how (unwilling) discrimination can be overcome. In sum, the latest KMK paper is defining high standards for schools with regard to inclusion and equal opportunities. Yet, only slowly will the paradigm shift away from a deficit perspective towards a viewpoint which appreciates plurilingual pupils. Presently, the reality of schools in Germany tells a different story. Segregation at schools has been identified as a common feature in urban areas with negative impact for school success especially for migrant pupils. Studies show that in the big German cities approximately 70% of all children with a 'migration background' visit elementary schools where a majority of children do not belong to the German majority population. But those schools are visited only by 17% of the children from German families (cf. Morris-Lange et al. 2013/ Report of the Sachverständigenrat SVS report). In comparison, in rural areas approximately 10% of immigrant children visit a segregated school as opposed to 1.3% of children from native German families. A segregated school, by definition of this SVR report, is a school that is visited by more than 50% of the children who grow up in families with a history of migration.

A diverse classroom is not seen as a problem as such. But consequences can be harmful if the situation coincides with a concentration of poverty and unstable family situations as the preconditions for learning are more challenging in such settings. Moreover, more st/able peers and linguistic role models from monolingual families are missing in such schools; they have also been identified as important for success in education. Three reasons for increasing segregation are identified by the SVR report: (i) segregated neighborhoods in urban areas of the big German cities (ii) parental school choice for their children (iii) unequal opportunities in the transition phase from the elementary into the secondary school system (Morris-Lange et al. 2013: 4). Plurilingual children, who grow up in families that have once immigrated, are still not provided with equal opportunities in the German educational system which apparently also has a record of discrimination. It takes them longer to achieve qualifications because they have to go many detours in the schooling process (cf. Barz et al. 2013); and later on, upon entering the job market they are again faced with discrimination. Especially young people with Turkish names are being discriminated according to another recent SVR-study. A "Tim" is more likely to get a job in Germany than a "Hakan" with the same qualifications (cf. SVR report 2014). Many valuable initiatives have identified institutional discrimination as a problem and begun to develop top-down strategies in order to address it. Special hopes are drawn from teachers with a migration background who are a largely underrepresented minority in staffrooms of German schools. They have often served as valuable mentors for plurilingual pupils and have the potential to improve the situation on classroom level (cf. Georgi

et al. 2011). But it seems overtaxing to expect much overall change if the subtle impact emanating from structural discrimination is not fought at its roots.

Despite its vitality, the state of the Turkish language in Germany seems alarming. Third and fourth generation children often only have a very basic command of the language and little knowledge about the country of their ancestors. Bourdieu's symbolic domination seems to be widely achieved with regard to Turkish as many speakers of the language see the legitimized language German as inherently superior to their first language. Young people feel ashamed to put Turkish competencies in their CV and especially the less educated group of immigrants have internalized the deficit perception of the dominant population and regard their own migration biography and plurilingualism as problematic (cf. Barz et al. 2013: 3). The paradigm shift from plurilingualism as a problem to linguistic diversity as a resource and potential has only recently taken place at the official language policy level. It will take a long time until top-down processes will be effective at the school and classroom level. Models and programs for multicultural education which integrate immigrant languages have just started to surface at the institutional level (e.g. Reich & Krumm 2013).

Thus, in the second part of this analysis, a group of alternative change agents will be identified who have brought about changes from the ground up: A principal, teachers, parents, and pupils. The findings presented in the following part are taken from an ongoing ethnographic study which is carried out at an elementary school in urban Hanover in Germany that has implemented a Turkish-German bilingual program. At this school, multilingualism has been turned into capital ten years ago. Policy makers and language planning specialists might derive valuable insights from the best practice model presented in the following.

PART TWO: ALTERNATIVE CHANGE AGENTS IN LANGUAGE POLICY

Exploring multilingual landscapes in Hanover

The Mercator-IPC Fellowship project "Exploring Multilingual Landscapes" aims at an ethnographic in-depth study of multilingual practices at an urban multicultural German elementary school in Hanover which can be identified as a best-practice model. The school's bilingual Turkish-German program was implemented in a bottom-up fashion. Thus, the grassroots character as a special feature of the school makes it especially interesting to thoroughly analyze the success factors and positive aspects of the environment in which the school came into existence and operates. Consequently, this study aims at providing a deeper insight into the causes and impact of bilingual Turkish-German schooling in Germany. By drawing a picture of the rich fiber of the web of interactions, routines, and processes in the wider school community and by assigning voice to the actors in the field, this vertical study also intends to complement horizontal studies like e.g. PISA. Cummins points to the necessity of such studies as policy makers have largely ignored research related to the role of migrant students' first language (L1) as both "a cognitive tool and a reflection of student identity" (Cummins 2014: 7). He further argues that "in no case have considerations related to either teacher-student identity negotiation or patterns of societal power relations been explicitly integrated into causal or intervention frameworks despite the extensive research evidence attesting to the significance of these factors" (Cummins 2014: 6). The absence of these factors from policy considerations is especially striking, he continues, as these constructs feature prominently in applied linguistics, foreign and second language research, and theory building. Against the theoretical backdrop developed in part one of this paper, the Hanover study is embedded within the framework of linguistic landscape studies (cf. Blommaert 2013) which acknowledges the situatedness of language as speech:

Speech is language-in-society, that is, an active notion and one that deeply situates language in a web of relations of power, a dynamics of availability and accessibility, a situatedness of single acts vis-á-vis larger social and historical patterns such as genres and traditions. Speech is language in which people have made investments – social, cultural, political, individual-emotional ones. It is also language brought under social control (...) marked by extreme cleavages and inequalities in repertoires and opportunities. (Blommaert & Jie 2011: 8 with reference to Hymes 1996)

The study will be carried out as an ethnographic monitoring project which approves of "ethnography as a social practice" and as such accepts agency of the researcher in the field and research process (cf. Van der Aa & Blommaert 2011). A variety of qualitative methods will be applied in order to bring out the success factors of the school in general and in particular to tentatively describe the social-cultural impact of the CLIL program with regard to changes in attitude and self-perception as well as quantity and quality of interactions within the school community. CLIL stands for Content and Language Integrated Learning and has developed into an educational flagship program at the European level which is believed to best promote multilingualism and European citizenship (cf. Breidbach & Viebrock 2013). Presently, however, CLIL has first and foremost been promoting additive school bilingualism for mainly monolingual native students in the German context (cf. Küppers & Trautmann 2013). Moreover, in most CLIL studies, success has so far been measured against parameters of academic achievement and literary proficiency. In this study, success will be described against the *social-cultural impact* of a CLIL program. As such, the study also aims to raise

awareness for equity issues in bilingual CLIL education. English as the highest status foreign language is taught at the school as of year three. Its relation to Turkish and German will be likewise the focus of research attention. Moreover, areas for further improvement and research will be identified.

Turkish has the potential to make a special contribution to the development of multilingualism in European societies and individual plurilingualism through its matchless ubiquity in everyday life, in bilingual programs, or as a second or third foreign school language in countries like Germany. Until now, this recognition has been denied. Against this backdrop, the results of this study will also be of high relevance for German-Turkish relations for a number of reasons which will be discussed at a different place.[7]

Language education policy and the impact of alternative change agents

In the following section, voice is given to the actors in the field: a principal, parents, and a number of children. Teachers will also be in the focus of this study as they, too, play a crucial role as actors in the field; yet presently the data base is not solid enough to include their perspective here. The ethnographic narratives will draw a picture of the school and the school development process which has taken place within the past ten years and will provide evidence for the important role of the protagonists in the process of change. These accounts are prefixed by information on the city of Hanover and a description of the neighborhood in which the school is located in order to illustrate the local coloring which can be found in the context of the school. Captures from the streetscape will give evidence of the superdiverse character of the urban housing area in which at least some of the actors, the children, and their families live.

As the research process has been collaborative and interactive and "sharing knowledge" has been a common feature, the study can be characterized as an ethnographic monitoring study in the sense of Hymes (Van der Aa & Blommaert 2011: 324). The ethnographic narratives presented here are based on numerous informal conversations and talks in the corridor, the cafeteria, the team-room, or in the school yard as well as on classroom/schoolyard observations and intensive focus interviews based on guiding questionnaires. The account of the principal especially was complemented by numerous informal talks, telephone conversations, email exchanges, and also debriefings.[8]

Why multilingual matters in Hanover

The city of Hanover is the capital of the federal German state of Lower Saxony. With its about 520,000 habitants, Hanover belongs to the 15 biggest German cities and is located in the heart of country. A number of famous German companies and industry branches such as VW, Hanomag, Continental, Wabco, Bahlsen, or Pelikan are situated in the area where, according to common belief, the best standard German language is spoken. Many popular cosmopolitans have emerged from the old Prussian kingdom of Hanover. The "House Hanover" had been famous for centuries as an influential German royal dynasty in the United Kingdom of Great Britain with a number of respectable kings and queens on the British throne.[9] King George I and King George II had still been born in Hanover. After about a 123 year reign of the German royals

7 This paper is an interim report focusing on alternative change agents in language education policy. The final report of the study which will also discuss its findings in the light of German-Turkish relations will be published with IPC in the near future.

8 The narrative which describes the school development process through the eyes of the principal and her role in it has been verified and validated by the principal by means of a telephone conversation on April 14th, 2014.All names have been anonymized in this study except that of the principal.

9 Hanover is celebrating the 300th anniversary of the personal union of the British Throne and the Royals from Hanover in 2014. Five kings from the House of Hanover ruled Britain from 1714 to 1837. Cf. http://www.royals-aus-hannover.de/en/information/. Accessed April 30, 2014.

in England, this era ended in 1837 when Queen Victoria ascended the throne after the death of her uncle, the last German king, William IV. Hence, from this point of view, Hanover has been multicultural for quite some time in the course of history.

Hanover is growing more international by the day as more and more citizens tend to have 'international roots' and a quarter of the overall population in Hanover has got a so-called migration background. The biggest group amongst them is of Turkish origin (5%) followed by those from Poland and Russia (both groups together 9% of the population). Those numbers are based on the criteria 'nationality' and in that respect, there are probably many more individuals who speak Turkish and have a German passport living in Hanover. The social report for Hanover (SRH 2013) also shows that the group of people with two passports is constantly growing. It is expected that in due time the majority population in Hanover will hold two passports (cf. SRH 2013: 5). In other words, Hanover can soon be regarded as truly international as it has been truly multicultural and multilingual for a long time. In the past couple of years, most people immigrated to Hanover directly from Romania and Bulgaria as well as Greece and Spain. Immigration numbers from Turkey have decreased significantly in the past. According to a sample census in 2010, the population in Hanover is comparatively homogenous with regard to income. Ten percent belong to the very rich (income rich), 20% belong to the poor, the so-called poverty risk laden, and 70% are said to be the 'social middle' (cf. SRH 2013: 6). Hence, the gap between rich and poor measured against income is not as big as in other cities (e.g. Leipzig, Rostock, Duisburg, and Berlin are amongst the cities with the largest gap between rich and poor in Germany) and comparable to the situation in Munich which has a much smaller gap between the very poor and very rich. However, statistics do not tell any stories about hardship and suffering which also takes places in some neighborhoods of the city.

Why multilingual matters in Linden

Linden is the neighborhood in which the elementary school under investigation is located. The school district comprises in most parts Linden-North but Linden-South, Linden-Center and Limmer also belong to the area. Linden-North used to be a working class neighborhood. In this quarter, many Turkish families have found housing space they can afford; due to its huge Turkish community, Linden-North is also called 'Little Istanbul' by the locals. Linden-South is said to be more 'Spanish' with the biggest group of immigrant families from Spain. Linden belongs to the most depraved neighborhoods in Hanover according to the Social Report 2013 – but has never been accepted in the national program called "social city" (soziale Stadt), a program which was introduced to support urban development in heavily depraved inner city areas some years ago. In general, it can be said that Linden outperforms the Hanover average in many categories: more single parent families live in Linden than in Hanover on average, more families are poor, more people have a family history of migration, and more children are overweight. Nevertheless, local Hanoverians report that due to the multicultural atmosphere and life-affirming, creative spirit in the quarter, Linden is becoming more attractive also for middle class families. Indeed, the neighborhood of Linden could just as well be a "kiez" (= small neighborhood) in Berlin with its many small cafes, pubs, and shops, with many providing seating outside or on the pavement, and with cyclists whizzing around. A lot of buildings have been subjected to colorful artwork as many walls have been decorated with graffiti and almost all of the buildings in the neighborhood are blocks of flats. Restaurants offer a great variety of menus from Chinese to Sushi, from Afghan to Syrian, from traditional German to classical Italian. However, the streetscape is dominated by a Turkish touch: there are numerous Turkish greengrocers and stationary shops, bakeries, Döner take aways, corner shops, tea gardens, hairdressers, and the

inevitable cell phone and telecommunication shops. Moreover, it is striking to see how many life-style shops, boutiques, and wine shops have started to mushroom in Linden, an area where tattoo shops, bi- and motorcycle shops, and shops that sell home-printed T-shirt with subversive slogans seem to be more in place.

A common feature in Linden's public space is the presence of the Turkish language and Turkish print in great harmony with big German names such as Rossmann, Rewe, Penny, and Tedi. Clearly visible is a tendency amongst the local business to happily and creatively use codemixing for shop-signs or announcements. German and English get mixed for instance in the pun 'Wellkamm' which the Turkish hairdresser has concocted as a name for her shop (engl. = welcome; germ. Kamm = combe). On the billboard she has placed on the pavement, most offers are announced in German but the poster also includes only one offer in Turkish - women wearing head-scarves can get their new haircuts in a more private room in the back of the shop. Another intriguing shop sign says 'Bei Efe'm' which clearly hints to a pub. The preposition 'bei' is a preposition traditionally used by German bar or restaurant owners who tend to be the livestock of their own business. Here, a man with the Turkish name 'Efe' seems to run this small German-style beer pub at the street corner. However, whereas usually a German sign would contain the preposition 'bei' followed by just a name i.e. 'Bei Christel' or 'Bei Hans', pub-owner Efe has added the Turkish apostrophe and an M to his name as in Efe'm. Hence, he has added the possessive suffix which turns his name into 'my Efe' (this makes a visit to the bar may be even more personal?). For the locals of Linden who speak a little English but have no command of Turkish, this message remains hidden, however. Instead, it seems likely that the Turkish apostrophe could easily be mistaken by the English apostrophe which is far more well-known amongst German shop-owners but clearly violating an important German grammar rule: Unlike in English, the German genitive S is not separated from the noun by an apostrophe. But signs such as 'Gabi's Brot-körbchen' or 'Rudi's Radladen' can be seen everywhere in Germany. Even if it is not entirely clear for all locals what exactly 'Bei Efe'm' stands for, linguistic diversity and words travelling from one language into the next are a common feature of life in Linden - just like in any other urban place worldwide where superdiversity transcends national as well as grammatical borders, and local creativity entails cross-overs in many fields of everyday life.

A 'Turkish' school in a multilingual neighborhood

Albert-Schweitzer school used to be located right in the middle of 'Little Istanbul'/Linden, round the corner from the main street and, therefore, in easy reach to the Turkish bakery, 'Telebaba', the local cell phone shop, the greengrocer and the 'Karizma' (charisma), another Turkish hairdresser. Two years ago the school moved from the convenient center of the neighborhood to the new building which is located at the more spacey brim of Linden. Until then, the school was housed in the old red-brick building from the beginning of the 20th century. While the historic school building has always been very charming and nice – the opposite has been true for the image of the school which had an awful reputation of being the 'school for the Turks' until sometime into the new millennium. White flight had been a common feature of the school's neighborhood. Middle class families who lived in the schools district moved away either shortly before their children were old enough for school enrollment or found other creative ways of avoiding registration at the school. Some even had their children christened shortly before the first day of school as the Catholic school nearby was obliged to accept at least 10% of pupils from different beliefs. In those days, 33% of the children registered for Albert-Schweitzer school were signed off from the first-graders' list by

their parents. This amounted to almost 100% of the German middle class children living in the school district, and thus a highest possible white flight rate. The common rationale amongst middle class families has always been twofold. On the one hand, parents feared that their children's full academic potential would not be developed in such a 'poor' environment. "Amongst so many foreigners, my child would not learn enough" had been a typical explanation. On the other hand, parents also feared violence and lawlessness on the schoolyard and in classrooms. With a third of the school population leaving the district, Albert-Schweitzer school became more and more segregated. Even Turkish families left the district, usually the better-educated parents with higher educational ambitions for their children. The school was stuck in a vicious circle. It was becoming less and less attractive not only for parents but also for teachers and staff. Within the confines of the staffroom, the school resembled the typical monolingual German school. Within the classrooms, the school reality was predominantly Turkish and poor. Tensions arising from this challenging situation made it difficult to fill the post of the principal which became vacant round the turn of the millennium.

GROUP A: Principals as change agents in language education policy

"I knew it wasn't going to be easy but I had no idea how bad the situation really was," said Ms. Albrecht, the principal who had had the courage to apply for the job as new school director at the ill-famed segregated school. "School development wasn't really invented at the time I took over," she smiles and elaborates on the motives that interested her about the job by saying, "I guess, I was more laid back being from the countryside, and I was very interested in the multicultural neighborhood." At that time, Beatrix Albrecht had just come back from a teaching assignment in Hungary where she had learned some Hungarian, "I was very easy-going as far as multilingualism was concerned. I had experienced and cherished it myself." At the beginning of the new assignment at Albert-Schweitzer school, the new principal tried to sugarcoat the plight and hardship she encountered at the school by stating, "I tried to whitewash the fact that we had such an overwhelming majority of students with migration background. People said that there was a violence problem at the school due to the fact that too many Turkish children attended it, and I tried to downplay it." She quickly realized that the situation got worse and worse and that she fooled herself by looking at the misery through rosy-colored glasses by explaining, "I decided to call a spade a spade. I admitted, yes, we have a real problem here! The situation had become unbearable. Not only for the children, also for the teachers whose daily work was so hard but was never appreciated from outside. Instead, they got accused and children were taken out of the school." She tried to identify the reasons and realized that the biggest problem was the school's bad image, "In the neighborhood, it seemed to be deeply ingrained in people's mind. I couldn't talk it away." She also realized that she had "wonderful children" and that the violence that was said to be so incredible, was just "average, I'd say. The typical gangs on the school yard which try to blackmail money from others." She developed a double strategy. Firstly, how to get rid of this awful reputation? And secondly she keeps asking herself: What is special about my children? What's their potential? And how can we make use of their skills at school? These questions guided the courageous principal to new insights. While the principal's awareness of the necessity to tackle a severe problem with unusual strategies grew, another group of important stakeholders sowed the seeds for change during a parent's evening. The Turkish teacher of the class had explained and introduced the concept of the Turkish language class – in those days it was classified as heritage language instruction for those children who spoke Turkish at home.

Some of the few German-speaking parents asked the Turkish teacher if it was possible that their children could also attend Turkish lessons by asking, "Wouldn't it be nice if our children learned the language which is spoken by so many children in the neighborhood?" The question was not dismissed as being too far-fetched or crazy but, instead, landed on very fertile ground as a powerful new idea. Soon the principal and Turkish teacher had convinced the other colleagues; together they developed a concept for a bilingual German-Turkish program, which was implemented in a CLIL fashion not long afterwards.

The spark for school development: Going multilingual

The new bilingual Turkish-German program was the spark which triggered off a long-lasting and very successful process of school development. Within the past ten years, a whole bunch of measures have been introduced piecemeal at the school: all-day school with hot meals for lunch, youth welfare on the school premises, extra-curricular clubs offered in the afternoon, abolition of homework, open beginning of lessons in the morning, autonomous learning and more differentiated teaching, academic learning balanced by learning about values (called 'time for...' e.g. animals/decorating our school/gardening/people in the neighborhood), more cooperation with institutions in the neighborhood such as the churches and mosque, the Youth Music School, the home for elderly people, as well as intensified work with parents, parent's courses on their children's curricular and how to support them at home, and a parent's café. Moreover, the school has gone unusual ways in terms of staffing by employing an ex-homeless as a pedagogical assistant, by deciding to keep some rabbits and to hire a school dog as an assistant who helps children to unwind and through difficult periods. All these measures together make up for the tremendous development of the school in the past. Today, the school is regarded as a model school in Lower Saxony, has won various prizes in the past, and is currently nominated for the most prestigious prize within the school establishment, the German School Prize, a kind of Oscar in education.[10] White flight has been reversed to 8% and most of these children switch to other schools for other reasons than before. Instead, many families from other districts apply at Albert-Schweitzer school so that a long waiting list is kept. Acceptance in the neighborhood has increased and so has social cohesion amongst the various groups within the school community. However, the school operates within a framework that can still be called a difficult school setting: 35% of the children live in a single parent family, 60% of the children live in poor families, on average for 2 children per class not the parents but youth welfare have the right of custody, 70% of the children live in a family with a history of migration, 380 pupils have 42 different nationalities and speak approximately 35 different languages.

Paradigm shift: How multilingualism takes off

Beatrix Albrecht was convinced about her double fold strategy. Firstly, the bilingual program had initiated the necessary change within the school. But changes take a long time and are not necessarily visible to outsiders. So, secondly, the consistently bad reputation of the school had to be combated. The principal started to invite the press and told them about their work and what they had changed and why. In discussing this, she stated, "We got a huge media coverage for the bilingual Turkish classes. But at the beginning we had to deal with massive negative feedback and got only very few positive reactions." Many people could not understand why Turkish, such an exotic language, was introduced in the school curriculum. Severe objections not only came from the political establishment but via Internet from the whole country

10 Cf. http://schulpreis.bosch-stiftung.de/content/language1/html/8807.asp. Accessed April 30, 2014



as Principal Albrecht stated, "Turkish just generally had a very bad image and was linked to negative associations such as low social classes." With hindsight, Beatrix Albrecht compares the strategy she and her team had employed to the latest advertising strategy which the German car manufacturer Opel has recently launched in order to fight the bad image of their fleet.[11] In this remarkable campaign, Opel is directly targeting prejudices in the heads of people with slogans like, "18% of all Germans do not like olives. But only 60% of them have ever tasted one." Or "68% of all men believe that women with red hair are more racy. But 90% of them have never met one." Beatrix Albrecht advertised her school to convince people that the bad reputation was unjustified when she said, "The school was better than its image. It was a real challenge. I tried to get the middle class parents on board and also spoke to those parents standing at the margin. I needed to convince them both because I needed both." The principal spent endless hours, afternoons, and evenings talking to people. She identified opinion leaders amongst parents, invited them for talks and tried to convince them about the concept in the hope this would get other families in. No family could just sign their child off from school without having talked to the principal before leaving. She went to political party meetings, explained the unusual new concept to skeptical local politicians and asked for support. "The most important element was that we had upgraded Turkish and the Turkish culture in our curriculum and to show that this was an offer for middle class children as well as for children from depraved Turkish homes," she said. This, of course, turned out to be a challenging tightrope walk which could only be accomplished with a lot of perseverance, conviction, and the courage to walk down untrodden routes. "We realized we needed to change the whole structure to make the new concept work. We couldn't fit the program into the morning school and began to develop an all-day school setting." Beatrix Albrecht seems to have an unusual intuition for the right pedagogical decisions. When asked how she knew when to make what choices, she modestly commented, "Long before the debates about all-day schools got off the ground in Lower Saxony, we had started to write proposals and to raise money to implement it. I don't know why but we have always been a tiny bit faster with a lot of decisions."

Striving for equal educational opportunities and humanity

Driving forces for Beatrix Albrecht's astounding achievements can be seen in her strong beliefs. She points to two major motives which have played an important role in the way she works and guides educational processes. Firstly, she names equal educational opportunities, secondly a humanistic way of looking at individuals, and at a school as a place where much more than just academic knowledge has to be learned. "In the old Humboldt sense, a school should always also be a place where children have the chance to learn more about themselves, about values and to develop their personalities" is how she explains it.

11 Cf. the noteworthy campaign to fight the bad image OPEL cars have had in Germany: http://www.umparkenimkopf.de/. Accessed April 10, 2014.

When asked where the stamina comes from she obviously needed for this long-lasting and often also frustrating process of school development, she answers "I had been so fed up with the way the political establishment always tries to please the middle class and upper class clientele with their programs and decisions." She continues, "Policy makers and politicians simply cannot or do not want to understand that our children here in Linden have different needs." Educational injustice, according to Beatrix Albrecht, starts in the homes of children. Policy makers seem to take for granted that all children have the same support systems at home. However she points out, "But a growing group of children are lacking exactly this, support given by educated parents. In our school systems these kids are always lagging behind, that's why they will never be able to develop their individual potentials."

Beatrix Albrecht is usually a very calm and modest woman. Talking about equal opportunities – so hard to be achieved in the selective German school system – she even seems to get angry. "Bugger", she exclaims, "our children are different – we must go a different way here!" She immediately emphasizes that this does not mean to lower the standards altogether and to under-challenge the more able middle class children. It means to deal with certain pillars on which the current system rests in a different way. As an example to illustrate what she means, she describes how the school came to abolish homework, "There are two strong arguments why we eventually dumped homework altogether. First of all, for kids from poor and often multilingual families with migration background, homework is a battlefield where they get permanently humiliated." These children can hardly compete with those whose parents serve as support teachers at home. Often parents themselves do not know German well enough to help their child understand what needs to be done, even if they wanted. Parents are also lacking information about the German school system. And sometimes, in often sad and tragic cases, they do not care about their child's progress at all. The second argument which helped to abolish homework was its ineffectiveness, Beatrix Albrecht explains, "We have analyzed the effect of homework and measured it against the time teachers spent controlling and dealing with them. It's a disaster! So much time is lost if homework gets controlled and culprits who didn't do them are chased up." Moreover, the student-teacher relationship suffers massively if a huge part of school is experienced as homework struggle, for the teacher and the student likewise. Teachers' perceptions of "good" and "bad" students are not only influenced by the quality of their work in general and homework in particular but also by the subtle side-effects of annoyance and arguments with those children who keep "forgetting" the latter.

To abolish homework means to limit symbolic power

Discussions over homework at school have always been heated and emotional, and resistance amongst teachers and parents against its abolition has been huge at Albert-Schweitzer school. Yet, the moment the school had established a reliable all-school structure compulsory for all children from 8am to 3pm, "homework went out of the window", Beatrix Albrecht elucidates with satisfaction. Instead a support system has been introduced with time slots called SelGeL (Germ. = selbstgesteuertes Lernen) which means autonomous learning time. And as a second element, trained personnel help all students with work individually at school. Abolishing homework and substituting it by self-guided learning with supporting educational staff during the school hours are a milestone achievement towards more educational justice at Albert-Schweitzer school. Homework in Bourdieu's sense can be seen as a subtle but effective instrument to reinforce the impact of symbolic capital in the process of social and cultural reproduction. To abolish homework means to cut off or at least to reduce parents'

influence which can reach far into the classroom. As homework is also a teaching practice which increases power differences between students, to abolish homework also means to further limit the impact of the monolingual ideology in the classroom.

Beatrix Albrecht is an open person of powerful convictions. Analyzing the process of change at Albert-Schweitzer school, the post as a school principal appears to be a very creative one with a lot of room for innovation and development. This, of course, is not in line with the general job description of a principal who – in the German context - is traditionally perceived as being the "(head) teacher who can teach and who does a little administration on top." Much more is required of a person who is held responsible for the everyday work within the school and classrooms as well as for the ways s/he represents the school to the education authorities and the general public. As opposed to the classical administrator image, Beatrix Albrecht has filled the vacant post of the former segregated elementary school with a lot of out-of-the-box thinking, courage, and creativity. In that sense, her way of reframing the principal's post and redefining the work can be seen as pioneer work which might serve as a best practice example for the key position at schools in the 21st century.

***GROUP B*: Parents as local change agents**

At Albert-Schweitzer school, a happy coincidence initiated a very successful phase of school development. The advent of a new, fearless, and enthusiastic principal and a thought which was born during a parents' meeting: The idea to teach Turkish also to children from the majority population! This idea had been quite off-the-wall ten years ago. To the present day, it is far from being a mainstream phenomenon that monolingual German-speaking children learn Turkish as a foreign language in Germany. The Turkish teacher at the school was enthusiastic about this new perspective and started to passionately develop materials and ideas how to teach Turkish as a foreign language to children who didn't know the language at all. Foreign language teaching has traditionally been an important field of top-down language education policy in the nation-state. Latin and Greek have seen their glorious times, French was once the most important foreign tongue and English was promoted at times when the Nazis still admired the British Empire for their world spanning achievements and for their kingdom where the sun never set. Today, English as the only global language has become a curricular must for all pupils. Besides, language learning offers have become more differentiated. Spanish and Italian have become increasingly popular and are challenging the position of French which has traditionally been the number 2 in Germany. In the Eastern federal states, Russian and Polish are languages which can be learned at grammar schools. Danish is on offer in the north, some schools in North Rhine Westphalia offer Japanese, and within the past ten years Chinese has grown and become an established foreign language in Germany.

Yet, Turkish? Far from it! Turkish remains to be the language for the Turks, and Turkish lessons are widely seen to be lessons for Turkish speaking children with the aim to improve their heritage language. Heritage or mother tongue lessons often take place after school in the afternoon, extra-curricular and they are often perceived as an extra-burden by the pupils whose parents wish that they attend it. Within the majority population, Turkish is mostly regarded to be a difficult, unlearnable and unattractive language. It's the language of poor immigrants. There are hardly any official initiatives to upgrade Turkish as a 2nd or 3rd foreign language and CLIL debates have never revolved around the potential of Turkish. Top-down initiatives like the latest in Baden Wurttemberg where Turkish will be offered as a 3rd foreign language at two grammar schools as of summer 2015 are celebrated as great

achievements. Instead, shouldn't this be common practice long ago in a country where about 3 million people speak the language and its high vitality has been documented by many studies? Only a couple of ten thousands of pupils learn Turkish as part of heritage language instruction, most of them in North Rhine Westphalia where Turkish indeed exists as a subject with a curriculum. Yet, how many children from the majority population have attended those classes, has never been documented. A subject comparable to Russian, Chinese or Japanese as a foreign language at secondary level, offered also at grammar schools and open to all learners, does not yet exist for Turkish. Turkish remains stuck to its image as an immigrant language – a very much stigmatized one. In fact, Turkish is in urgent need of an Opel campaign.

Why Turkish? German parents' motivation

What could make German parents want their children to attend Turkish lessons? Why is learning Turkish seen to be of value for parents in Linden? Some of the German mothers who talked about their children's experience with the Turkish program at the school have witnessed the very early beginnings. "The school had such a bad reputation. It was the school for the Turks" is the prejudice a mother confirmed whose two boys both attend/ed bilingual classes. The mother continued, "Many other parents said how can you send your child to that school? Don't you feel there are too many foreigners? How can you justify this for Tom's education?" She vividly remembers how she often had to defend their decision and how she explained the Turkish concept to friends, "No, it's not about making Turkish the number one language in Linden, that's rubbish. It's about breaking up the power difference between the children. If I learn something about your language and your culture, it will be easier for you to open up to my language and culture. It was this. Frau Albrecht had many good arguments she used in order to fight for diversity. But it was really hard to convince other parents of the Turkish concept." Tom's mother saw the special language program as a vehicle to celebrate diversity and openness. She continues, "If all clever families send their children to other schools... who can assure that children mix if we don't send our children there?" Later on she also self-critically confesses, "Looking back, I must admit that we had also hoped to meet the more open and more reflective parents in the bilingual class." She reveals that yet another argument was obviously weighing much when the family was in the process to decide whether to stay in the school district or to leave by stating, "The long opening hours of the school were a real temptation, yes!" For quite a few parents, this had triggered the decision to register for or not to unregister at Albert-Schweitzer school.

Another German family with an academic background has sent all their girls to Albert-Schweitzer school, the first girl around the same time at the beginning of the Turkish bilingual program. The mother can also recall their motives well, why she and her husband eventually decided to send the first daughter, Sandra, to the local school which had such a bad reputation, "First, we wanted her to go to the neighborhood school which was closest. Many other children from our streets would go there too, we wanted her to have friends close by." There are many more reasons she remembers, amongst them the special Turkish program. In her eyes, she says that Sandra was a very special child, "She has always been curious, never had any problems meeting new people. And learning about a language which is spoken in the neighborhood, in a playful way, yes – I thought this would be very enriching for Sandra." She adds with some envy, "I would have loved to attend such a program myself." At the same time, Sandra's mother was also a little concerned before the first day of school as her daughter seemed to be very bright. Hence, in her statements the fear that Sandra could not be challenged enough at school is quite obvious. Eventually, the Turkish program

seemed like an extra intellectual challenge for her daughter who, apparently, "has a thing with languages." Similar to Tom's mother, Sandra's mother uses the argument that it is a matter of respect to be open towards foreign cultures and languages people from other countries speak in Germany. "I really would not have loved to learn German myself as a foreign language. I am *very* happy I was born here (laughs). It is such a difficult language. I think it is important that our children learn to appreciate other languages. This is a simple matter of respect and the Turkish program contributes to this. The kids realize, wow, it's not so easy to learn a difficult foreign language. They understand better how hard it is for other children to learn German. When children grow up in families without perfect German, our children can see, yes that's not easy. But they do not look down on children whose German is not perfect. Because they know learning Turkish is just as hard." Sandra's mother then gets hooked on the notion of "perfect German." She seems annoyed about a prevailing attitude amongst some of her fellow citizens, "Speaking of people from other countries, in Germany if someone does not speak perfect German, people doubt whether this person can be intelligent. That's really spooky! Especially if people are from lower classes, and make a single grammar mistake, there is this attitude I can look down on him... How terrible, language competences don't tell much about a person's intelligence."

Fulfilled expectations

Measured against her expectations, Tom's mother seems very content with what Tom had learned at the school. Presently, Tom's smaller brother Olli is in fourth grade and will leave the school in the summer. All together she has witnessed a time stretch of about 7 to 8 years at the school. In reflecting on that time, Tom's mother says, "I think, the boys have learned that diversity is normal in our society. Yes, it is normal for them to play with Turkish friends, to go to their homes... they respect other cultures." The Turkish program has been a bridge between the children so that they can interact as equals. Tom's mom recalls some events from her son's early elementary school days, "He came home and was very proud that he had learned the Turkish numbers which he also taught us. He said, mom, there is a boy in my class who can speak this language, they speak it at home! He was full of admiration." Sandra's mom is likewise content about the language program although she phrases her reflections far more carefully, "I don't know if this is really the school's effect or the Turkish lessons' impact, but maybe it is... Sandra was an open person before, and she still is and if that's the school effect, it's more than we could have wished for... Sandra does not categorize people... That's the most important thing for me and that makes me happy."

Intercultural encounters: The Börek incident

Apparently, in the bilingual classes children seem to make friends easier across languages. This is an observation made by teachers who teach in the bilingual classes and an observation which parents confirm. Teachers also report on observations in the non-bilingual classes where groups and friendships tend to develop more within languages confines. In addition to their children's friendships in the bilingual classes, the parents also meet and have more intense contact with families from various cultural backgrounds. In the following vignette, Sandra's mother reflects on an intercultural encounter with deep impact. It made her reconsider her own cultural standards.

The energetic woman is vividly moved when she talks about the incident with the family of one of her younger daughter's best friends, a Turkish-Kurdish girl named Zeynep. The two friends had arranged a sleep-over at Zeynep's house. In the evening, the German father gave his daughter a lift to her friend Zeynep's house. Sandra's mom had stayed home

preparing dinner. When her husband returned from the short trip, he had a huge stack of fresh börek in his arms and said to his wife, 'Forget about dinner, put the food away for tomorrow - today we'll have börek!' Sandra's mother seems still fascinated about this event, self-critically she reflects on the situation, 'This was a very unusual situation. Zeynep's mother must have just taken the börek out of the oven. Then a visitor arrives and drops off a friend. She quickly packs up some food and gives him a packet to take it home. ( ) Here (in the German context; maybe even in her family), you wouldn't imagine this to happen! A visitor arrives and gets some of the food as a present to take home, no ' Thinking aloud and elaborating on her reflections, she first used the word 'shame' which she then dismisses as she changes perspectives. She moves away from her point of view to that of Zeynep's mother's perspective. Thus, she drops the word "shame" and substitutes it for "generous" and "unselfish" and talks about a "generous and unselfish way" of dealing with the situation. Recalling the event and also anticipating the situation in which she had not be present, she seems very touched. Full of emotions she says that she is deeply impressed by the flexibility, not only to cook quantities which are larger than just a family dinner but also by always being ready for something unexpected to happen. With great respect she pinpoints the gesture of appreciation expressed by a food gift as follows: "Here, I like you – take that!"

The interview situation in which Sandra's mother recalls and talks about the börek incident was highly emotional. It seems possible that it had the quality of a moment of epiphany, a moment which led Sandra's mother to a self-realization, an observation which throws into question a habitual way of dealing with an everyday situation. Planning the family dinner and preparing the food for it. "Shame" was the word which had passed her lips first, but it was obviously too strong and not really suitable for what she wanted to express. However, it referred to her own way of dealing with dinner in her home. Preparing dinner according to her family standards means to have enough food for all family members. In Zeynep's family, it means preparing a lot more food and, likewise, be prepared for possible guests or visitors or to be ready to give away an "ikram" – a food present which is a gesture of appreciation and respect in the Turkish culture - so well pinpointed by Sandra's mother. Sandra's mother seems to be a very modern and open woman, respectful and sensitive towards other people's needs and views. The flexibility with which Zeynep's mother dealt with the child-drop-off situation, obviously deeply impressed her and probably also changed the way of looking onto an internalized everyday routine. Changing perspectives, new insights, and self-revelations can be seen as important preconditions for changing behavior and interactions. Sandra's mother and the börek case can be taken as a positive example to illustrate how change and exchange between parents and families is possible within the wider community around Albert-Schweitzer school. It is also an example which shows how enriching diversity and multiculturalism can be for the "dominant German culture." Given Sandra's mother's openness and curiosity, it is not unlikely that she has already started to prepare larger amounts of food for family dinners and possible guests and ikrams.

Opinion leaders as driving force for diversity

In general, the few examples given here show how important parents are not only as stakeholders but also as opinion leaders and change agents at a local level. The principal's strategy to convince middle class families about her school concept, to bring them in, and to rely on their opinion leader qualities seems to have worked out. Tom and Olli's mother e.g. belongs to one of such families from the early days of the Turkish program. However, in her case obviously not much persuasion was necessary as she seems to be a very curious and open-minded person with strong liberal convic-

tions. She appreciates diversity herself and believes that it is important that children mix and grow up with as something natural. In the interview, this can also be identified as a feeling of responsibility towards the community and society (if we don't send our children there, who would?). She used the attribute "clever" to describe those families, but she clarified later that she did not mean "clever" in the sense of intelligent but as in "reflective" and "critically thinking." She also recounts how hard it was to convince other families and parents not only of the school in general (too many foreigners / Turks) but also of the language program (Turkish, the no 1 language in Linden). Tom's mother understands the language program as a means to break up the 'power difference' between the children and is in line with Sandra's mother here who is very critical about the widespread attitude amongst Germans to look down on people who do not speak "perfect German." In both statements, the language program is seen as substantial for the process of understanding others as different but equal. Both mothers believe in the positive side-effects learning a foreign language has for the development of empathy. Sandra's mother is very explicit here and also convinced that learning a difficult foreign language like Turkish means that her daughters will understand better how hard it is to learn a difficult language like German.

Most expectations the two mothers have pinned to the school's special program are related to intercultural competencies: Openness and respect, tolerance and empathy, interacting as equals and avoiding stereotyping and superiority. With hindsight, they both see these fulfilled (diversity is normal; not categorizing other people). But decisions for or against a school are made and often have to be made on assumptions and rumors rather than experience and verified facts. These two mothers' assumptions were manifold:

Albert-Schweitzer school is <u>good for my child</u> because... s/he will learn about diversity as a reality. S/he will learn some Turkish which is spoken by many children in the neighborhood. Learning Turkish will be an extra challenge and an enrichment. S/he will understand that learning a foreign language is difficult and that making mistakes is normal. S/he will regard children who learn German as a second or foreign language as equals and will not categorize others or look down on them.

Sending my child to Albert-Schweitzer school is <u>good for the society</u> because... it is a place of diversity where children can mix and learn from each other. Children will learn that diversity is normal. Power differences between groups will be broken up and improve mutual understanding and social cohesion as children will socialize and make friends.

Sending my child to Albert-Schweitzer school is <u>good for me and my family</u> because... the school's concept corresponds with my personal beliefs and our family's objectives in education... the long opening hours will enable me to better integrate work and family life.

Last but not least, educational choices by middle class families for Albert-Schweitzer school are also <u>good for the school itself</u> for much the same reasoning: Children from multilingual and poor families will have more peers from monolingual German middle class families around, friendships between children will increase contacts between families which will improve social cohesion. Better social cohesion will work against segregation; less segregation will improve the school's reputation and enhance attractiveness for other middle class families. In that sense, Beatrix Albrecht's initial strategy has indeed done the trick. As a principal, she can just advertise her school, talk to people and try to convince parents that it will be a great place for their children to learn. But at the end of the day, parents make educational choices for or against schools. With their choices and their influence into the multilayered networks, parents are exceedingly

important as change agents on the local level. In short, getting opinion leaders hooked up for Albert-Schweitzer school was a very smart move which eventually stopped the downward spiral.

GROUP C: Pupils as change agents in the family and beyond

As opposed to politicians, policy makers, principals, parents and teachers, children's interactions are far less guided by ideologies, worldviews, and convictions. They look at the world in an innocent way and differentiate much more by what people do – not how they look or speak or what they believe. Asking a preschool child about the difference between her friends, the 5-year old girl explains: She is the best and fastest in football, Radi comes highest up in the nest-swing, Baran is always making jokes and Benni is the biggest clown. All four boys are her best friends: Sheshe's family is from Namibia, Radi's family is from Morroco, Baran's family is from Turkey and Benni's family is German. The four boys and the girl always play together, they couldn't look more different: Nelly is very tall, very fair haired and blue-eyed. Sheshe is a strong boy with very dark skin and black, curly hair. Radi is slim, has coffee brown skin and brown hair. Baran is small and has pitch black hair, big dark eyes and light brown skin. And Benni is a short, blond, pale boy with blue eyes. Together, they are a happy bunch of children who know that they can do different thing differently. Diversity is done – not seen, heard, or discussed. For small children religious, social, linguistic, or cultural diversity simply does not matter. Diversity is about football, running, playing, having fun, not about being colored or short, Muslim or Christian, Turkish or African or about "migration background."

In the same unprejudiced way, children encounter other languages. Initially, they do not care about their status in society or their value as cultural capital in the world but they are curious to learn and use languages. At Albert-Schweitzer school, the first encounter takes place with Turkish in year one. The children in the bilingual class are exposed to the language for about five lessons per week. Some of the time is dedicated for language learning but in some other periods, Turkish is used for content learning or in subject areas like maths, biology, or artwork. Learning the numbers in German means they will also learn the Turkish numbers. The German alphabet is taught as well as the Turkish one. Talking about the forest animals in science means they will also learn the respective words in Turkish. Turkish is taught by a native Turkish-speaking teacher and done as team-teaching together with the class teacher. Elementary pupils experience school as something normal. They take for granted that that's the way school is supposed to work. Hence, also Turkish is taken for granted. It belongs to school, it seems normal also for children who grow up in monolingual German-speaking families. The following three vignettes illustrate how German monolingual children at Albert-Schweitzer school respond to Turkish and how they carry their knowledge into the families.

Turkish travels into the families...

Marie had had a lesson on favorite words – in a language lesson. The favorites were collected at the board, in Turkish and in German. Everybody contributed, also the teacher. Marie carried some of the Turkish words home and must have talked about the lesson at dinner. A couple of days later her daddy asks her again about one particular Turkish word. It was the word the Turkish teacher had taught them and which could be used for someone special. Marie was upset because she had forgotten it too and couldn't tell her dad. First thing the next morning is that she runs up to her Turkish teacher and asks for it again: Ms. Özkan, Ms. Özkan, what was the Turkish word which we can use for "my sweetie"? Ms. Özkan answered, "That's "tatlım" (my sweetie), canım (darling). But why do you want

to know?" Marie said, "My dad wants to use it for my mom!"

Bubbly Paula also tells a story in which a father features. She is a bouncy, talkative 2nd grader and very fond of Turkish, too. She has no brothers and sister and her daddy often takes her to bed. During those bedtime procedures a number of routines have developed amongst the two. Paula's daddy – quite aware of the importance of mathematical basics in life – asks her questions in maths while she undresses and brushes teeth. But Paula has developed a similar strategy long ago. As she regularly teaches her parents the Turkish words she learns at school, for each maths question her father asks, she ask one Turkish vocabulary question in return.

... and beyond: To the hairdresser

Little blond first grader Jan is full of energy and enthusiasm. Talking to him about Turkish, he is unstoppable and all the words and phrases he knows in Turkish come flooding out of him like a waterfall. Before enrolling him at Albert-Schweitzer school, his parents had been very concerned, because Jan already knew how to read and could also write. They were worried that school would not challenge him enough. The school advised them to choose the bilingual Turkish program. This seems to have been the right choice. Jan seems to take in Turkish like a sponge. When they learn new words or phrases, he wants the Turkish teacher to write it all at the board for him. He is fascinated by the Turkish letters and has already discovered a number of similarities and also differences. After the first couple of weeks at school, his parents' concern had vanished, the class teacher reported from the first parents evening. At home, he is apparently very content and balanced and obviously he gets a lot of inspiration from learning Turkish.

Hence, Jan is very eager talking about all sorts of things related to Turkish. For instance that he always goes to the same hairdresser that he found out that this man can also speak Turkish and that he is called Cem. That's where he can use some of the Turkish he learns at school like 'merhaba' (hello) and 'selam' (greetings), he reports proudly. One day, he continues, "we had learned the word for scissors at school (makas) and I was so happy because I wanted to use it." He becomes more excited. "But then," he says, "I was on the chair and wanted to tell Cem, but I had forgotten the word!" Emotionally, talking about this embarrassing event makes him re-suffer it obviously. The 6-year old seems so angry about himself, yet his ambitions are remarkable.

Building bridges and new perspectives

The positive attitude children develop towards Turkish at Albert-Schweitzer school is palpable everywhere. In an environment in which the language is valued and upgraded, the children have no reason to devalue it. Marie and Paula are illustrating how easily the language travels into their families in an almost natural way – just like English, like numbers, like all sorts of other school-related knowledge. But there is a tiny little difference with regard to Turkish: An information gap between parents and children. With Turkish they go home and become teachers. They first learn Turkish and then teach it. And that's what the children love about it, too. They also realize how much easier they pick up the Turkish pronunciation and how much harder it is sometimes for their parents to remember words. Marie's story also shows how an otherwise "ugly duckling" language like Turkish gets stripped of the bad image it suffers from in society and, what's more, gets integrated into the intimate family language as something most special, as a pet name.

Moreover, parents also report about how positive their children's attitude is not only with regard to Turkish but also with regard to Turkey. During one class observation, a German-speaking girl explained: "Turkey is very beautiful and they have

such wonderful things there. One day I want to live and work there." In a similar way, Tom's mother recalls various incidents when her younger son Olli had come home with information he had learned about Turkey at school or material he had encountered and enthusiastically showed her, "Mom, look, there is this CD about Turkey we got. This is really interesting, you must have a look at it, too!" She also remembers a situation during an evening meal not long ago, when the family had a conversation about where to go for the summer holidays. "My husband and I, traditionally we have this preference for Spain and Italy when it comes to summer holidays. But Olli said: "Why can't we go to Turkey? It's really nice there and they have a lot of great beaches too." Olli's mother self-critically admits that she had never really had Turkey on her mind as a holiday destination. "But Olli was right, of course," she agrees – and while she talks about his incident, she also seems very content that her sons bring home new ideas and how this challenges her routine way of thinking and opens up new alleys of possibilities for the family. With a smile on her face she concludes, "In fact, it's very likely that we will book a holiday in Turkey this summer."

Jan's case, however, serves as an example how Turkish sparks off enthusiasm and turns into an intellectual challenge and enrichment program. Jan knew the letters of the German alphabet already before his first day of school. And like so many other children from the education-minded middle class families in Germany, he could read already. So, not surprisingly that his parents feared he would be bored at school. But their concerns turned out to be unjustified. Jan has developed an incredible interest in the language and also in Turkish letters. The Turkish teacher caters his special interest, feeds him with all the things he wants to know and explore. Finding out for himself about the differences and similarities of the two alphabets, will contribute to his language (learning) awareness. He already realized e.g. that for the German sound 'sch' he needs three letters in German but only one in Turkish, the Ş. For Jan and many other children as well, the Turkish program will lay the foundation for lifelong language learning. In comparison to English, a Germanic language with many similarities to German which makes learning it seem 'easy' and 'simple', learning the agglutinative structure of Turkish entails more cognitive mobilization for the powerful first-grader brains. In combination with high motivation, this will stimulate general learning abilities and contribute to the children's cognitive development. Another facet that is striking about Jan - the small, blond, talkative and charming boy – is that he has discovered the language's communicative value. With only a handful of words and phrases of Turkish but incredible self-confidence, he goes into the world and starts to build bridges. Jan has identified his hairdresser as a man who can speak Turkish – and is eager and proud to show him what he can already say.

The hairdresser himself remembers the incident well when Jan sailed into his shop one day and told him that he now learns Turkish at school. Thinking back he gets enthusiastic and recalls, "wow, that was so incredible! This little blond boy standing in the doorway and declaring 'I can speak Turkish now!' It was really unbelievable!" He goes on and explains that he himself was born in Germany and that sometimes but rarely people who are married to Turkish-speaking partners also have a go at Turkish. But he had never before met someone like Jan, a boy from a native German family who so proudly announced that he speaks Turkish. The hairdresser explains, "Then he told me everything he had learned at school and reeled down numbers, colors and other words. I was honestly impressed. I told him, 'Boy! Your pronunciation is better than that of my children!' It felt as if he was one of us – I could have hugged and kissed him, really!" Recollecting thoughts and feelings connected to the encounter with Jan, the situation the hairdresser describes seems to turn into a magic moment of wonder and excitement. The

hairdresser's narrative clearly reveals the degree of amazement and also joy when he learns about Jan's new ambition. Jan's attitude of 'getting connected' is maybe only a small gesture, but it has had an enormous emotional impact on his hairdresser whose family language has been so persistently ignored for the past fifty years in the country he was born. In that sense, innocent and curious children like Jan, Marie, and Paula and many other children from Albert-Schweitzer school are probably the most promising change agents of all as they carry a positive attitude for Turkish into the society. Some will be more, some less convincing ambassadors. But many of them will walk through the door the Turkish language program at Albert-Schweitzer school has pushed open for them to explore the multilingual reality in which they live. In any case and in their unprejudiced way they will be teaching some people a lesson – a language lesson which has long been overdue in Germany.

Alternative change agents and their impact

The evidence presented in the second part of this paper can be studied as a valuable case study of ground-up language policy. The achievements of the school as a community, the director, the parents, the teachers, and most of all the students are the agents of societal change. Before the school language policy was implemented, the parents and the students had been the objects of the top-down language policies in the highly segregated Albert-Schweitzer school. With the guidance of a visionary and courageous director, the school as a community formulated and acted its own tailor-made policy which fits the needs of their pupils. By so doing, the school cured a social wound; it got rid of a terrible stigma surrounding the school. All of this happened as a grassroots initiative which needed some special ingredients to develop into a remarkable success: strong leadership, committed teachers, and some open-minded and liberal parents. The evidence base presented in this paper is exhilarating; it provides hope for many thousands of immigrant children locked in the insurmountable walls of segregated and disadvantaged schools. Hence, Albert-Schweitzer school serves as an outstanding model for the promotion of multilingualism, diversity and, first and foremost, intercultural encounters. The school does not only facilitate learning of immigrant languages by immigrant children, it also teaches an immigrant language to native speakers of German and other languages. The credo of the school, namely that 'Turkish belongs to our neighborhood and to this school' stands in great opposition to rigid nation-state institutions limiting and even banning the use of immigrant languages on the school yard. Albert-Schweitzer school has taken action to fight against ethnic and linguistic segregation and to improve mutual understanding and social cohesion by upgrading Turkish in its curriculum. It is important to realize that the school simultaneously developed into an all-days school as this structure was needed in order to make the language program more sustainable.

The European Union has been promoting linguistic diversity with the slogan 'unity in diversity' for many years. As documented in Language Rich Europe project (Extra & Yağmur, 2012), however, most nation-states do not comply with the European recommendations. Albert-Schweitzer school seems like an ideal model taking up all the suggestions of the European Union and Council of Europe by implementing a language program which integrates the dominant school language (German), the largest immigrant language in Germany (Turkish) and the most important foreign language (English) into the school curriculum. EU language policies aim to protect linguistic diversity and promote knowledge of languages, for reasons of cultural identity and social integration, but also because multilingual citizens are better placed to take advantage of the educational, professional and economic opportunities created by an integrated Europe. Albert-Schweitzer school values the cultural and linguistic heritage of all its students by respecting the cultural identity of each student in the school. Turkish, however, can be seen as the school's 'adoptive' language, a concept suggested by a group of intellectuals around Alan Maalouf (2008) to the European Commission. Turkish is clearly the community language in the neighborhood of Linden; it is the language which is dominating the streetscape next to German, intermingling with other languages and can be seen and heard at every corner. As Turkish lives in the neighborhood and can be spoken, used and – possibly – be also learned in the streets of Linden, it was lending itself to become the adoptive language of Albert-Schweitzer school.

A community language provides the school with new and innovative approaches to teaching it. The great potential to teach Turkish as a community language can be seen in its communicative sustainability and, thus, impact for intercultural learning. Whereas in the traditional way foreign languages are taught and learned for a possible future encounter and communication has to be simulated in the classroom, pupils like Jan have realized that Turkish is a language which can easily be used after class on the way back home. The side-effects in terms of intercultural learning and mutual understanding can be powerful, as the hairdresser incident has impressively shown. The same incident also shows how foreign language learning can be extended into the neighborhood and how empowering this experience is for pupils who dare to use the language for communication with native Turkish speakers. Jan's curiosity and gesture of getting-connected not only points to a hitherto widely unnoticed facet of integration, with the hairdresser's praise he also came home a head taller.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) involves pupils learning subjects such as science or geography through the medium of another language, which is strongly encouraged as an efficient and effective way to develop communicative competence. The Council of Europe encourages CLIL as an approach to teach foreign languages in a communicative manner. On the basis of the Language Rich Europe project (Extra & Yağmur, 2012), it is documented that besides additive school bilingualism usually achieved by using English, CLIL is widespread primarily in the teaching of regional minority languages, because these languages are normally the pupils' home languages, and so they are already able to communicate in them. Albert-Schweitzer school has successfully implemented an immigrant language, i.e. the community language Turkish in a CLIL fashion in the curriculum. As opposed to mainstream CLIL programs, the school's intention is not to reach 'balanced bilingualism' in the pupils. Instead, intercultural opening and mutual understanding are the main aims the school is trying to achieve with its CLIL program. In that respect, the CLIL program is successfully used as a tool to make the school's intercultural ethos more sustainable.

Moreover, the European Cultural Convention encourages states to support the study of each other's languages, history and civilization. The European Social Charter ensures the right of migrant workers and their families to learn the language(s) of the receiving state and supports the teaching of the migrant worker's mother tongue to the children of the migrant worker. Two CoE conventions are directly concerned with European standards to promote and safeguard linguistic diversity and language rights – the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* and the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. The Charter is a cultural instrument designed to protect and promote regional or minority languages as a threatened aspect of Europe's cultural heritage. It provides for specific measures to support the use of this category of languages in education and the media, and to permit their use in judicial and administrative settings, economic and social life and cultural activities. The Framework Convention specifies the conditions necessary for persons belonging to national minorities to maintain and develop their culture, and to preserve the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage. States which have ratified these conventions are monitored with regard to their fulfillment of the commitments they have undertaken. Whereas EU institutions monitor the measures and facilities for learning and teaching of regional minority languages, no such monitoring is in place for immigrant languages. There are only wishes and suggestions for immigrant languages but no binding regulations. Nation-states take their own measures. In the case of Germany, an important paradigm shift within

the educational establishment has been executed in the recent past. Officially, immigrant languages should no longer be devalued in school settings and, instead, should be regarded as an asset for the individual and the society alike. And although many valuable initiatives have mushroomed in post-PISA Germany, there is no official language policy which unifies them and explicitly integrates or upgrades immigrant languages.

Turkish belongs to Germany

In various recommendations, suggestions and communications from the CoE and EU, multilingualism is identified as an asset for Europe. The EU motto for multilingualism is 'communication in mother tongue plus two languages.' Mother tongue is mostly defined as the first language learned and used in the home context, while the two other languages usually refer to 'one foreign language' (mostly English) and 'a neighboring language.' If the person is born in Denmark and speaks Danish as the home language, this person would also learn a popular foreign language and plus a neighboring language such as German or Swedish. The European Commission holds the view that 'multilingualism should be mainstreamed across EU policy areas' (EC 2008). In the same Communication, it is stated that "National, regional, minority and migrant languages add a facet to our common cultural background." Accordingly, the importance and value of the national language for integration and participation is emphasized: 'mastering national language is fundamental to integrating successfully and playing active role.' It is essential that non-native speakers learn the national language. The responsibilities of non-native speakers of national languages are listed in all national and European documents. However, the factors leading to poor language acquisition are not dealt with any comprehensive manner. Many immigrant children are not able to learn the national languages sufficiently simply because of the old-fashioned submersion models in most European schools. Children attending segregated schools cannot interact with native speakers of the national languages. The input provided by classroom teachers is often not sufficient for the development of a full-fledged academic language. Instead of finding solutions to end school segregation, policy makers and politicians tend to choose the easy way out by blaming the immigrant parents for not speaking the national language in their homes. Albert-Schweitzer school undermines all the political discourse regarding monolingual state ideology by having implemented a language policy which strongly communicates 'Turkish belongs to Germany.'

The EU has a unique approach to language diversity: its strategy for multilingualism in the EU includes R/M languages, immigrant languages, dialects, major world languages, and sign languages. In this respect, the EU's diversity policy is remarkable. While the EU and CoE point out the value of multilingualism, the national policy and practice might vary to a certain extent in line with the national and local circumstances. This variation is inevitable as legal and constitutional priorities differ from one national context to the other. Regarding the recognition of multilingualism and plurilingualism in the European context, data have been collected in LRE participating countries. Organization of multilingual education and preparing teachers for linguistically diverse classrooms are some challenges facing European public education. For successful language teaching and learning, it is essential that teachers are trained or encouraged to valorize and make use of the plurilingual repertoire of children in their classrooms. As documented in Language Rich Europe project, European countries have a rather negative record in dealing with linguistic diversity and in teaching the national language to immigrant minority children. Here again, Albert-Schweitzer school brings in a fresh approach to language learning as it employs Turkish as a language which supports concept learning for

native Turkish speaking children and at the same time/in the same classroom functions an enrichment program for monolingual native German and non-Turkish speaking pupils.

As pointed out in academic literature, primary education is the beginning of literacy education for all children and it is a crucial stage in the schooling career of pupils. Various international agencies such as UNESCO, the EU and CoE highlight the importance of mother tongue education. International agencies concerned with early education, children's rights, and linguistic diversity argue strongly in favor of using a child's home language as the medium of instruction, at least in the early years of formal schooling (cf. Ball 2011). However, given the rich linguistic diversity in some European schools, this is not always easy to arrange for children from widely different backgrounds. In many cases, education is provided only in the national language, while foreign, R/M, and immigrant languages receive (very) little attention. Different from many schools in Europe, Albert-Schweitzer school holds onto the principle of early language learning. Turkish is taught to children coming from various linguistic backgrounds which increase their metalinguistic awareness. Besides, students coming from Turkish and Arabic speaking backgrounds are offered early literacy training in their mother tongues which improves their concept development.

The European Commission highlights the benefits of linguistic diversity but at the same time warns policy makers that without adequate policies, this diversity might present challenges. It can widen the communication gap between people of different cultures and increase social divisions, giving the multilingual access to better living and working opportunities while excluding the monolingual. The EC underlines the importance of adequate policies for effective management of diversity in the classrooms. Policy makers are in a way accountable for organizing language teaching effectively in various types of schools. In line with EU and CoE recommendations, most European countries try their best to prepare their young generations for a multilingual Europe. However, policy makers tend to interpret linguistic diversity as teaching traditional modern foreign languages. Instead of teaching the languages spoken in the larger community or in the neighborhood where children live, they offer language classes in a number of 'popular' foreign languages such as English, French, German, and Spanish. Most countries also organize classes in R/M. Immigrant languages are offered only in a limited number of countries.

Lower school achievement among immigrant minority children is a serious problem in most European countries. Factors leading to underachievement at school are complex and interrelated. In the literature on bilingualism and school success, individual characteristics of minority students are shown to be one of the most influential on school failure. Because of subtractive bilingual environments cognitive skills of ethnic students do not develop sufficiently compared to mainstream children. If a child's home language is undervalued or banned on the school ground, identity development might also be hampered. As a result, lower self-esteem among minority students might lead to lower achievement. Due to segregated schools, there is insufficient exposure to the majority language which might in turn lead to inadequate proficiency in the mainstream language. It is also common knowledge that there are gaps between home and school culture due to different socialization patterns, which might also have an effect on school achievement of immigrant children. Most immigrant parents are known to be non-proficient in the mainstream language, which leads to restrictions in parental involvement. By removing the practice of giving homework, Albert-Schweitzer school was able to diminish the power difference between families. In spite of weaker socio-economic

status and low schooling of most immigrant parents, Albert-Schweitzer school has been able to mobilize immigrant parents in different ways, which has created a strong spirit of whole school community. Most important of all, the school dropped the old-fashioned submersion model. Instead, teachers from linguistic minority backgrounds were employed so that they could support first and second language development of immigrant children. Alongside, a language-across-curriculum approach is being introduced. The results of such fundamental changes cannot be obtained within a few school years. Education is long term investment and as seen in Figure 1 below, school achievement has improved tremendously over a period of ten years at Albert-Schweitzer school.

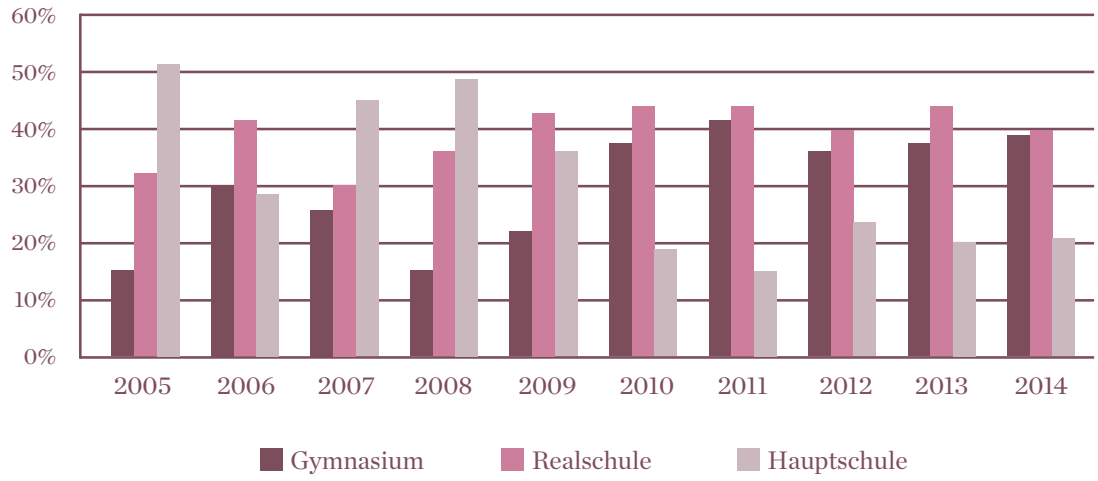
As seen from the graph, when the school director Beatrix Albrecht took up her position at Albert-Schweitzer school, only around 15% children were sent to the prestigious grammar schools after four years of elementary school. Around 50% of pupils were continuing their education in very low status Hauptschule (manual vocational schools) or in middle school (Realschule 35%). Apparently, it took six years to reverse the tide. The bilingual program started in 2004, yet the all-day-school concept was implemented in 2007. The full impact of those and other measures taken shows in 2011 when the first generation of pupils had been through the program for four years. Last year, while only 20% of pupils went to Hauptschule, more than 40% of children were recommended for the high prestige Gymnasiums. In short, this is an excellent achievement.

Outlook: More equal opportunities

There are many lessons to be learned from this unusual school in Hanover. Policy makers, politicians, media, teachers, and especially scholars need to gain insights from the experiences of Albert-Schweitzer school. Policy makers can take strong measures to deal with the high percentages of school failure in multi-ethnic schools. Instead of searching for the causes of school failure in ethnicity, religion,

Figure 1: School recommendations at Albert-Schweitzer school from 2005 to 2014:

Gymnasium = Grammar school, Realschule = Middle school, Hauptschule = vocational school. In 2007 the school began to operate as an all-day school.



socio-cultural differences, 'insufficient integration levels,' and in the home language of children, the socio-cultural background of immigrant children and consequently their identities can be valued and school segregation can be battled by bringing together families from all walks of life in the school community. As seen clearly in the case of Albert-Schweitzer school, dealing with linguistic differences and valuing the home languages of immigrant minority children might make a huge difference in their educational achievement. This requires not only a solid school language policy but also an adjustment of the overall school structure. Instead of insisting on the old-fashioned submersive education models and relying on parents as support teachers at home, various forms of bilingual education in combination with all-day school structures need to be adopted by German (and European) elementary schools.

Albert-Schweitzer school makes a difference for the future of many children from disadvantaged homes. At the same time, native German pupils from middle class families learn that diversity is normal and that being monolingual does not mean to feel superior. Thus, in the bilingual classes the emergence of power differences between children can be nipped in the bud. Moreover, children who learn Turkish recognize that the language belongs to their neighborhood; they can experience its communicative value in their immediate environment. Many measures have contributed to the remarkable school development in the past decade. What used to be a highly segregated and ill-famed school for the Turks has turned into a price-worthy school which serves as a role-model. As such, Albert-Schweitzer school is not only a place where academic learning takes place; it's a place for self-exploration, identity development and, thus, a school where equal opportunities are dished out more evenly amongst pupils. What mattered most was the unusual multilingual program which triggered off this outstanding process of school development.

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ISBN: 978-605-4348-75-6

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