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Uvodnik

DR. SILVA BRATOŽ

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gostujoči urednici

Natanko 30 let je minilo od izdaje monografije *Der monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule* (Enojezični habitus večjezične šole) nemške pedagoginje Ingrid Gogolin, v kateri s konkretnimi študijami primerov prikaže poklicna stališča in vedenje učiteljev od 19. stoletja do danes. Njena osrednja teza je, da je nemški šolski sistem, kot je bil zgrajen v nacionalni državi, v 19. stoletju razvil enojezično samopodobo. Ta samopodoba še danes usmerja šole in pomeni vsaj delno izključevanje migrantov iz izobraževalnega sistema. Gogolin se zavzema za premik od krizne pedagogike k jezikovnemu izobraževanju in vključevanju kot osnovni sestavini raziskovanja migracij ter izvajanja socialne in izobraževalne politike.

Razmere v nemškem šolskem sistemu so zlahka prenosljive tudi na druge nacionalne države v Evropi, saj tudi te temeljijo na neizrečeni predpostavki, da so razredi jezikovno homogene skupine. Kakšne premike in v katero smer smo naredili v teh 30 letih od kritike enojezičnega habitusa naših šol? V koliki meri danes upoštevamo različne jezikovne izkušnje in življenjske pogoje učencev, kar še zdaleč ne pomeni samo rešitev v okviru avtohtonih manjšinskih sistemov, ampak predvsem povsod, kjer različni migracijski tokovi sežejo do šolskih razredov. Gledano širše to zajema tudi notranjo večjezičnost učencev, ki obvladujejo različne jezikovne zvrsti enega jezika. Je poklicni habitus današnjih učiteljev še vedno enojezično usmerjen v smislu, da je vzpostavljane enojezičnosti v uradnem nacionalnem jeziku imperativ učiteljeve poklicne naravnosti? Kako učitelji danes premagujejo izzive učenja (tudi usvajanja) tujih jezikov v kontekstu avtohtonih in novih manjšin, ki so ga seveda z nekaj izjemami deležni vsi, ki so vključeni v šolski sistem. Na ta in sorodna vprašanja skušamo odgovoriti v tej posebni številki revije.

Izhajamo iz tega, da je vključevanje danes obvezni del razvijanja zmožnosti za uspešno delovanje v večjezični družbi in predpostavlja ustvarjanje različnih pogojev, ki vključujejo tako družbene in izobraževalne kot tudi jezikovne dejavnike. Z vidika družbe gre predvsem za sprejemanje in priznavanje raznolikosti ter pozitivnih stali

do drugih jezikov in kultur, medtem ko je na področju izobraževanja smiselno razvijati programe in smernice, ki spodbujajo uspešno učenje (in usvajanje) tujih jezikov v primeru avtohtonih in novih manjšin, saj želimo poudariti prednosti znanja več jezikov ter pozitivnih stališč do drugih jezikov in kultur, medtem ko je na področju izobraževanja smiselno razvijati programe in smernice, ki spodbujajo uspešno učenje (in usvajanje) tujih jezikov v primeru avtohtonih in novih manjšin, saj želimo poudariti prednosti znanja več jezikov. Prispevki, ki so pred vami, poskušajo na ta in podobna vprašanja odgovoriti s postavljanjem različnih raziskovalnih vprašanj, usmerjenostjo na različne starostne ciljne skupine in z uporabo vrste metodoloških pristopov, obenem pa s fokusom na različne šolske sisteme v Evropi in širše. Tako z raziskovanjem internacionalne in medkulturne dimenzije krepijo mednarodni značaj revije. Oglejmo si na kratko vse prispevke, kot si sledijo v reviji.

V prvem prispevku z naslovom *Multilingual Educational Practices at pre-primary level in Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Croatia: a Comparative Analysis* avtorice **Mojca Žefran, Natascha J. Taslimi, Silvia Toniolo** in **Lorena Lazarić** s ciljem ocenitve trenutnega stanja predstavljajo ugotovitve pregledne študije znanstvenih člankov, projektov, mrež in pravnih dokumentov o večjezičnih praksah na predšolski stopnji v Sloveniji, na Hrvaškem, v Avstriji in Italiji. Rezultati ponujajo dragocen vpogled in izpostavljajo potrebo po krepitvi kompetenc učiteljev.

Sledijo prispevki, ki se nanašajo na posamezne šolske sisteme in okolja, vendar pa ponujajo precej prenosljivih ugotovitev ter možnosti primerjav. **Georg Traska** v svojem prispevku z naslovom *Multilingual Memory of Migration. A Participatory Oral History Project in Austria* na političnem ozadju nepriznane avstrijske migracijske zgodovine in politične paradigme enojezičnosti uporabi metodo participativnega projekta ustne zgodovine, pri čemer za opravljanje biografskih intervjujev vključuje študente z lastnim migracijskim in večjezičnim ozadjem. S tem prispeva k t. i. nacionalnemu arhivu migracij, ki v Avstriji še ni institucionaliziran. Avtorici **Sonja Rutar** in **Katica Pevce Semec** nas pod naslovom *Upoštevanje prvega in učenje drugega jezika s perspektive celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok priseljencev v slovenskih vrtcih in šolah* seznanjata z rezultati raziskave o jezikovnih potrebah otrok migrantov ter stališčih strokovnih delavcev. Pokazalo se je, da vrtci in šole sicer prepoznava jezikovne potrebe otrok priseljencev, vendar pa zaposleni potrebujejo dodatna didaktična znanja za izvajanje celostnega in vertikalno integriranega pristopa vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole. V prispevku z naslovom *Motivacija za učenje tujih jezikov in*

odnos do njih v kontekstu funkcionalne večjezičnosti **Jernej Čelofiga** in **Alja Lipavc Oštir** raziskujeta dinamiko jezikovnih stališč, motivacije za učenje jezikov ter razvoj funkcionalne večjezičnosti v družinskem kontekstu v primeru dnevnih čezmejnih migrantov iz Slovenije v Avstrijo. Podatki raziskave poudarjajo zapleteno naravo jezikovnih identitet in preferenc znotraj migrantskih družin, saj kažejo na niz vzporednih kulturnih identifikacij in prilagajanje jezikom ter zvrstem. Iz nemško govorečega prostora, kjer ima raziskovanje razvijanja večjezičnosti v kontekstu migracij bogato tradicijo, prihaja tudi prispevek z naslovom *Mehrsprachigkeit in der deutschen Schule: Der Einfluss der eigenen Vorurteile von Lehrkräften auf den Schulerfolg der Schüler:innen mit dem sogenannten „Migrationshintergrund“*. V njem **Barbara Mertins**, **Joël Alipaß** in **Katrin Odermann** raziskujejo napačno enačenje večjezičnosti z migrantskim ozadjem, s čimer je povezana tudi predstava o pozitivni vlogi večjezičnosti, ki jo tradicionalno razvija šolski sistem. V prispevku so uporabljeni empirični podatki o vrednotenju jezikov, ki kažejo, da enačenje večjezičnosti in migrantskega ozadja ni vzdržno in da konstrukt vrednotenja jezikov pomembno vpliva na prepričanja učiteljev. Zaradi vsega tega potrebujemo v šolskem kontekstu nov pristop k večjezičnosti. Sklop zaključuje prispevek z naslovom *Zum Verhältnis von Deutschunterricht und Erstsprachenunterricht bei migrationsgesellschaftlicher Mehrsprachigkeit im schultheoretischen Kontext*, v katerem **Rainer Hawlik** obravnava pogoje, v katerih se številni šoloobvezni večjezični otroci z nemščino kot drugim jezikom in jezikom okolja izobražujejo v avstrijskem šolskem sistemu. Z vidika teorije sistemov prinaša prispevek odgovore na vprašanja o zmožnostih učiteljev, odstopati od enojezičnih predstav, kar je posledica ponotranjanja nesporne legitimizacije institucionalnega ciljnega jezika nemščine. S tem povezano avtor problematizira tudi pomen socialnoekonomskega in družbeno-kulturnega konteksta otrok migrantov.

Sledijo trije prispevki iz slovenskega prostora. **Andreja Šeškar Kastelic**, **Silva Bratož** in **Anja Pirih** v članku z naslovom *Razvijanje medkulturnih kompetenc učiteljev s pomočjo mednarodnih programov mobilnosti* predstavljajo raziskavo stališč osnovnošolskih učiteljev do vpliva mednarodnih programov mobilnosti na njihov poklicni in osebni razvoj. Rezultati kažejo, da ima izkušnja mobilnosti številne pozitivne učinke za poklicni in osebni razvoj udeležencev ter njihovo pridobivanje medkulturnih kompetenc, udeleženci jo opisujejo kot pozitivno, vredno ponovitve in jih priporočajo kolegom. Pomen razvijanja medkulturnih kompetenc poudarja tudi **Melita Lemut Bajec**, ki v svojem članku *Fostering intercultural education at tertiary level: a case study with students of humanities* preučuje stališča študentov do medkulturnega izobraževanja. Rezultati študije primera, ki jo je izvedla s študenti humanističnih ved,

kažejo, da imajo udeleženci pozitivna stališča do medkulturnega izobraževanja, saj ta spodbuja razumevanje in spoštovanje različnih kultur ter razvoj medkulturnega dialoga. Pod naslovom *Model TiDE – Ustvarjanje digitalnega gradiva za raznojezično izobraževanje z bodočimi vzgojitelji* **Anita Sila** in **Andreja Klančar** tematizirata večjezično izobraževanje z uporabo digitalnih tehnologij v predšolski vzgoji po modelu TiDE (angl. Teaching in Digital Education). Predstavitev pomena digitalnih didaktičnih gradiv dopolnjujeta z rezultati študije s študenti, ki kažejo, da so nove digitalne tehnologije lahko zelo učinkovite pri razvoju zanimivih, učinkovitih in na učence osredotočenih virov, ki spodbujajo večjezično ozaveščenost učencev ter odprto odnos do jezikovne in kulturne raznolikosti.

Osnovno idejo tematske številke zaključujemo s pogledom preko meja Evrope. V prispevku *Analysing First Grade Teachers' Strategies for Enhancing English Reading Proficiency in Multilingual Classroom Environments in Namibia* **Annaly Magda Strauss** na osnovi študije podaja rezultate, ki kažejo, da učitelji za razvijanje bralnih zmožnosti v večjezičnih razredih ne uporabljajo strukturiranega ali sistematičnega pristopa za podporo učencem pri branju in se zanašajo predvsem na metodo prevajanja, pri tem pa ne diferencirajo branja, da bi podprli učence na različnih bralnih ravneh. Tako se kaže potreba po novih, na učenca osredotočenih pristopih. Pod naslovom *A case of early intentional bilingualism: a close examination of context and practices* avtorici **Serra Kayadibli-Oğuz** in **Zeynep Çamlıbel-Acar** tematizirata t. i. namerno dvojezičnost, pri čemer analizirata študijo primera deklice ter jezikovne strategije staršev. Ugotavljata, da so na jezikovno okolje deklice najbolj vplivali posamezniki in situacije v njenem življenju, njen čustveni, socialni, kognitivni in dvojezični razvoj pa je sledil običajnemu poteku, in sicer predvsem zaradi posebne skrbi in prizadevanj zagotavljanje dosledne in obsežne izpostavljenosti obema jezikoma.

Ob izidu tematske številke *Revije za elementarno izobraževanje* izražava upanje, da sva z objavljenimi prispevki uspeli odpreti in odgovoriti na nekatera ključna vprašanja, obenem pa nakazati poti in možnosti za nadaljnje raziskovanje.

Literatura:

Gogolin, I. (1994). Der monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule. Münster: Waxmann

Editors' Introduction

It has been 30 years since the publication of the monograph *Der monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule* (*The Monolingual Habitus of the Multilingual School*) by the German pedagogue Ingrid Gogolin, in which she uses concrete case studies to illustrate the professional attitudes and behaviour of teachers from the 19th century to the present day. Her central thesis is that in the 19th century, the German school system, as it was built within the nation state, developed a monolingual self-image. This self-image is still used as a guiding principle in schools today and as a result, migrants are at least partially excluded from the education system. Gogolin advocates a shift from crisis pedagogy to language education and inclusion as a basic component of migration research and the implementation of social and educational policy.

The situation in the German school system is easily transferable to other nation states in Europe, as it is based on the unspoken assumption that classes represent linguistically homogeneous groups. The question is what kind of development has been made and in what direction in the 30 years since the criticism of the monolingual habitus of our schools was voiced? To what extent do we now actually take into account the different linguistic experiences and living conditions of pupils? And this does not just apply to the context of indigenous minority systems, but to all the contexts in which different migratory flows reach the school classroom. More broadly, this also includes the intrinsic multilingualism of pupils who are proficient in different linguistic varieties of one language. Is the professional habitus of today's teachers still monolingual in the sense that establishing monolingualism in the official national language is an imperative of the teacher's professional orientation? How do teachers today overcome the challenges of foreign language learning and acquisition in the context of indigenous and new minorities, which of course, with a few exceptions, is shared by all those involved in the school system. These are some of the questions we seek to answer in this special issue of the journal.

Inclusion is today seen as an integral component of developing the competence to function successfully in a multilingual society. It requires the creation of a variety of conditions that include social and educational as well as linguistic factors. From a societal point of view, it is primarily a matter of acceptance and recognition of diversity and positive attitudes towards other languages and cultures, while in the field of education the goal is to develop programmes and guidelines that promote the successful learning (and acquisition) of foreign languages in the case of both indigenous and new minorities, highlighting the advantages of knowing several languages. The papers presented discuss these issues by asking different research questions, targeting different age groups and using a range of methodological approaches, while focusing on different school systems in Europe and beyond. Thus, by exploring the international and intercultural dimension, they reinforce the international character of the journal. Let us take a brief look at all the contributions as they appear in the journal.

In the first paper, *Multilingual Educational Practices at pre-primary level in Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Croatia: a Comparative Analysis*, **Mojca Žefran**, **Natascha J. Taslimi**, **Silvia Toniolo** and **Lorena Lazarić** present the findings of a review study of academic articles, projects, networks and legal documents on multilingual practices at pre-primary level in Slovenia, Croatia, Austria and Italy, with the aim of assessing the current situation in the field. The results offer valuable insights and highlight the need to strengthen teachers' competences for teaching in linguistically diverse environments.

The papers that follow are specific to individual school systems and environments but offer a number of transferable findings and opportunities for comparisons. **Georg Traska's** paper *Multilingual Memory of Migration: A Participatory Oral History Project in Austria' uses the method of a participatory oral history project*, involving students with their own migration and multilingual backgrounds to conduct biographical interviews, against the political backdrop of Austria's unrecognised migration history and the political paradigm of monolingualism. In this way, he contributes to the so-called national migration archive, which is not yet institutionalised in Austria. In their article *Taking into account first and second language learning from the perspective of a holistic approach to the integration of migrant children in Slovenian kindergartens and schools*, **Sonja Rutar** and **Katica Pevcec Semec** report the results of a survey on the language needs of migrant children and the views of practitioners.

The study shows that while kindergartens and schools recognise the language needs of migrant children, teachers need additional teaching competences to implement a holistic and vertically integrated approach to the inclusion of migrant children in kindergartens and schools.

In their paper entitled *Motivation for and attitudes towards foreign language learning in the context of functional multilingualism*, **Jernej Čelofiga** and **Alja Lipavič Oštir** explore the dynamics of language attitudes, motivation for language learning and the development of functional multilingualism in a family context in the case of daily cross-border migrants from Slovenia to Austria. The research data highlight the complex nature of linguistic identities and preferences within migrant families, as they point to a set of parallel cultural identifications and adaptations to languages and genres. The next article, entitled *Mehrsprachigkeit in der deutschen Schule: Der Einfluss der eigenen Vorurteile von Lehrkräften auf den Schulerfolg der Schüler:innen mit dem sogenannten "Migrationshintergrund"*, comes from the German-speaking area, where research on the development of multilingualism in the context of migration has a rich tradition. The authors, **Barbara Mertins**, **Joël Alipaß** and **Katrin Odermann** explore the misidentification of multilingualism with a migrant background, which is linked to the notion of the positive role of multilingualism traditionally developed by the school system. The paper uses empirical data on language evaluation to show that the equation of multilingualism with a migrant background is not sustainable and that the construct of language evaluation has a significant impact on teachers' beliefs. This calls for a new approach to multilingualism in the school context. The section concludes with the paper *Zum Verhältnis von Deutschunterricht und Erstsprachenunterricht bei migrationsgesellschaftlicher Mehrsprachigkeit*, in which **Rainer Hawlik** discusses the conditions under which many school-age multilingual children with German as a second language and as the language of the environment are educated in the Austrian school system. From a systems theory perspective, the paper provides answers to questions about teachers' capacities to deviate from monolingual representations, which is a consequence of the internalization of the unquestioned legitimization of the institutional target language German. Related to this, the author also critically discusses the importance of the socio-economic and socio-cultural context of migrant children.

The articles in the next section are focused on the Slovenian education system. In their article *Developing teachers' intercultural competences through international mobility programmes*, **Andreja Šeškar Kastelic**, **Silva Bratož** and **Anja Pirih**, present a survey of primary school teachers' attitudes towards the impact of international mobility

programmes on their professional and personal development. The results show that the mobility experience has a number of positive effects on the professional and personal development of the participants and on their acquisition of intercultural competences, and that the participants describe the mobility experience as a positive experience worth repeating and recommending to colleagues. The importance of developing intercultural competences is also highlighted by **Melita Lemut Bajec** in her paper *Fostering intercultural education at tertiary level: a case study with students of humanities*, in which she examines students' attitudes towards intercultural education. The results of a case study she conducted with humanities students show that the participants have positive attitudes towards intercultural education, as it promotes understanding and respect for different cultures and the development of intercultural dialogue. In the next article entitled *TiDE Model - Creating Digital Materials for Multilingual Education with Future Educators*, **Anita Sila** and **Andreja Klančar** discuss multilingual education using digital technologies in pre-school education according to the TiDE (Teaching in Digital Education) model. They present the results of a qualitative study which focused on the process of designing new digital didactic materials for raising plurilingual awareness. Their findings suggest that new digital technologies can be very effective in developing engaging, effective and learner-centred resources that foster multilingual awareness among learners and open attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity.

We conclude the special issue with two articles which report on studies conducted in Namibia and Türkiye. In *Analysing First Grade Teachers' Strategies for Enhancing English Reading Proficiency in Multilingual Classroom Environments in Namibia*, **Annaly Magda Strauss** present the results of a qualitative study which suggest that teachers do not use a structured or systematic approach to support learners' reading in multilingual classrooms, relying primarily on the translation method to develop reading skills. The results of the study also show that teachers do not differentiate reading to support learners at different reading levels, emphasizing the need for new learner-centred teaching approaches. In the last article of this special issue entitled *A case of early intentional bilingualism: a close examination of context and practices*, **Serra Kayadibli-Oğuz** and **Zeynep Çamlıbel-Acar** discuss so-called intentional bilingualism, analysing a case study of a girl and the parents' language strategies. They conclude that the girl's linguistic environment was mostly influenced by the individuals and situations in her life, while her emotional, social, cognitive and bilingual development followed a normal course, mainly due to the special care and effort taken to ensure consistent and extensive exposure to both languages.

With the launch of this special issue of the *Journal of Elementary Education*, we hope to have succeeded in opening up and answering some key questions, while also pointing the way to avenues and possibilities for further research.

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MULTILINGUAL EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES AT PRE-PRIMARY LEVEL IN SLOVENIA, AUSTRIA, ITALY AND CROATIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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Keywords:

multilingualism,
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preschool education.

Abstract/Izvilleček The paper presents findings from a scoping review of scientific articles, projects, networks, and legal documents concerning multilingual practices at the pre-primary level in Slovenia, Croatia, Austria, and Italy aimed at exploring the extent and nature of multilingual educational practices, as well as research findings related to multilingual education at the pre-primary level in these countries. The primary objective was to assess the current situation, challenges, and future prospects of multilingual practices in preschool institutions. The results offer valuable insights into multilingual practices in these countries, highlighting the need for enhancing teachers' competence to effectively work in linguistically diverse environments.

Ključne besede:

večjezičnost,
večkulturnost,
jezikovna in kulturna
raznolikost, večjezična
predšolska vzgoja.

Večjezične izobraževalne prakse na predšolski ravni v Sloveniji, Avstriji, Italiji in na Hrvaškem: primerjalna analiza

V prispevku so predstavljene ugotovitve pregledne študije znanstvenih člankov, projektov, mrež in pravnih dokumentov o večjezičnih praksah na predšolski stopnji v Sloveniji, na Hrvaškem, v Avstriji in Italiji, katere namen je bil raziskati obseg in naravo večjezičnih izobraževalnih praks ter raziskave, povezane z večjezičnim izobraževanjem na predšolski stopnji v teh državah. Glavni cilj je bil oceniti trenutno stanje, izzive in prihodnost večjezičnih praks v predšolskih ustanovah. Rezultati ponujajo dragocen vpogled v večjezične prakse v teh državah in izpostavljajo.

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Introduction

One of the key objectives of the EU language policy (European Commission, 2024) is to provide every EU citizen with a multilingual education that enables them to communicate in a minimum of two languages in addition to their mother tongue. This also reflects EU's efforts to encourage linguistic and cultural diversity, putting a lot of emphasis on language research and developing effective approaches to teaching and learning languages in collaboration with the Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML) and the European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning (Mercator). ECML focuses on efficient language learning and runs various projects working on linguistic integration of migrant children as well as on establishing 'quality and comparability criteria for language tests and their assessment' (ibid., pg. 2). In addition, Mercator focuses on Europe's regional and minority languages and deals with 'acquisition and inventory, research and study, dissemination and application of knowledge in the field of language learning at school, at home and through cultural participation' (ibid., pg. 2). Plurilingual and pluricultural competences are also promoted by the Common European Framework for languages (Council of Europe, 2001), which was designed to serve as a comprehensive basis for language syllabus and curriculum development, as well as provide support in the design of learning and teaching materials, and the assessment of foreign language proficiency. Additionally, the Companion volume to CEFR (Council of Europe, 2018) adds competence descriptors for the pre-A1 level, which are relevant for preschool education. One of the most important initiatives for promoting linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe was proposed by Candelier et al. (2004) through the initiative aimed towards developing linguistic and cultural awareness through pluralistic approaches. Since then, we have witnessed many projects and initiatives aimed at developing plurilingual and pluricultural competences as well as promoting linguistic and cultural diversity – one of the most recent projects of this kind is the Erasmus+ project Diversity in Action (DivA), aimed at developing pre-service and in-service teachers' competences for teaching in linguistically and culturally diverse educational contexts at all levels of education. The project brought together researchers and educators from linguistically diverse countries of Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Croatia and one of the results of this collaboration will be presented in this paper. The main aim of the present article is to present the findings of a scoping review of scientific articles, projects, networks, and legal documents concerning multilingual practices at the pre-primary level in the

four countries. We found that although early foreign language learning is encouraged in Europe and the starting age for compulsory learning of foreign languages in the EU has dropped in the past decades, with the majority of countries introducing the first foreign language between the ages 6 and 8 (Eurydice, 2023), the area of pre-primary foreign language education is still fairly under-researched and not systematized. Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to present a comparative analysis of multilingual practices at pre-primary level in Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Croatia, with specific focus on legal regulations and documents, recent scientific research and projects, as well as existing models, projects and examples of good practices concerning the areas of multilingualism, multiculturalism and linguistic/cultural diversity at pre-primary level of education. We examined the current situation, challenges faced by preschool institutions in implementing multilingual education within linguistically diverse contexts, and future prospects of multilingual practices in preschool institutions.

Methodology

To fully document and present the multilingual practices at preschool level in the four countries, we carried out a scoping review, which followed the scoping study framework developed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005). After identifying the main research question concerning the multilingual practices at pre-primary level in our countries, the second stage involved searching for relevant sources using electronic databases, reference lists, hand-searching of key journals, networks and relevant organisations using the predefined keywords (multilingualism/plurilingualism at pre-primary level, bilingual/multilingual kindergartens, foreign/additional languages in kindergartens, language awareness and other relevant concepts). In the third stage (study selection), we defined the following inclusion criteria: papers and studies published in the past 5 years, conceptually related to the areas proposed in stage 2, peer-reviewed articles, published either in English or the first language of the countries involved. In addition to the recent research, we also decided to include some of the crucial papers in the field due to their influence and importance for the study of multilingualism at pre-primary level. After collecting the relevant sources, we presented the results by country, first discussing multilingualism at preschool level from the legal perspective and then presenting relevant research, networks, projects, organizational models and good practices and finally, concluding with the discussion on challenges and implications of our results.

The context of preschool education in Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Croatia

Before addressing the multilingual practices in the four countries, it is necessary to briefly present their historical and organizational contexts at the level of pre-primary education. From the historical perspective, the most significant developments in the area of preschool education in all four countries began in the 1960s and the 1970s, with the shift from the upbringing and care focus towards more unified preschool institutions focused on education and the acquisition of academic skills. The most important documents influencing preschool education in Slovenia are the White Paper on Education in Slovenia (Krek, 2011), followed by the Curriculum for preschool (1999) and its supplement (Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, 2002). In Austria, with the introduction of the Cross-Provincial Educational Framework Plan for Elementary Educational Centres in 2009, the state governments of all federal states committed themselves to the educational mandate of this institution for the first time (CBI, 2009a, pg. 4). In Italy, the educational status of preschool institutions was determined in 1968 with Law no. 444, (Regulation of state nursery schools), followed by Law 13 of 1977 and the *Orientamenti dell'attività educativa nelle scuole materne statali* (Ministerial Decree, 1991) and in 2003 it was determined that preschools would no longer be a *scuola materna* 'nursery school' but a '*scuola dell'infanzia*'. The final update to the Italian preschool system was introduced in 2017 when Legislative Decree No. 54 was approved, which sanctioned the "Establishment of the integrated system of education and instruction from birth to six years of age" (Pasini, 2018). The crucial documents for the Croatian preschool system, which defined the goal of educational work in preschool institutions to create conditions for the complete and harmonious development of the child's personality, are the Law on the Social Care of Preschool Children (RH, 1991) and the Law on preschool education (RH, 1997) with its update in 2013 (Hrvatski Sabor, 2013), the National programme of education and training for people's rights (Vlada Republike Hrvatske, 1999) and finally, the National Curriculum for Preschool education and the Kindergarten Curriculum (MZOS, 2014), which defines the development of core child's competencies, including communication in the mother tongue and communication in foreign languages. The preschool program in Croatia (as well as in Austria) is mandatory and free of charge for all children in the year before starting primary school. Currently, preschool education in all four countries is provided for children from birth or from 1 to 6 years of age, with the curricula defining the learning objectives in the core areas of language, movement, mathematics, art, society and nature. All

the curricula also promote the principle of inclusion and multiculturalism, as well as the aims of developing language awareness and language competencies and developing positive attitudes towards all languages and cultures. In the following chapters we present the findings of our scoping study of multilingualism at preschool level, focusing on the language policies, research, projects and educational practices in Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Croatia.

The case of Slovenia

Slovenia has always been a country where different languages have co-existed side by side. As stated in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, the official language is Slovene, with Italian and Hungarian being recognized as official languages in the municipalities where Italian and Hungarian minorities reside. However, the number of languages spoken in the countries has increased significantly due to Europe-wide migrations, which makes Slovenia an increasingly multilingual area. According to the Slovene Statistical Office (SiSTAT, 2023), the number of children enrolled in Slovene kindergartens in the school year 2022/23 was 86,177 and of those 7,027 were citizens of other countries, mainly Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Ukraine, Croatia, Russia and other European countries. This indicates that Slovene serves as a second language for 8.15% of preschool children in Slovenia. The Slovenian Resolution on the national programme for language policy 2021-2025 (Republic of Slovenia, 2021) prioritizes the promotion of Slovenian language but also emphasizes the importance of learning other languages, including ‘the languages of the Italian and Hungarian national communities and the Roma community, languages of members of various minority ethnic communities, languages of immigrant communities and foreign languages’, in order to ensure equal social participation of all speakers. Therefore, within the broader context of the language policy of the EU, which promotes the goal that every EU citizen is able to speak at least two other languages in addition to their mother tongue, and the language policy of the Council of Europe, which emphasizes the inclusiveness and quality of language education, the Slovenian language policy’s (Republic of Slovenia, 2021, p. 9) main goal is “to build a community of autonomous speakers with advanced language competence in Slovenian, with high-quality and sufficient knowledge of other languages, with a highly-developed reading culture in Slovenian, with a high-degree of language self-confidence and an adequate degree of motivation to accept language and cultural diversity”. In terms of including different

languages and language education at all educational levels, the Slovenian language policy (ibid., 2021) aims to encourage the use and learning of various languages, as well as promote research of foreign languages, provide continuous expert support to the development of the learning and teaching of all foreign languages that are part of the educational system, and provide systematic training of teachers and educators in kindergartens and schools in order to establish an educational environment supportive to multilingualism. The importance of encouraging language awareness and multilingualism is also reflected in the Slovenian Kindergarten curriculum (1999) and its supplement (2002).

Taking a closer look at multilingual/bilingual practices at preschool level in Slovenia, the educational practices are primarily based on the concept of minority protection, with the bilingual education mostly taking place in the ethnically mixed Slovene-Italian region in Slovene Istria and the Slovene-Hungarian region in Prekmurje, following two models of bilingual education (Novak-Lukanovič & Limon, 2012). In the first model, the so-called 'maintenance model' (Baker, 1988, 2001) with 'an enrichment component of offering language and culture also to pupils from the majority community' (Novak-Lukanovič & Limon, 2012), implemented in the Slovene Istria, children can attend kindergartens, primary and secondary schools with either Slovene or Italian as the language of instruction, and the second language as an obligatory subject. According to Zudič Antonič (2023), there are three kindergartens with Italian as the medium of instruction in Slovene Istria. The second model, a two-way model of preservation of two languages (Mackey, 1970), implemented in the Slovene-Hungarian region of Prekmurje, follows the principle of bilingual education at all levels and for all learners, where the educational process is carried out in both Slovene and Hungarian, and both languages are also school subjects. In Prekmurje, there are nine bilingual units of four public kindergartens (Nečak Lük & Kovács, 2024). Other bilingual/–multilingual kindergartens include a few private kindergartens across the country and the multilingual Research and development unit of the Faculty of Education, University of Primorska in Kindergarten Koper (established in 2023).

Our research has revealed that there are not many studies in the area of multilingualism and language or cultural awareness at preschool level in Slovenia. In the past five years, researchers who dealt with these topics focused on bilingual education in Slovenian bilingual areas: Kolláth (2020) for example, presented bilingual education in the Slovenian region of Prekmurje at all levels of education. Licardo (2020) studied preschool teachers' practices with migrant children in

Slovenia, Hmelak et al. (2021) examined preschool teachers' approach to intercultural communication with children/parents from minority communities, Zorman and Vatovec (2023) focused on the impact of linguistic diversity on Italian speaking children in Slovenian kindergartens, and Jazbec and Kacjan (2019) investigated multilingualism from the parents' perspective. Other researchers focused on language awareness and language learning in kindergarten, with Bratož and Sila (2022) studying preschoolers' perceptions of cultural and linguistic diversity and development of linguistic and cultural awareness, and Retelj (2024) exploring the potential of integrating picturebooks into preschool foreign language learning. Earlier studies focusing on languages at an early level include Pevcec Semec and Jazbec (2018), Čok and Brčanić (2015), Dagarin Fojkar and Skubic (2017) and others.

In the past years we have also witnessed several projects and initiatives aimed at promoting multilingualism at the preschool level, such as the European project *Janua Linguarum*, aimed at promoting language awareness in learners, Erasmus+ projects *LETS (Learn English through Signs)* and its continuation *GEM-Through Gestures and Music into the World of Phonics*, as well as *MUTUAL*, a project that promoted better integration of preschool children from diverse backgrounds into the educational process. Another international project was *Listiac (Linguistically Sensitive Teaching in all Classrooms)*, aimed at encouraging teachers to become more linguistically sensitive. Some of the national projects include the project *Languages matter*, aimed at developing guidelines for creating plurilingualism-friendly educational environments at all educational levels, and *The Challenges of Intercultural Coexistence*, which encouraged interculturalism and was aimed at improving the educational staff's professional skills for the successful integration of immigrant children from diverse backgrounds in the Slovenian educational system.

The case of Austria

Austria stands out among European nations for its multilingualism, evident in its linguistic diversity. According to the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Science, and Research, besides German, significant minority languages include Croatian, Hungarian, Slovenian, and Burgenland Croatian, which are also recognized and protected under Austria's minority rights laws. Around one in three children enrolled in Austrian preschool institutions do not have German as their first language. The highest proportion of children with a non-German mother tongue is

found in Vienna (58.7%), followed by Upper Austria (28.1%) and Vorarlberg (27.2%), with Carinthia (15.8%) and Tyrol (14.7%) being well below the overall Austrian average (32.5%) (Statistik Austria, 2023, pg. 9). Some of those children also speak German when they enter kindergarten, while others learn it as a second language. 'Language promotion typically refers specifically to the promotion of German in German-speaking countries, rather than all available primary languages' (Blaschitz et al., 2021, pg. 615). In 2009, Austria introduced language proficiency assessments for 4-5-year-old children (Breit, 2009) aimed at evaluating the necessity of language support for children 15 months prior to commencing school, in order to ensure that all children possess adequate knowledge of German to effectively participate in lessons, which clearly reflects the effort to prioritize German and does not promote multilingualism. Additionally, since 2019, the MIKA-D instrument (Measuring instrument for analysing competence in the German language) has been used in Austria, and in 2021, MIKA-orientation (MIKA-O) was introduced as a voluntary additional tool for school readiness assessment, which provides information on whether a child can be directly assigned regular status or whether further testing with MIKA-D is necessary. In 2014, the Charlotte Bühler Institute for Practice-Oriented Infant Research published the Guide to language education and support during the transition from preschool to primary school (CBI, 2009b, revised in 2021), aimed at facilitating the acquisition of German as a language of instruction for all children, regardless of their first language. However, Austria's educational system also recognizes the importance of multilingualism, which is reflected in the Austrian Educational Framework Plan; and even though the main focus is on targeted and continuous language support for children in their first or second language during their everyday kindergarten activities, the education plan section for early language support in preschool institutions also promotes bilingualism and multilingualism in the context of intercultural education (CBI, 2009b, pg. 9). According to Blaschitz et al. (2021, pg. 5), in practice, education is designed for foreign-language bilingualism rather than multilingualism, the focus being on English as a foreign language, rather than the children's family languages. In recent years, however, there have been efforts towards the promotion of multilingualism. In 2016, the Austrian Language Centre (ÖSZ, 2016) proposed a brochure for pre-primary-school teacher training aimed at encouraging trainees to reflect on their own approach to multilingualism and serving as a basis for further discussion and to raise awareness of multilingualism, as well as to promote understanding and empathy towards plurilingual children. According to Börge-

Böckmann et al. (2013, pg. 31), high-quality multilingual didactics in kindergarten and school can provide a unique opportunity for the cognitive and linguistic development of all children.

Our research has revealed that so far there is little research in the area of pre-primary education, since preschool education as such was recognised as a science in Austria only in 2010 with the establishment of the Chair of Early Childhood Education in Graz, followed by a professorship for educational science specialising in early education being established in Innsbruck in 2015. In 2011, the City of Vienna commissioned research to analyse the effectiveness of language support measures titled 'Language acquisition and everyday multilingualism in kindergarten' (Datler & de Cillia, 2011). Zumtobel and Frick (2019) carried out a study focusing on language support strategies integrated into the daily routine of pre-primary school teachers in Vorarlberg, which has the second-highest proportion of children with a first language other than German (Statistik Austria, 2023, pg. 9).

In a study assessing the qualifications of College for elementary education (BAfEP) around language support for children during training (Dorostkar, 2022), teachers were asked about the extent to which trainees are prepared for this task and whether the necessary skills are taught.

The BAfEP curriculum, which emphasizes German as a prerequisite for equal education and opportunities, included a new subject, '*Early Language Education and Support*', starting in 2023.

In conclusion, the framework conditions for early childhood education in Austria vary, which can impact the quality of language support. Large group sizes, a shortage of qualified specialists, and staff turnover can have a particularly negative impact on children from disadvantaged backgrounds. To address this issue, an EU programme called the *Technical Support Instrument* (TSI) is being implemented nationwide in Austria to improve the quality and attractiveness of preschool education (UNICEF, 2023).

The case of Italy

As a linguistically diverse country, Italy recognises four regional languages as official languages across the country in addition to Italian: German heritage languages (South Tyrolean, Cimbri, Mocheni) and Ladin are spoken in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano-South Tyrol, Trentino, Friuli and Piemonte, Slovenian in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and French in the Aosta Valley. Maurer-Lausegger (2003) and van

der Jeught (2016) provide a detailed analysis of linguistic diversity. Furthermore, the statutory legislation of 1999 also enabled the protection of several minority languages (Albanian, Croatian, Greek, Friulan, Franco-Provençal, Occitan and Sardinian). Therefore, multilingualism is not only present but deeply embedded within the Italian school system. However, multilingual language education in pre-school environment has only become established in recent decades through experimental projects, especially in border regions. Multilingual preschool education adopts different models. The Trentino Valley, for example, follows the Trentino trilingual plan, which involves gradual inclusion of language education. Languages in preschools are distributed in a balanced way: German as the ‘nearest’ language, and English as the international language and a bridge between cultures and people all over the world, thus promoting intercultural awareness and openness to communicate in different linguistic and cultural contexts. In the case of South Tyrol, however, according to Gross and Mastellotto (2021), ‘multilingualism is mainly pursued through a system of structural monolingualism’, having separate monolingual educational institutions (German, Italian and Ladin), each operating according to their own language policies. The authors (*ibid.*) also point out the issue of such monolingual orientation as being detrimental to the recognition of language diversity.

Our research of studies and papers has revealed a great deal of research in the area of multilingualism at preschool level in Italy in the past five years, especially in the South-Tyrolean region (Gross & Mastellotto, 2021; Mastellotto & Zanin, 2022; Ricci Garotti, 2012; Thoma, 2022; Thoma & Platzgummer, 2023). Other authors (Akutina & Akutina, 2020; Bello et al., 2023; Incognito et al., 2021) studied bilingualism at preschool level in Italy, Carbonara (2022) focused on translanguaging in immigrant children, and Leotta (2023) dealt with early acquisition of English in a bilingual kindergarten in Italy.

The case of Croatia

The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia (Article 12) states that the official language in Croatia is Croatian but also recognises minority languages. The official use of minority languages is regulated through the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities (Hrvatski Sabor, 2002), the Constitutional Act on Amendments to the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities (Hrvatski Sabor, 2010), the Act on the Use of Languages and Scripts of National

Minorities (Republic of Croatia, 2000a) and the Act on Education in the Language and Script of National Minorities (Republic of Croatia, 2000b), as well as the international agreements related to minority languages: the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe, 2019a) and the Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe, 2019b). Members of national minorities exercise their constitutional right to upbringing and education in their first language through three basic models: the separatist model (A), the maintenance model (B) and the submerging model (C). Some national minorities such as Czechs, Hungarians and Serbs have all three models in their school practice, depending on the number and distribution of students, while the Italian national community, as the only autochthonous one in Croatia, maintains its distinctive model. According to Article 2 of the Statute of the County of Istria (2009), in seven bilingual cities and thirteen bilingual municipalities, Croatian and Italian languages are in equal official use. Members of the Italian national minority are guaranteed the entire educational vertical, from preschool to college.

A search of scientific articles and research in the area of language and multilingualism at the preschool level in Croatia shows that there is very little research in this area. Authors mainly investigate foreign early language learning with a holistic approach through verified programs, while the bilingualism of the Istrian region is dealt with only by a few researchers. Over the past five years, we have found several articles on the subject. Authors investigate Italian-Croatian language contacts based on territorial multilingualism among preschool children in the Istrian region (Drandić et al. 2024), the development of bilingualism and native speech in intercultural education (Drandić et al. 2022; Lazarić et al. 2020) and attitudes towards bilingualism and respect for diversity and the value of language expression in the mother tongue (Croatian and/or Italian), language education, multiculturalism, cultural identity and children's creativity in the regional context (Drandić & Lazarić 2020).

Discussion and conclusion

As we have found through our research, preschool educational systems in Slovenia, Austria, Italy and Croatia have undergone substantial reforms in the past three decades, the most significant being the shift from their fundamental role of providing childcare towards a more holistic educational approach paying attention to children's physical, emotional, personal, social and spiritual wellbeing as well as their cognitive development. Due to a distinct multilingual landscape and increasing

linguistic and cultural diversity in these countries, there is growing recognition of the importance of multilingual education. However, the scholarly attention on multilingualism at the pre-primary level remains relatively limited, creating a critical gap between research and practice. This scarcity of research poses challenges for policymakers and educators seeking to implement effective multilingual educational strategies tailored to preschool settings. Moreover, the absence of unified practices in multilingual preschool education in these countries complicates efforts to establish consistent and impactful approaches. In line with Candelier's (2004) view of promoting linguistic diversity, the authors of this paper would like to emphasize the significance of systematically addressing pre-primary multilingual education. This involves a dual focus: first, on the enhancement of comprehensive teacher training programs that equip educators with the necessary skills and pedagogical strategies to effectively support multilingual learners; and second, on the critical examination and potential restructuring of the entire organizational framework of preschool education within our countries, also by addressing the challenges faced by preschool institutions, such as large group sizes, inadequate resources, insufficient linguistic support systems, and disparities in access to multilingual learning materials.

Efforts to enhance teacher training development are currently underway through the DivA project, which is dedicated to crafting a comprehensive approach aimed at bolstering teachers' skills and competencies to effectively navigate culturally and linguistically diverse environments across all levels of education. By prioritizing the cultivation of these competencies, the DivA project seeks to support educators in creating inclusive and supportive learning environments that cater to the needs of all children, regardless of their cultural or linguistic backgrounds.

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MULTILINGUAL MEMORY OF MIGRATION A PARTICIPATORY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT IN AUSTRIA

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Izvleček/Abstract

The article lays out the method of the participatory Oral History project “Multilingual Memory of Migration” against the political background of an unacknowledged Austrian migration history and the political paradigm of monolingualism. The participatory concept engages students in a research process of Austrian migration history, addressing especially (but not exclusively) students with an own migration and multilingual background to conduct intergenerational biographical interviews. By benefitting from the students’ language skills and community outreach, the project aims at creating a contribution to a national “archive of migration” as such not institutionalized in Austria.

Keywords:
migration,
multilingualism,
participatory research,
Oral History,
intergenerational.

Ključne besede:
migracije, večjezičnost,
participativno
raziskovanje, ustna
zgodovina,
medgeneracijski
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Večjezični spomin migracije

Participativni projekt ustne zgodovine v Avstriji

V članku je predstavljena participativna metoda, ki smo jo razvili v okviru projekta "Večjezični spomin migracije" v luči političnega ozadja nepriznane avstrijske migracijske zgodovine in politične paradigme enojezičnosti. Participativni koncept vključuje dijake v raziskovalni proces avstrijske migracijske zgodovine, pri čemer nagovarja zlasti (vendar ne izključno) dijake z lastnim migracijskim in večjezičnim ozadjem, ki v okviru projekta izvajajo medgeneracijske biografske intervjuje. Namen projekta je na podlagi jezikovnih spretnosti učencev in stikov s skupnostjo ustvariti prispevek k nacionalnemu "arhivu migracij", ki kot tak v Avstriji ni institucionaliziran.

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Austria as an unacknowledged post-migration society

By all historical and statistical indicators, Austria has become a country of immigration since the 1960—ies (Rupnow, 2017, pp. 39-41). In 2022, the Austrian Statistics counted 2351800 inhabitants with “foreign background” (defined as people whose parents were both born abroad) of 8900800 inhabitants altogether. In the city of Vienna, it is 951500 inhabitants with “foreign background” among 1915800 inhabitants (Statistik Austria, 2023).

For decades, Austria referred to its migration as something transitory, by defining the country’s political function toward the migration streams of the Cold War era as a “transit country” (Rathkolb, 2005, pp. 49-52) and by considering work migration of so called “guest workers” (“Gastarbeiter”) following the “recruitment agreements” (“Anwerbeabkommen”) with Turkey (1964) and former Yugoslavia (1966) as temporary, based on a principle of rotation and not providing for families to join the predominantly male manual labour force (Bakondy, 2017, p. 118). When this illusion crumbled, right wing populist slogans (against “foreigners”, “migrants”, “Muslims” etc.) put politics under permanent stress since the 1980—ies and resulted in endless series of law amendments (Osmanbasic, 2010, pp. 37-76). But the obvious and irreversible fact that Austria had become a (post-)migration society was hardly fully acknowledged by mainstream politics. An acknowledgement happened mainly in a repressive sense, confronting migration by a restrictive national discourse that ought to control this development by demands of an “integration” that actually means “assimilation”. In order to become Austrian citizens, migrants have to study national history to testify their willingness to integrate (Rupnow, 2017, p. 38), whilst “an engagement by the mainstream society with the migrants’ past, their historical experiences and memories, is completely lacking. Obviously, this paternalistic stance towards migrants, which demands of them an engagement with ‘our’ history while their own history, including the history of their migration, remains almost entirely invisible and shielded, is deeply problematic. The history of migration and migrants is a blank space in hegemonic memory.” (Rupnow, 2017, p. 39)

This also applies to the Austrian archival landscape where the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of migrant groups and their languages remain clearly underrepresented (Hintermann, 2013; Rupnow, 2019). A central archive of migration has been demanded for more than 10 years (Archiv der Migration, n.d.),

by indicating to such institutions in countries like Germany and France. There have been important single projects such as the “gastarbajteri” exhibition of Wien Museum and Initiative Minderheiten (2004), but they never substantiated institutionally on the national level. Permanent institutions were founded only on regional and municipal level, in the city of Salzburg (Migrationsarchiv, n.d.) and in Tyrol (ZeMiT, n.d.).

The same deficit can be seen in Austrian Collections of Oral History, a method that has dealt from the beginning with marginal groups who otherwise leave few traces in hegemonial cultural and historical institutions (Thomson, 1998, p. 584).

Monolingualism and Multilingualism

“The belief in the redemptive power of language seems to lurk in the backs of minds of people who try to stem the tide of immigrants by questioning their degree of language proficiency and thus their ability to fully participate in what the CDU politician Friedrich Merz called in 2000 ‘deutsche Leitkultur’ as a gauge for the integration of foreigners.” (Seeba, 2004, p. 1)

In the background of the politically conservative discourse of “Leitkultur” (an affirmative notion of a hegemonial national “culture”), Hinrich Seeba detected a claim for purity of language, which had long existed parallel to a claim for purity of blood. The notion of “Leitkultur” was taken over by the Austrian politicians of the right wing FPÖ and the conservative ÖVP (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2011). The latter embraces it emphatically in its current “Österreichplan” where the call for “assimilation” as the only form of “integration” is again directly linked to the notion of a national “Leitkultur” (ÖVP, 2024).

Like other European countries, Austria guarantees the rights of several autochthonous minority languages (“Minderheitensprachen”). This guarantee was written into the Austrian constitution, on the basis of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, by which the country gained its full freedom after ten years of post war occupation, thus inscribing into its foundational document of national sovereignty a pluralistic concept of ethnicities and language groups. This legislation (written into Austrian Law by the Ethnic groups act, Volksgruppengesetz, of 1976; for details on this legislation see: De Cillia, 2022, pp. 177-178) converges with the European Charta for Regional or Minority Languages of 1992 (Council of Europe, n.d.), signed and ratified by Austria, which defines minority languages as languages “traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group

numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; (...) it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants". The implementation of the laws evolving from these minority rights varied. In the province of Carinthia, it met fierce resistance, sometimes spurred by the provincial government itself (especially during the long period of the right wing FPÖ/BZÖ government 1989-91 and 1999-2008), and the installation of bilingual German-Slovenian town signs was never fully realized (Pührer, 2007).

But who is a "migrant" and who is "autochthonous"? Many groups who share and maintain other languages than German – such as Turkish, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Polish or Arab started settling in Austria three or four generations ago and they outnumber by far the "autochthonous" minority groups, representing considerable percentage of the population in many regions and cities (De Cillia, 2022, pp. 173-74). However, their languages have been granted comparatively minimal rights, for instance in the field of education (for the legal regulation of promotion and training of "new minority" language see: De Cillia, 2022, pp. 180-181). Their languages appear to be understood as "migrant languages", thus excluded by definition from the mentioned European Charta, even beyond the fourth generation of residence and with large part of the speakers being Austrian citizens. In terms of (legal) history, the difference between regional minority languages and minorities based on 20th century immigration can be explained, but concerning the individual and collective rights of citizens in a nationally defined society, it produces a highly questionable ratio of inclusion and exclusion (Krumm, 2020, p. 6; Gogolin & Oeter, 2011, opt for an adaptation of minority language rights for "migrant" language rights, given the lasting experience with the implementation of the former). When does a language spoken by hundreds of thousands of residents, most of them here for two and many for three or four generations, become part of Austrian cultural heritage and Austrian history? What prohibits a constant flow of integration of cultural heritage according to the composition of the population?

Political monolingualism (for its European and Austrian history see Fritz, 2022) values a single national language beyond pragmatic needs of administration and social cohesion, by not just asking all permanent inhabitants to share this language, but by excluding other languages from "settling" as part of a national heritage along with their speakers who have settled here for generations. It does not content itself with an "as well as" in the sense of: All permanent inhabitants shall know well German and are equally welcomed to cherish and care for their other languages. Proficiency in German language is demanded as a main feature of integration (with

ever more regulations and on ever higher levels, see De Cillia, 2022, pp. 179-180) and as such leaves no space for the acknowledgement of other languages—according to a stubborn, ideologically sustained misunderstanding about language learning that wants children and youths with other first languages to focus exclusively on German (for the positive interdependence of first and second language see De Cillia, 2015-16). Paradoxically, while all kinds of multilingualism gained within family and social environment are undervalued, the need to study “foreign languages” is clearly acknowledged (therefore family and community-based knowledge of languages that are usually taught as foreign languages, such as English or French, is esteemed). The ignorance toward multilingualism is most conspicuous in political attempts of language prohibition. When the Austrian right-wing party FPÖ joined coalitions in regional governments of Upper and Lower Austria in 2015 and 2023, it launched prohibitions of other languages in the educational sphere. The Ministry of Education rejected such attempts as unconstitutional (Fleck, 2022), but the aspired law was never brought in front of a higher court, what led the political actors to reiterate the prohibitions as “recommendations” to the schools (Krumm, 2020, p. 1). However unjustifiable these attempts are in their legal standing and however weak in their pragmatic relevance, they do have an effect ideologically: They support defensive monolingual or racist “linguicism” (see Dirim, 2017) and signal that the maintenance of other languages, along with German and the “foreign” languages established in the standard educational curriculum, does not belong to Austrian mainstream culture.

The participatory research design

The participatory design of the project “Multilingual Memory of Migration” (acronym MEMMIG) reacts to both, the lack of an Austrian “archive of migration” and the disregard of the given multilingualism.

Participatory research is defined as an umbrella term for research designs, methods, and frameworks that use systematic inquiry in direct collaboration with those affected by the issue being studied for the purpose of action or change (Cargo & Mercer, 2008). In the social sciences, it “engages those who are not necessarily trained in research but belong to or represent the interests of the people who are the focus of the research” (Vaughn & Jacquez, 2020, p. 1). As such, participatory research has a wide range of methods, with varying degrees and possible stages of

participation: from research design to data collection, data analysis up to dissemination and political action (for an overview of methods and key sources see: Vaughn & Jacquez, 2020). Participatory collaboration in scientific research is particularly meaningful when it comes to groups that tend to be excluded from or kept at the margins of political and societal hegemony and have reduced possibilities of self-determination and limited agency in political as well as cultural fields, as was shown to be the case for migrants' languages and history.

In MEMMIG, students of migrant background collaborate in the research on migration biographies led by the author, a senior researcher at the Institute of Culture Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and funded by the national program Sparkling Science 2.0 (Sparkling Science, 2023). By recruiting interview partners and conducting the interviews, hundreds of students from different schools and teacher training institutions manifest a social outreach to diverse migrant communities an academic or archival institution could hardly achieve. In the intergenerational interviews, the students mostly belong to a second or third generation after migration whereas the interviewees immigrated to Austria. Hence, the students mediate between the predominantly German-language sphere of education and cultural heritage, and a social sphere to which they belong by their first or family languages.

Here, the participatory design actually opens the field of academic research and extends the range of national cultural heritage. Since large part of the biographical interviews is conducted in languages shared by interviewers and interviewees, those languages are inscribed into the Austrian archival heritage. All interviews are published online in the Austrian Mediathek as the country's major media archive, translated into German and subtitles. In the Austrian Mediathek, many of these languages have so far not been represented by a single audio recording, such as Chechnian, Pashtu and Luxembourgian, or only with voice-over translations such as Albanian.

Hence, the extremely diverse language skills of Austrian students collaborating in the project enable biographical interviews with persons who might not tell their life stories equally well in German; they build a bridge of confidence toward the interviewees by sharing a lingual and, to some extent, cultural background; and a multitude of languages recorded by good standards of Oral History (interview style, undisturbed environment, technical quality etc.) become part of the national archive.

Procedure of collaboration

The procedure of collaboration is roughly the same in all student groups: school classes from 9th degree on and teacher training university courses (at the University of Vienna and the University College of Teacher Education Vienna/PH Wien). The author who leads the project takes the full responsibility to teach, train and accompany students through all stages of the interviews, while teachers and university scientific staff form the link to the educational institutions with their specific requirements, support the project organisation and take part in the entire discursive process.

Collaborating groups

Groups and schools are selected according to a relatively high percentage of students with migration background. The selected schools in Vienna and Lower Austria include public and private schools, grammar schools, and vocational schools without university entrance exams (for the participant schools see: Sparkling Science, n.d.). The collaboration with university courses, with groups roughly the same size as school classes (around 20 to 27 students), turned out to be very productive and extends the project method's dissemination.

Networks

Among the actors in the field of education, individual researchers and networks of multilingualism and diversity management have embraced the project with most interest, intuition and understanding and have given reason to the unexpected intensity of collaboration on university level. (The Centre for Teacher Education of the University of Vienna overlaps institutionally with the Department of Linguistics, thus having excellent resources for pedagogical studies of multilingualism, and was a project partner from the beginning. The pedagogical network of multilingualism “voXmi” also endorsed the project in many ways.)

“Migration” biographies

The range of the term “migration” and “migrant” is conceived to be wide and flexible. As it has been most feasible to realize the project with entire pre-existing groups including an average of roughly one third of “autochthonous” Austrians without any recent migration background, it was also practically useful to explicitly

include domestic migration and migration within the German speaking countries (Germany leading quantitatively among the countries of origin in current Austrian migration). What is usually labelled as “mobility” in a globalised society—such as studying abroad, “ex-pat” and diplomatic careers—is included, too. “Migration” thus frames all long-term movements that display a major impact on an entire biography, putting more emphasis on the shifts and their biographical effects than on geographical distance.

Procedure of participation

In schools, participation is first of all organised in one-year projects with entire classes, obligatory for all students. This turned out to be the most efficient mode of collaboration since the project requires determination over a relatively long timespan, across various phases of preparation and execution. University participation is organised within the semester frame of courses.

Preparation of interviews:

- The preparations of interviews starts with a self-introduction of all member of a group, presenting personal backgrounds and resources in the context of the project.
- Small groups of students brainstorm associations on the notion of “migration” based on their own experience. Possible (but not necessarily available) interviewees are shortly presented and the group elaborates questions they would like to ask this person. From the notes of various groups, a general interview questionnaire is extracted, further arranged and elaborated as open-ended, inviting questions that can later be adjusted to individual interview partners.
- How to perform an open life story interview is elaborated and explained in detail by the head of the project (as an experienced oral historian) as well as foreshadowed practically in a short team exercise enabling observations of different roles in the setting.

Interview teams:

Two to four students create an interview team, if possible, along a shared language which can become interview language. Main roles in a team are: recruiting,

contacting and informing future interviewees; performing the interview; and supporting the interviewer during the session. A student who finds no “language partner” in the group can perform an interview on his or her own.

Choice of interviewees:

For recruiting interviewees, there are two central rules: The interviews have to be intergenerational, and interviewees must not be interviewed by close relatives. So, a student recruiting a close relative as interviewee shall not be present in the interview session.

Final briefing before the interview:

In a final individual or small group briefing, the students’ general questionnaire is specified to a single interviewee. To inquire further ideas and possible topics, the students are encouraged to engage their (grand-)parents in conversations about the upcoming interview and their own experience.

Method of interviews

From the research perspective, the interviews are conceived rather flexible as to tolerate a wide range of interviewers’ behaviours and communicative involvement, giving priority to the interviewees’ storytelling in the sense of Oral History, but also providing space for more conversational modes in the intergenerational setting. This flexibility of interviews, as well as the significant role of student collaborators for the entire project is made visible in the setting of video interviews: with both interlocutors visible in symmetrical position.



Figure 1: Interview setting in the project “Multilingual Memory of Migration”, © Georg Traska

A strict segmenting of the interview in two respectively three phases has proved useful as an orienting structure for the students as interviewers and productive for the stories told.

- In the first “narrative” part the interviewees are invited to tell their life stories and shall be interrupted at most by simple questions of understanding. It allows them to construct their own personal migration story within the frame a life story interview, this construction being significant for migration studies. E.g. some interviewees structure their stories exclusively along educational and professional career; some talk extensively about political suppression and flight; others focus mainly on their lives in Austria and their struggles of belonging or on their attempts to balance integration and maintenance of cultural traditions brought along.
- In a second phase, the interviewer shall ask content-specific questions, either questions evolving from the narrative phase or prepared questions. Now, the interview may become more conversational, and the roles of asking and answering may eventually change, since the interviewers or their families sometimes share a lot with the interviewees: such as regional, and cultural or political contexts of origin, dependence on certain historical events, trajectories of migration, a sense of community belonging in Austria etc. Therefore, interviewers are encouraged in the preparation to eventually disclose something of their own or their family’s experience as a motive for a question.
- In a break between first and second part, an accompanying student supports the interviewer by discussing follow-up questions arising from the narrative part and discussing which of the prepared questions are most relevant.
- In a third, optional part, interviewees can talk about images, photos or objects of memory they have been asked to prepare.

Recordings, data collection, and translation

The interviews are either audio or video recorded, audio by the students themselves (with a uniform set of recorders of sufficient sound quality, easy and safe handling), video by the author as an experienced cameraman of interviews.

At the Austrian Mediathek (www.mediathek.at), the country’s most comprehensive media archive, all interviews are preserved, catalogued and, if agreed to by the

interviewees, published online. Declarations of agreement are signed after the interview, with the option of specifying the way of publication (e.g. excluding certain sequences of the interview).

Interviewees and interviewers are preliminarily offered the use of pseudonyms or their first names only.

All non-German language interviews are fully translated into German and subtitled in order to allow full access on the level of national historical and cultural heritage.

Conclusion: multilingualism and (post-)migration in the students' research practice

Multiple languages and individual multilingualism are important in the entire course of the project, as a resource of the participant students, as a means of accessing and communicating with interviewees, and as a subject of biographical narration.

For many students, the invitation to engage in a first language other than German is a challenge since those first languages are often limited to private use and have not developed at same pace with the youths' educational and intellectual lives. (Only around 20% of students with other or additional first languages than German makes use of the first language training offered as non-obligatory courses in Austrian schools; see De Cillia, 2022, p. 181). A clear majority of students, when asked if they have ever used their first languages (other than German) actively in their educational career, answers "no". Still, students assess their first language skills fairly well.

They can articulate their insecurity, yet very few of them are reluctant to accept the challenge of the project to mobilize their first language skills for the production of archival documents. Many of them report that they enjoy engaging in their first languages in this context and cite their friends and parents having been stunned about the opportunity.

One way of mitigating the students' insecurity in a public and recorded use of their first language, is to assure them that they can always switch language (e.g. between Kurdish and Turkish, or Chechnian and Russian) or resort to German, whenever they are missing a word or a phrase or whenever it facilitates the communication with an interviewee. Indeed, any form of heteroglossia (Busch, 2013), occurring in the interviews and replicating the socially given multilingualism, coincides with the research interest in the nexus between languages and migration stories.

Students individually manage the transition between German, as the educational institutions' working language, and the languages to be used in the interviews. Many students produce, of their own accord, a written translation of the general questionnaire into the planned interview language; and some involve their family in doing so.

In a conclusive session of the collaboration, students report and discuss the experience of interviewing and present the interviews. For that purpose, they are asked to play a short passage of the audio or video recording and translate that section. This is handled flexibly according to the students' abilities and to the effort that can adequately be asked from them. University students are asked to translate subtitles (generated by AI in the original language) from the audio. In other groups, students give rough simultaneous or consecutive translations during the presentation. Anyway, it is important that the interview languages are also brought back to German as the shared educational language and thus the entire circle of multilingual back and forth references is fulfilled in a small sample.

Pedagogical efforts to foster multilingualism gravitate around recognition, acceptance and opening spaces for unhindered language use—against an established backdrop of bias and undervaluation - and they promote children's' and students' positive "language awareness" (Vetter et al., 2022), e.g. manifested visibly in "schoolscapes" (Vetter, 2022) or by working with language portraits ("Sprachenporträts", see Krumm, 2010).

Also, first language training is claimed to be implemented in the regular school curriculum to improve the deplorably weak participation in first language courses offered now only on a voluntary basis and in addition to the regular curriculum.

In this pedagogical context, the specificity of MEMMIG as a participatory research project consists in challenging the students to reach out of the social space of school and thereby make use of their language skills beyond the private sphere and beyond a sheltered sphere of education. They do what they do not just for the sake of using specific or multiple languages, but they produce documents for a national archive as research partners. For that purpose, their language skills are a most valuable resources, and the languages they use are themselves full of history and meaning in the intergenerational life story interviews (for a criticism of language sensitive teaching in the context of history teaching that misses to seriously deal with current methods and contents of history teaching, see Kühberger, 2017). In addition, by connecting to a social sphere outside school, students who do not share their first

language with other members in the classroom are not marginalised or frustrated, as is the danger in other implementations of translanguaging (Cataldo-Schwarzl, 2022). All languages, also rare languages, are equally welcome.

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UPOŠTEVANJE PRVEGA IN UČENJE DRUGEGA JEZIKA S PERSPEKTIVE CELOSTNEGA PRISTOPA VKLJUČEVANJA OTROK PRISELJENCEV V SLOVENSКИH VRTCIH IN ŠOLAH

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Izvleček/Abstract

V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati kvalitativne raziskave, v kateri smo proučevali prakse ugotavljanja jezikovnih potreb otrok priseljenecv; pomen, ki ga strokovni delavci pripisujejo celostnemu pristopu vključevanja otrok priseljenecv po celotni izobraževalni vertikali, in izzive, ki jih pričakujejo pri izvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa pri starših, ravnateljih, pedagoških in nepedagoških delavcih. V raziskavo je bilo vključenih 209 strokovnih delavcev iz vrtcev, osnovnih in srednjih šol, ki so se udeležili usposabljanja za izvajanje koncepta celostnega vključevanja otrok priseljenecv v vrtece in šole. Rezultati kažejo, da vrteci in šole prepoznava jezikovne potrebe otrok priseljenecv, poudarjajo pomen ohranjanja prvega jezika kot prispevka za razumevanje različnih kultur, razvoja identitete in spodbujanja učenja drugega ali tujega jezika.

Ključne besede:

starši, učitelji, vzgojitelji,
inkluzija, kakovost.

Recognition of the First Language and Second Language Learning from the Perspective of the Holistic Approach to the Inclusion of Immigrant Children in Slovenian Kindergartens and Schools

The paper presents the results of a qualitative study that explored the practices of identifying the language needs of immigrant children; the importance practitioners attach to an integrated approach to the inclusion of immigrant children at different levels; and the challenges they expect to face in implementing the concept of an integrated approach with parents, head teachers, teaching and non-teaching staff. The study involved 209 professionals from kindergartens, primary and secondary schools who received training on the implementation of the Concept for the Holistic Integration of Immigrant Children in Kindergartens and Schools. The results show that kindergartens and schools recognise the linguistic needs of immigrant children, stress the importance of preserving the first language as a contribution to understanding different cultures, developing identity and encouraging the learning of a second or foreign language.

Keywords:

parents, teachers,
educators, inclusion,
quality.

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Introduction

V slovenskih vrtcih in šolah je vse več otrok, ki imajo zaradi prehoda iz različnih jezikovnih in kulturnih okolij težave pri vključevanju v izobraževalni proces (Dežan in Sedmak, 2020). Na uspešnost vključevanja otrok v novo okolje vplivata način izvajanja pedagoškega procesa in odnos strokovnih delavcev (Peček, Skubic in Ermenc, 2016). Čeprav je inkluzivna naravnost vzgoje in izobraževanja osrednje načelo zagotavljanja pravičnosti in enakih možnosti (Killen in Rutland, 2022), je dejstvo raznolikosti v slovenskih vrtcih in šolah sistemski in pedagoški izziv. Po podatkih SURS-a (2024a) je bilo v šolskem letu 2016/17 vpisanih v vrtec 3637 otrok, državljanov drugih držav, v šolskem letu 2023/24 pa 7626. Največ se je povečal delež otrok iz Ukrajine, Kosova, Bosne in Hercegovine in Makedonije. V šolskem letu 2017/18 je bilo v slovenske osnovne šole vpisanih 8070 učencev, državljanov drugih držav, v šolskem letu 2023/24 pa 17519. Največ osnovnošolskih učencev, državljanov drugih držav v zadnjih petih letih prihaja iz Bosne in Hercegovine, Kosova, Srbije, Ruske Federacije, Makedonije, v zadnjih dveh letih pa iz Ukrajine (SURS, 2024b). Po podatkih SURS-a (2023c) je bilo v šolskem letu 2016/17 v slovenske srednje šole vključenih 3.566 dijakov iz drugih držav, v šolskem letu 2022/23 pa 5378. V zadnjih letih največ dijakov, državljanov drugih držav prihaja iz Bosne in Hercegovine, Kosova, Makedonije, Srbije in Ukrajine.

Zaradi nekdanje večjezične skupne države Jugoslavije so bili v slovenske vrtce in šole vedno vključeni tudi otroci/učenci/dijaki, katerih prvi jezik ni bil slovenski. Na podlagi obsega in razlogov za selitve, ki jih je predstavil Dolenc (2007) lahko sklepamo, da preseljevanju ni bilo mogoče natančno slediti in ga registrirati, ker je potekalo stalno prehajanje med republikami zaradi upravnih, ekonomskih, političnih in osebnih razlogov. Večina strokovnih delavcev v vrtcih in šolah tudi ni imela težav z razumevanjem jezika teh otrok, saj jim je bil jezik poznan zaradi takratnega skupnega življenja v isti državi. Predvidevamo pa lahko, da so otroci priseljenci tudi takrat doživljali stiske pri vzpostavljanju socialnih stikov z vrstniki, saj raziskave (Lesar, Čuk in Peček, 2012) kažejo, da so bili otroci priseljenci iz bivše Jugoslavije slabše socialno vključeni, kot so bili drugi otroci. Vključevanje je z vidika doseganja spoznavne kompetentnosti zahtevno tudi zato, ker se morajo otroci, za katere učni jezik ni prvi jezik, učiti jezika več let, da postanejo enako kompetentni kot njihovi vrstniki, katerih prvi jezik je tudi učni jezik (Rutar, 2014).

Kot odziv na povečevanje kulturne in jezikovne raznolikosti v slovenskih vrtcih in šolah je bila na državni ravni pripravljena Strategija vključevanja otrok, učencev in dijakov migrantov v sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja v Republiki Sloveniji (2007), Smernice za vključevanje otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole (2012), dokument Vključevanje otrok priseljencev v slovenski vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem (2017), Predlog programa dela z otroki priseljenci za področje predšolske vzgoje, osnovnošolskega in srednješolskega izobraževanja (Rutar, idr., 2018), učni načrti za začetno učenje slovenščine, potekali pa so tudi mnogi projekti z namenom proučevanja stanja in razvoja pristopov uspešnega vključevanja otrok priseljencev. Tudi Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve RS je pripravilo Strategijo vključevanja tujcev, ki niso državljani Evropske unije, v kulturno, gospodarsko in družbeno življenje Republike Slovenije (2023). Ta izhaja iz predpostavke, da je pogoj za dobro integracijo znanje slovenskega jezika in da sta z osnovnim znanjem jezika na preživetveni ravni tujcu zagotovljena avtonomnost in samostojnost v družbi in lokalnem okolju, hkrati pa se poveča možnost njegove poznejše širše vključenosti v družbo.

Dodatne ure slovenščine se priseljenkim učencem, ki se prvo leto šolajo v Republiki Sloveniji, zagotavlja že od konca devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Na predšolski stopnji (v drugem starostnem obdobju) Strategija vključevanja tujcev, ki niso državljani Evropske unije, v kulturno, gospodarsko in družbeno življenje Republike Slovenije (2023) priporoča, da je začetno učenje slovenščine zasnovano komunikacijsko, kar pomeni, da se otroci učijo slovenščino v neposrednih sporazumevalnih situacijah (prav tam, 29). V osnovni šoli pa se priporoča strnjen in intenziven način izvajanja začetnega pouka slovenščine v prvem letu. V srednješolskem izobraževanju dijaki, ki so se predhodno šolali v tujini opravijo preizkus znanja slovenščine. Če dijak po testu ne izkaže slovenščine na ravni A2, zanj šola organizira intenzivni tečaj slovenskega jezika (prav tam). Strategija podpira tudi priporočila Ministrstva za vzgojo in izobraževanje pri zagotavljanju celostnega pristopa vključevanja in dela z otroki priseljenci za njihovo uspešno integracijo, oblikovanje medkulturne družbe in uresničevanje pravic do učenja, kar je značilno za Predlog programa dela z otroki priseljenci za področje predšolske vzgoje, osnovnošolskega in srednješolskega izobraževanja (Rutar idr., 2018).

V prispevku zato izpostavljamo povzeto, dopolnjeno in prirejeno po Lesar idr., (2018) in Rutar idr., (2018), da mora biti vključevanje otrok in mladostnikov priseljencev v vrtcih in šolah utemeljeno v:

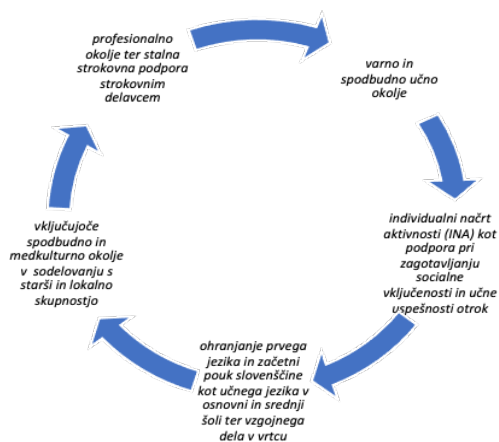
- *timskem delu strokovnih delavcev* v vzgojno - izobraževalnih zavodih, vključenih v proces vzgoje in izobraževanja otrok, učencev, dijakov priseljencev;
- *izvedbenih protokolih vključevanja in dela* na ravni posameznih vrtcev in šol, ki zajemajo procese izvedbe, spremljanje izvedbe in učinkov procesov za doseganje učne uspešnosti in psihološkega blagostanja otrok učencev, dijakov;
- *inkluzivnem, spodbudnem in raznolikem učnem okolju* za učenje in razvoj vseh otrok/učencev/dijakov z različnimi predznanji, izkušnjami, zmožnostmi, značilnostmi razvoja in učenja ter sociokulturnimi značilnostmi;
- *razumevanju integracije kot dvosmernega procesa*, ki je jezikovno, socialno in kulturno senzibilen ter se nanaša na celotno populacijo otrok/učencev/dijakov, vključenih v vzgojo in izobraževanje;
- *participaciji otrok, mladostnikov, staršev in lokalnega okolja* pri razvoju, načrtovanju, spremljanju in evalviranju vključevanja otrok, učencev, dijakov priseljencev;
- *stalnem spremljanju učinkovitosti in ustreznosti modelov vključevanja otrok*, učencev, dijakov priseljencev v vrtce in šole, na ravni posameznih vrtcev in šol;
- *zagotavljanju stalne in kontinuirane strokovne podpore vsem zaposlenim* v vrtcih in šolah, ki so vključeni v proces vključevanja in zagotavljanja psihološkega blagostanja in učne uspešnosti otrok, učencev, dijakov priseljencev;
- *zagotavljanju profesionalnih, mrežnih povezav med vrtci in šolami*, na ravni regije oz. države.
- *medsektorskem povezovanju, usklajevanju in vzajemnem dopolnjevanju strokovnih rešitev vzgojno-izobraževalnega, socialnega in zdravstvenega sektorja* za dobrobit – pogoje za razvoj in učenje vseh otrok.

Konceptualizacija celostnega pristopa podpore otrokom priseljencem v kulturni in jezikovni raznolikosti vrtcev in šol

Pri razvoju, načrtovanju in izvedbi vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole je treba upoštevati tudi mednarodne raziskave, ki razkrivajo, da imajo učenci priseljenci v Sloveniji slabši socialno-ekonomski položaj kot otroci, ki niso priseljenci (OECD, 2023a). Na ravni celotne populacije 25 % učencev velja za socialno-ekonomsko prikrajšanih, delež prikrajšanih mladostnikov med učenci priseljenci pa je 57 %.

Obenem pa je približno 84 % učencev priseljencev (in 3 % vseh preostalih učencev) v raziskavi PISA 2022 (OECD, 2023a; OECD, 2023) poročalo, da so opravljali preverjanje znanja v raziskavi PISA v drugem jeziku, kot ga večinoma časa govorijo doma. Razlika je bila tudi v dosežkih – povprečna razlika v dosežkih pri matematiki med učenci priseljenci in učenci, ki niso priseljenci, je 60 točk v korist učencev, ki niso priseljenci. Po upoštevanju socialno-ekonomskega profila učencev je bila ugotovljena pomembna razlika 29 točk v korist učencev, ki niso priseljenci. Pri branju je bila povprečna razlika v dosežkih med učenci priseljenci in učenci, ki niso priseljenci, 47 točk v korist učencev, ki niso priseljenci, kar je pomembna razlika. Po upoštevanju socialno-ekonomskega profila učencev je bila ugotovljena pomembna razlika 18 točk v korist učencev, ki niso priseljenci (prav tam).

Celostni pristop podpore vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole, ki je predstavljen v nadaljevanju, je bil razvit kot odziv na zaznane potrebe otrok in staršev priseljencev (Vižintin, 2013; Medarić, Gornik in Sedmak, 2022) ter na podlagi empiričnih spoznanj o izkušnjah otrok priseljencev, njihovega pojmovanja kakovosti vzgoje in izobraževanja (Rutar, 2018) in ne nazadnje tudi spoznanj, da je med vzgojitelji in učitelji osnovnih in srednjih šol dokaj visoka izraženost negativnih stališč do otrok priseljencev in razmeroma zadržan odnos do kulturne raznolikosti (Lesar, Majcen in Podlesek, 2020). Predvideva zagotavljanje vsebinsko med seboj povezanih procesno-didaktičnih področij na ravni vrtcev, osnovnih in srednjih šol.



Slika 1: Celostni pristop podpore vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole.

Otroci in mladostniki v svojih primarnih socio-ekonomskih, kulturnih in jezikovnih kontekstih razvijajo identiteto, podobo o sebi (Benninger in Savahl, 2017). Z vključevanjem v druga okolja so otroci priseljenci izpostavljeni različnim oblikam pozitivnega oz. negativnega pripoznanja (Rutar, 2018). Jezik, ki ga otroci govorijo oz. s katerim se sporazumevajo v domačem okolju, je medij komuniciranja pomenov, ki so v življenjskih situacijah posameznika in skupin pomembni (Bonvillain, 2019), zato je ob vključevanju otrok v vrtce in šole ključno, da je za otroka zagotovljeno *varno in spodbudno učno okolje*, v katerem otrok lahko prepozna pomene iz svojega domačega okolja, pridobiva nova spoznanja v interakciji z odraslimi in vrstniki v čustveno-socialno in učno spodbudnem fizičnem okolju (intenzivne interakcije med otroki, razvojno primerna ureditev učilnic, dostopnost materialov, ustrezna dostopnost IKT), se vključi in pripada skupnosti – postane del skupnosti, v katero vstopa, kajti potreba po pripadanju je temeljna človekova potreba (Allen idr., 2022).

Evalvacija uvajanja *INA kot podpore pri zagotavljanju socialne vključenosti in učne uspešnosti otrok* pri vključevanju otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole je pokazala (Rutar in Medruša, 2018), da je za uspešno vključevanje otrok priseljencev ključno uvodno pripoznanje predhodnih znanj, izkušenj, interesov, načinov učenja, aspiracij otrok in staršev. Individualni načrt aktivnosti (INA) mora biti razvojno pojmovan, osnovan, zagotavljati mora spremljanje izvedbe, obenem pa se mora tudi stalno dopolnjevati. Pregled dokumentacije INA nakazuje (prav tam), da na učno uspešnost otrok vpliva stopnja socialne vključenosti otrok, ki je odvisna od otrokove socialne mreže, tudi otrokovih socialnih spretnosti in spodbud novega okolja, v katerega se otrok vključuje ter njegovih priložnosti za prispevanje v družbi (tutorstvo drugim otrokom, ki prihajajo v skupino, razred, uporaba jezika, ki ga otrok zna v neformalnih oblikah učenja, sodelovanje na prireditvah, prevajanje, pogovarjanje z učitelji, ki znajo njegov jezik, vodenje jezikovnih delavnic ...). Primerjava učne uspešnosti otrok in načinov uvajanja INA pa kaže, da morajo vsi učitelji in vključeni v proces vzgoje in izobraževanja, ki so v stiku z otrokom, za zagotavljanje njegove socialne in učne uspešnosti poznati otrokova močna področja in interese, kar predstavlja izhodišče in priložnost za participacijo otrok v procesu učenja in življenja v skupnosti (prav tam).

Otrok vstopa v vzgojno-izobraževalno okolje s svojimi identitetami, zato je ključno *obranjanje prvega jezika in začetni pouk slovenščine kot učnega jezika v osnovni in srednji šoli ter*

vzgojnega dela v vrtcu. Identiteta in motivacijske spremenljivke oblikujejo posebne vzorce uporabe drugega jezika (L2), uporaba pa vpliva na rezultate učenja jezika, saj učencu/dijaku omogoča, da prek vnosa in/ali iznosa L2 vadi kognitivne procesne spretnosti. Pri učenju drugega jezika je smiselno upoštevati sociokulturno teorijo učenja jezika, ki predpostavlja, da je razvoj jezika pogojen z dinamično interakcijo med umom, telesom in svetom. Tako so kognitivna stanja ljudi, kot so osebnostno specifične individualne spremenljivke in mentalne reprezentacije (tj. Um), utemeljena v zunanjih vedenjih, kot so telesna dejanja, usmeritve ali čustva (tj. Telo), ki so tesno vpeta v določene družbene kontekste. Jezikovni razvoj je pojmovan kot interaktivno in adaptivno povezovanje učenca s socialnim in kognitivnim učnim okoljem (Trofimovich in Turuševa, 2015), zato tudi stališča učiteljev do poučevanja drugega ali tujega jezika, kot ugotavlja Bratož (2015), pomembno vplivajo na učne dosežke in motivacijo otrok za učenje jezika. Ob dejstvu, da ima otrok, ki še ne razume in ne govori slovenskega jezika, slabše izhodišče za socialno vključevanje in spoznavanje, je treba zagotoviti, da znanje slovenskega jezika kot učnega jezika ne predstavlja temeljnega pogoja za kulturno in socialno integracijo v družbo, kar je, kot poudarja Vezovnik (2013), značilno za reprodukcijo etnocentrističnih argumentov in utrjevanje specifičnega in dominantnega ter asimilacijskega režima resnice.

Zato morajo vrtci in šole delovati in se razvijati kot *vključujoče spodbudno in medkulturno okolje v sodelovanju s starši in lokalno skupnostjo*. Pri oblikovanju med-kulturnega okolja je za učinkovito vključevanje priseljenega otroka v okolje vzgojno-izobraževalnega zavoda treba vzpostaviti partnerski odnos med kolektivom vrtca/šole in družino (Licardo in Leite, 2022a) ter zagotoviti priložnosti za participacijo družin v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu. Seginer (2006) ugotavlja, da je pripravljenost staršev za sodelovanje s šolo močno povezana z zmožnostjo staršev za vključevanje, saj raziskave kažejo, da jezikovne in kulturne razlike omejujejo participacijo staršev v šolskih aktivnostih in njihovo neposredno komunikacijo z učitelji, sodelovanje s šolo in z otroki pri domačem delu za šolo. Pri tem pa je treba upoštevati, da so starši najpomembnejši vzgojitelji oz. učitelji svojih otrok ter vir mnogoterih izkušenj, praks in znanj – otrokom lahko pomagajo ohranjati materni/prvi jezik in razvijati kulturno identiteto/identitete. Vrtec in šola pa sta tudi dve izmed najpomembnejših stičišč lokalnih in priseljenih staršev ter podpornih okolij za priseljene družine po načelu »starši staršem«.

Izobraževanje otrok v medkulturnem in večjezičnem okolju mora biti zasnovano na poznavanju jezikovnega in kulturnega okvira (Baloh, 2019), v katerem ta proces poteka; treba ga je spremljati in prilagajati novejšim družbenim in zgodovinskim dogajanjem.

Na področju zagotavljanja inkluzivne kulture v raznolikosti in življenja v demokratični skupnosti sta ključna tudi ustrezno profesionalno okolje ter *stalna strokovna podpora strokovnim delavcem*. V številnih slovenskih raziskavah se je že večkrat pokazalo, da strokovni delavci nimajo dovolj znanj in veščin za delo s priseljenimi otroki/učenci/dijaki (Lesar, Majcen in Jug Došler, 2012; Čančar in Drljić, 2015; Rutar, 2018). Večinoma ne poznajo ali ne razumejo kulturnih razlik, navad staršev, običajev in pravil religije (Novak idr., 2009), zato večkrat prihaja do različnih nesporazumov ali nerazumevanj. Učitelji sicer pogosto izražajo pozitivna stališča do vključevanja učencev priseljencev v pouk, do drugih jezikov in kultur, vendar, kot ugotavlja Budinoska (2013), so učitelji vse preveč obremenjeni le in izključno s podajanjem in posredovanjem znanja (tudi sami poročajo o zavezanosti učnim načrtom). Za učinkovit in uspešno delujoč model medkulturne vzgoje in izobraževanja, katerega cilj je uspešno vključevanje otrok priseljencev in razvoj medkulturnega dialoga, Vižintin (2014) predlaga: razumevanje medkulturnosti kot pedagoško-didaktičnega načela; razvoj sistemske podpore za uspešno vključevanje otrok priseljencev; učitelje z razvijajočo se medkulturno zmožnostjo; razvoj zavedanja o večkulturni družbi pri vseh učnih predmetih; razvoj medkulturnega dialoga na šoli; sodelovanje s starši priseljencev in sodelovanje z lokalno skupnostjo. Pri tem so ključne značilnosti podpornega profesionalnega okolja po Ferreir in Tilbury (2019), da vodstvo vrtca/šole postavlja razvoj v središče načrtovanja in praks ter spodbuja demokratične in participativne procese odločanja; sodelovanje celotnega vrtca/šole pri izvajanju ukrepov in načrtov za izboljšanje; vzajemno sodelovanje skupnosti, družine in partnerstvo z družino in drugimi deležniki; spodbuja participativne pristope k učenju, ki otrokom omogočajo pridobivanje spretnosti in sposobnosti za kritično mišljenje, medkulturne perspektive, sodelovanje in državljanstvo; skriti kurikulum oz. učni načrt, ki odraža ključna sporočila in ideje, ki jih podpirajo kurikularni dokumenti in učni načrti; redno strokovno izpopolnjevanje za strokovne delavce in vodstva vrtcev/šol in partnerjev ter spodbujevalcev programa; izvajanje vzgojno-izobraževalnega programa v prostorih vrtca/šole in zunaj njih; redno spremljanje, razmislek in izvajanje postopkov vrednotenja, ki zagotavljajo informacije za spremljanje in ocenjevanje predhodnih ukrepov; vrtca/šola kot središče učenja in "učee organizacije" ter

izvajanje refleksivne prakse strokovnih delavcev za spodbujanje izboljšane delovanja.

Kljub skrbi in prizadevanju na sistemski in procesni ravni slovenskih vrtcev in šol ter razvoju celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok/učencev/dijakov priseljencev, prakse prepoznavanja in obravnavanja jezikovnih potreb otrok priseljencev pri njihovem vključevanju v slovenske vrtce in šole še niso bile proučevane.

Problem in namen raziskave

Zaradi kompleksnosti situacij in potreb otrok in mladostnikov priseljencev pri vključevanju v vzgojno-izobraževalna okolja so nas s perspektive predstavljenega celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok/učencev/dijakov zanimali 1) prakse prepoznavanja jezikovnih potreb otrok priseljencev v slovenskih vrtcih in šolah, 2) pomen, ki ga strokovni delavci pripisujejo celostnemu pristopu vključevanja otrok priseljencev po celotni vzgojno-izobraževalni vertikali ter 3) izzivi, ki jih pri sodelovanju s starši, kolegi, vodstvom in nepedagoškim kadrom pričakujejo strokovni delavci pri uvajanju celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok priseljencev.

Metoda

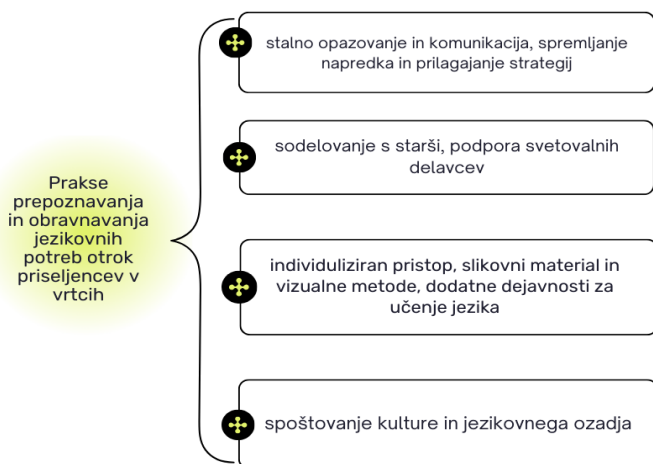
Uporabili smo deskriptivno metodo, izpeljano po načelih kvalitativnega pedagoškega raziskovanja. Vzorec je bil priložnostni in namenski. V raziskavo so bili vključeni strokovni delavci iz vrtcev, osnovnih in srednjih šol, ki so se udeležili usposabljanja za implementacijo koncepta celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole oktobra 2023- od tega 96 strokovnih delavcev iz vrtca, 157 iz osnovnih in 19 iz srednjih šol. K sodelovanju v raziskavi smo udeležence povabili pred izvedbo usposabljanja in jih istočasno seznanili tudi z namenom zbiranja podatkov. Sodelovanje v raziskavi je bilo prostovoljno. Oblikovali smo enoten vprašalnik za vse skupine udeležencev (strokovne delavce iz vrtcev, osnovnih in srednjih šol) z vprašanji odprtega tipa. Vprašanja so se nanašala na prakse vključevanja in dela z otroki in mladostniki priseljenci; na pomen, ki ga strokovni delavci pripisujejo celostnemu pristopu vključevanja otrok priseljencev po celotni vzgojno-izobraževalni vertikali ter predvidene izzive, ki jih pri sodelovanju s starši, kolegi, vodstvom in nepedagoškim kadrom pričakujejo strokovni delavci pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok/učencev/dijakov priseljencev. Podatke smo zbirali s spletnim vprašalnikom, z orodjem 1KA.

Odgovore smo obdelali po načelih kvalitativnega pedagoškega raziskovanja, induktivno, z odprtim kodiranjem (Vogrinc, 2008; Krmac in Cencič, 2022). Za obdelavo podatkov smo uporabili kvalitativno vsebinsko analizo, za katero sta značilna kodiranje in kategoriziranje besedila z namenom oblikovanja teoretične razlage in pojasnitve proučevanega pojava (Vogrinc, 2008). Pri odprtem kodiranju smo izjavam v analiziranem gradivu določili osnovne kode, ki smo jih umestili v vsebinsko povezane sklope za formuliranje razlag in uvid v proučevani problem.

Rezultati

Prakse prepoznavanja in obravnavanja jezikovnih potreb otrok priseljencev

Uvodoma nas je zanimalo, kako vrtci in šole prepoznajo in obravnavajo jezikovne potrebe otrok priseljencev.



Slika 2: Prakse prepoznavanja in obravnavanja jezikovnih potreb otrok priseljencev v vrtcih.

Kodirane izjave udeležencev ($n = 67$) iz vrtcev smo umestili v naslednje vsebinsko povezane sklope: *stalno opazovanje, komunikacija, spremljanje napredka in prilaganje strategij; sodelovanje s starši, podpora svetovalnih delavcev; individualiziran pristop, slikovni material in vizualne metode, dodatne dejavnosti za učenje jezika; spoštovanje kulture in jezikovnega ozadja.*

Strokovni delavci vrtcev opazujejo otroke med igro in komunikacijo, da bi prepoznali morebitne jezikovne težave (*stalno opazovanje in komunikacija*). Aktivno se vključujejo v interakcije otrok, da bi dobili vpogled v njihove jezikovne potrebe. *Spremljajo napredek in prilagajajo strategije* za podporo otrokovemu jezikovnemu razvoju. Sistematično beleženje opažanj prepoznavajo kot izhodišče za uspešno obravnavo.

Kot ključne pri prepoznavanju in obravnavanju jezikovnih potreb otrok, ki ne govorijo učnega, tj. slovenskega jezika prepoznavajo starši in *sodelovanje s starši* ter vzpostavljane dobrega odnosa in komunikacije z njimi. *Podporo svetovalnih delavcev* pa doživljajo kot strokovno pomoč otrokom in njihovim staršem pri učenju jezika.

Z individualiziranim pristopom zagotavljajo upoštevanje otrokovega jezikovnega ozadja, maternega jezika, sposobnosti in potreb. Otrokom zagotavljajo dovolj časa in podpore, da se vključijo v vrtec in se počutijo sprejete. Načrtujejo prilagojene programe in dejavnosti za podporo otrokovemu jezikovnemu razvoju. Uporabljajo *slikovni material in gradiva*, geste, igre vlog in druge vizualne pripomočke, ki pomagajo otrokom pri razumevanju in učenju jezika. Organizirajo tudi *dodatne dejavnosti za učenje jezika*, kot so tečaji slovenščine ali jezikovni kotički, ki omogočajo otrokom priložnost za učenje jezika izven rednih učnih dejavnosti. *Spoštujejo kulturo in jezikovno ozadje* – pri obravnavi jezikovnih potreb otrok se upošteva tudi njihovo kulturno ozadje in materni jezik. Spodbujajo večjezičnost in ohranjanje otrokovega maternega jezika.

Vzgojitelji se trudijo vzpostaviti spodbudno učno okolje, kjer se otroci učijo učnega jezika skozi igro, pesmi, slikovno gradivo in druge dejavnosti, da se otroci, ki ne govorijo slovensko, počutijo sprejete in vključene v skupino.

Glede na opazovanje in oceno otrokovega napredka se v praksi dodatno povezujejo z drugimi strokovnimi delavci, npr. z logopedom, sodelujejo s starši in lokalno skupnostjo ter upoštevajo kulturno ozadje otrok.

Izjave udeležencev ($n = 133$) iz osnovnih in srednjih šol smo kodirali in oblikovali naslednje vsebinske sklope: *ugotavljanje jezikovnega znanja; sodelovanje s starši; individualni načrt aktivnosti; individualiziran pristop; strokovna jezikovna podpora; izobraževanje učiteljev*

Z ugotavljanjem jezikovnega znanja učitelji na začetku ugotovijo raven znanja slovenščine otrok oz. mladostnikov priseljencev. Šola *sodeluje s starši* in pridobiva informacije o jezikovnem ozadju otrok ter njihovih jezikovnih težavah.



Slika 3: Prakse prepoznavanja in obravnavanja jezikovnih potreb otrok priseljencev v osnovnih in srednjih šolah.

Pripravijo *individualni načrt aktivnosti* za vsakega otroka/mladostnika z opredeljenimi jezikovnimi primanjkljaji in načrtovano pomočjo. *Individualizirani pristop* zagotavljajo z vključevanjem različnih učnih materialov in načinov poučevanja, preverjanja in ocenjevanja znanja, uporabo slikovnega gradiva. Ponujajo dodatne ure jezika, prilagajajo delo med poukom in vključujejo otroke/mladostnike v razredno skupnost ter dejavnosti, ki spodbujajo učenje jezika in kulture. Strokovna jezikovna podpora je zagotovljena s strokovnjaki za jezikovno podporo, ki pomagajo učiteljem prepoznati in obravnavati jezikovne potrebe otrok. Redno poteka *izobraževanje učiteljev* o prepoznavanju različnih jezikovnih potreb otrok oz. mladostnikov ter o načrtovanju prilagojenih pristopov poučevanja in učne podpore.

Rezultati kažejo, da se učitelji v osnovnih in srednjih šolah, ki poučujejo otroke oz. mladostnike priseljence, na začetku posvetijo preverjanju njihovega znanja slovenščine.

Na šoli se srečujejo na rednih sestankih z namenom obravnave napredka in reševanja morebitnih težav. Strokovni delavci pri tem izpostavljajo pomen zgodnjega prepoznavanja in obravnavanja jezikovnih potreb otroka oz. mladostnika ter sodelovanje s starši. Menijo, da bi se kot učitelji morali redno izobraževati o različnih jezikovnih potrebah otrok in mladostnikov in o prilagojenih pristopih poučevanja ter izvajanju učne podpore.

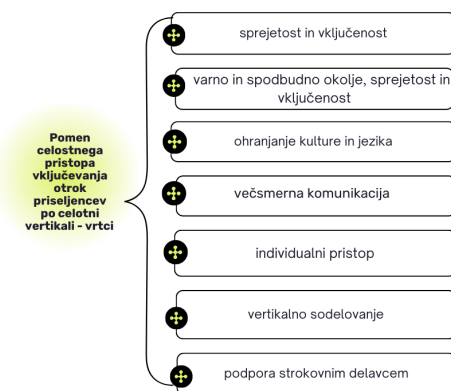
Pri pedagoškem delu z otroki oz. mladostniki priseljenci strokovni delavci uporabljajo slikovno gradivo, pomagajo pa osebe, ki tolmačijo prve jezike.

Prizadevajo si del snovi predstaviti v prvem jeziku/prvih jezikih z uporabo slikovnega gradiva. Strokovni delavci menijo, da bi šola morala imeti strokovnjaka za jezikovno podporo, ki bi pomagal prepoznati in obravnavati jezikovne potrebe priseljenih otrok in mladostnikov.

Menijo, da je individualni načrt aktivnosti ključen element pri obravnavi jezikovnih potreb otrok oz. mladostnikov za zagotavljanje potrebnih prilagoditev učnih priprav ter izvajanje boljše učne podpore priseljenim otrokom oz. mladostnikom. Strokovni delavci šol menijo, da bi za izboljšanje izobraževanja otrok in mladostnikov priseljencev bilo potrebnega več sistematičnega prepoznavanja in obravnavanja njihovih jezikovnih potreb.

Pomen, ki ga strokovni delavci vrtcev in šol pripisujejo konceptu celostne podpore vključevanja otrok priseljencev po celotni vzgojno-izobraževalni vertikali.

V nadaljevanju nas je zanimalo, kakšen pomen pripisujejo celostnemu vključevanju in delu z otroki priseljenci po celotni vertikali od vrtca do srednje šole strokovni delavci v vrtcu in šoli.



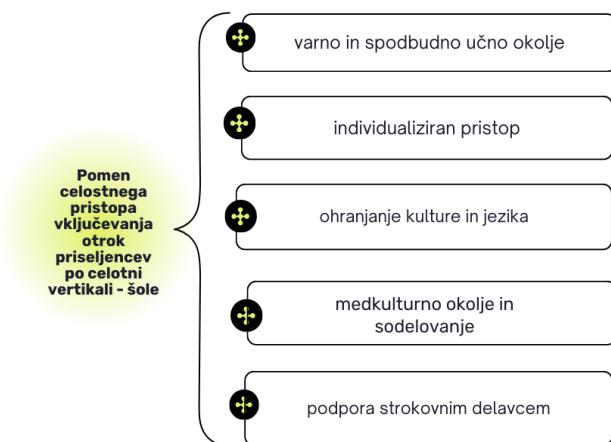
Slika 4: Pomen celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok priseljencev po celotni vertikali – vrtci.

Izjave udeležencev iz vrtca (n=81) smo z odprtim kodiranjem oblikovali v naslednje vsebinske sklope: sprejetost in vključenost; varno in spodbudno okolje; ohranjanje kulture in jezika; večsmerna komunikacija; individualni pristop; vertikalno sodelovanje; podpora strokovnim delavcem.

Strokovni delavci iz vrtca menijo, da je v celostnem pristopu mogoče zagotoviti *sprejetost in vključenost* otrok, kar je ključno za njihov razvoj in dobro počutje ter *varno in spodbudno okolje*. Pristop omogoča tudi *ohranjanje kulture in jezika* – otroci imajo možnost ohraniti svojo kulturo in jezik, hkrati pa se učijo tudi slovenskega jezika,

kar prispeva k bogatenju medkulturnega razumevanja. Zagotovljena je *večsmerna komunikacija* med otroki, starši in strokovnimi delavci, ki omogoča boljše razumevanje in podporo otrokom. *Individualni pristop* po mnenju strokovnih delavcev iz vrtca omogoča individualizirano obravnavo otrok, kar je ključno za njihov uspeh in dobro počutje v vrtcu. *Vertikalno sodelovanje* med vrtcem, šolo in lokalno skupnostjo pa omogoča boljše usklajevanje in podporo otrokom skozi celoten izobraževalni proces. V celostnem pristopu sta lahko zagotovljena *podpora strokovnim delavcem* in usposabljanje za delo z otroki priseljenci, kar prispeva h kakovosti njihovega dela.

Celostni pristop po mnenju strokovnih delavcev omogoča vzpostavitev spodbudnega in varnega učnega okolja, individualiziran pristop za vsakega otroka, ohranjanje materinščine in učenje slovenskega jezika ter sodelovanje s starši in drugimi strokovnjaki. Za strokovne delavce v vrtcu je pomembno, da se otroci počutijo sprejete, spoštovane in podprte v svojem okolju, kar jim omogoča, da uspešno napredujejo in se integrirajo v novo okolje. Obenem pa jim celosten pristop po mnenju strokovnih delavcev omogoča strokovno podporo in priložnosti za usklajeno strokovno delo po celotni vzgojno-izobraževalni vertikali in sodelovanje z okoljem.



Slika 5: Pomen celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok priseljencev po celotni vertikali – osnovne in srednje šole.

Pri udeležencih iz osnovne in srednje šole smo ($n = 140$) izjave z odprtim kodiranjem oblikovali v naslednje vsebinsko povezane sklope: *varno in spodbudno okolje; individualiziran pristop; obranjanje kulture in jezika; medkulturno okolje in sodelovanje; podpora strokovnim delavcem*. Strokovni delavci iz osnovnih in srednjih šol navajajo, da imajo učenci/dijaki v celostnem pristopu možnost razvijati pripadnost, zaupanje in samozavest, kar spodbuja njihovo motivacijo in zmanjšuje občutek izoliranosti, to smo opredelili kot *varno in spodbudno učno okolje*. Omogočen je *individualizirani pristop*, v katerem se vsak otrok oz. mladostnik obravnava individualno, kar omogoča učinkovitejše napredovanje in večje možnosti za uspeh v šoli. V okviru celostnega pristopa imajo možnost *obranjati prvi jezik* in s tem svojo kulturno identiteto ter razvijati dvojezičnost, kar spodbuja razumevanje in spoštovanje različnih kultur. Obenem pa sta zagotovljena *medkulturno okolje in sodelovanje*, krepí se povezovanje med šolo, družino in lokalno skupnostjo, kar spodbuja medkulturno razumevanje in vključenost. *Stalna strokovna podpora* zagotavlja, da so učitelji in drugi strokovnjaki opremljeni z najnovejšimi znanji in pristopi, kar dviga kakovost izobraževanja in podpora otrokom priseljencem.

Po mnenju strokovnih delavcev osnovnih in srednjih šol je pomembno zagotavljanje celostnega in kontinuiranega izvajanja pristopov od vrtca do srednje šole, kar bi po njihovem mnenju pripomoglo tudi k boljšim učnim rezultatom in k socialni vključenosti otrok. Opozarjajo pa na praktične ovire, kot so nesodelovanje staršev, nepoznavanje otrokove preteklosti, pomanjkanje individualizirane obravnave ter omejitve pri prilagajanju družbenega okolja. Izpostavljajo pomen zgodnjega vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem, še posebej v vrtcu, kjer otroci potrebujejo varno okolje ter individualizirano obravnavo.

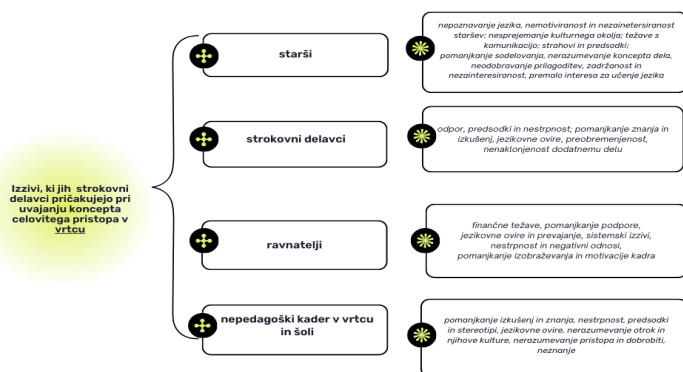
Dvosmerna komunikacija v različnih jezikih, sodelovanje s starši, lokalno skupnostjo in strokovna podpora vsem zaposlenim v vrtcih in šolah, so po mnenju strokovnih delavcev ključni elementi uspešnega vključevanja otrok oz. mladostnikov priseljencev. Strokovni delavci menijo, da bi celosten pristop lahko prispeval k boljšemu počutju, večji socialni vključenosti otrok ter povečal uspešnost posameznega otroka oz. mladostnika in hkrati krepil medkulturno sožitje.

Kljub izzivom, kot so pomanjkanje strokovnega kadra, težave pri izvajanju individualiziranih programov in omejen dostop do dodatne pomoči, se večina strokovnih delavcev zavzema za nadaljnje izboljšave in prilagoditve vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema za učinkovito podporo otrokom oz. mladostnikom priseljencem v procesu izobraževanja in vključevanja v slovensko družbo. Sklepno

sporočilo strokovnih delavcev poudarja kompleksnost izziva, ki zahteva sodelovanje vseh déležnikov v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu.

Izzivi, ki jih pri sodelovanju s starši, kolegih, vodstvu in pedagoškem kadru pričakujejo strokovni delavci pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa v vrtcih in šolah

Pri uvajanju celostnega pristopa lahko pričakujemo tudi določene omejitve, zato nas je zanimalo, kakšne izzive predvidevajo glede ideje o celovitem pristopu vključevanja in dela z otroki priseljenci po celotni vzgojno-izobraževalni vertikali pri starših, kolegih v vrtcu oz. v šoli, ravnateljih in nepedagoškem kadru v vrtcih oz. šolah.



Slika 5: Izzivi, ki jih strokovni delavci pričakujejo pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa v vrtcu.

Izzivi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni staršev v vrtcih.

Iz izjav ($n = 51$) smo z odprtim kodiranjem oblikovali vsebinske sklope izzivov, ki jih strokovni delavci iz vrtcev pričakujejo pri starših. *Nepoznavanje jezika* je ovira, ker starši priseljencev pogosto ne govorijo slovensko, to pa otežuje komunikacijo in sodelovanje. Pričakujejo tudi *nemotiviranost in nezainteresiranost* staršev za sodelovanje ali učenje jezika, njihov edini motiv pa so po mnenju udeležencev lahko socialni transferji. *Nesprejemanje kulturnega okolja* je izziv, ki ga pričakujejo strokovni delavci zato, ker starši morda niso pripravljeni sprejeti slovenske kulture ali se vključiti v aktivnosti vrtca. Pričakovana je *težava s komunikacijo* med strokovnimi delavci in starši zaradi jezikovnih ovir. Strokovni delavci, vključeni v raziskavo, pa menijo, da so lahko izziv tudi *strahovi in predsodki*, ki bi jih lahko nekateri starši izražali glede novih

okolij ali drugačnih pristopov. Pričakujejo tudi *pomanjkanje sodelovanja*, ker se starši morda ne želijo ali ne zmorejo vključiti v proces vključevanja otrok v vrtec ali šolo. Pričakovano pa je tudi morebitno *nerazumevanje koncepta dela*, ker bi lahko različna pričakovanja in vrednote staršev povzročila nesporazume glede samega pristopa dela v vrtcu. Predvidevajo tudi *neodobravanje prilagoditev*, saj nekateri starši slovenskih otrok morda ne odobravajo prilagoditev za otroke priseljence oz. jih skrbi morebiten padec kakovosti realizacije kurikulumuma vrtca zaradi povečanja števila priseljencev v oddelkih vrtcev.

Obenem pa predvidevajo *zadržanost in nezainteresiranost* za sodelovanje zaradi verskih ali kulturnih razlogov. Izpostavili so tudi *premalo interesa za učenje jezika*, ker se mnogi starši ne zanimajo za učenje slovenskega jezika ali se temu celo aktivno upirajo.

Izživi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni strokovnih delavcev v vrtcih.

Pri strokovnih delavcih v vrtcih udeleženci raziskave iz vrtcev izjave ($n = 55$) nakazujejo pričakovanje *odpora, predsodkov in nestrpnosti*. Nekateri vzgojitelji se soočajo z odporom, predsodki in nestrpnostjo do otrok priseljencev ali njihovih staršev, kar lahko vpliva na kakovostno izvajanje celostnega pristopa. Ob tem izpostavljajo tudi *pomanjkanje znanja in izkušenj* za delo z otroki priseljenci ter potrebo po dodatnih znanjih. *Jezikovne ovire* lahko predstavljajo težavo pri komunikaciji s starši in z otroki priseljenci ter pri prilagajanju dela v oddelkih. Omenjajo pa tudi preobremenjenost, ki je po mnenju udeležencev raziskave pogosta težava med vzgojitelji, kar vpliva na ustreznost zagotavljanja podpore otrokom priseljencem. Pričakujejo pa tudi *nenaklonjenost dodatnemu delu*, izogibanje dodatnemu delu zaradi strahu pred obremenitvijo.

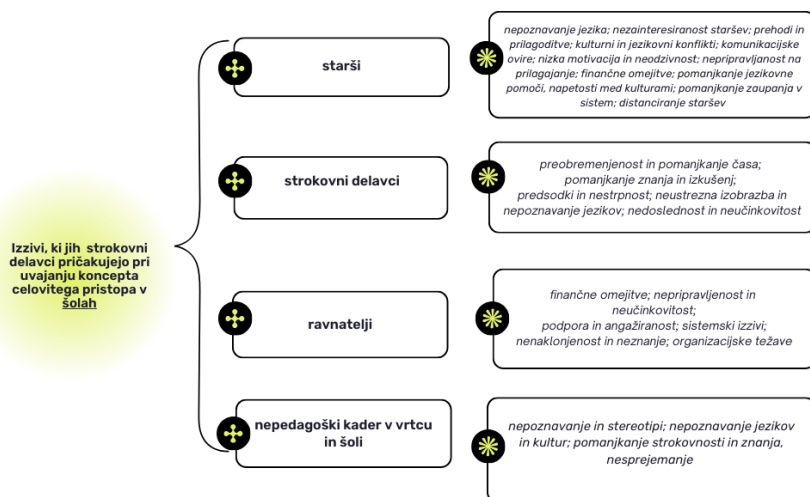
Izživi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni ravnatelj v vrtcu.

Udeleženci raziskave v svojih izjavah ($n = 51$) pričakujejo, da se bodo ravnatelji soočali s *finančnimi težavami* in omejitvami pri zagotavljanju dodatnih izobraževanj za kadre in nabavi didaktičnega gradiva za otroke priseljence. Obenem pa so udeleženci raziskave navajali, da nekateri vzgojitelji občutijo *pomanjkanje podpore s strani ravnatelj*, bodisi zaradi neustrezne komunikacije, premajhnega zanimanja bodisi zaradi nepoznavanja problematike. Nekateri ravnatelji se soočajo tudi z jezikovnimi ovirami in težavami pri zagotavljanju prevajanja dokumentov in komunikacije v drugih jezikih, zato so bili omenjeni tudi *sistemske izživi*, kot je potreba po ustreznih rešitvah za zagotavljanje pomoči prevajalca ali vzpostavljanje povezav vrtcev/šol z

lokalnim okoljem. Nekateri ravnatelji se *soočajo z nestrpnostjo, negativnimi odnosi* ali dvomi glede potrebe po vpeljevanju celovitega pristopa, *s pomanjkanjem izobraževanja in motivacije kadra* za dodatno izobraževanje in delo z otroki priseljenci.

Izzivi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni nepedagoškega kadra v vrtcih.

Udeleženci raziskave v svojih izjavah ($n = 51$) pri pedagoškem kadru v vrtcih pričakujejo *pomanjkanje izkušenj in znanja* za delo z otroki priseljenci, kar lahko ovira učinkovito podporo in vključevanje; *nestrpnost, predsodke in stereotipe*, ki vodijo v izključevanje ali neprimerne odzive. Predvidevajo pomanjkanje znanja jezikov in s tem *jezikovne ovire*, kar lahko otežuje komunikacijo s starši otrok priseljencev in na ustrezen potek dejavnosti, *nerazumevanje otrok in njihove kulture* in nepoznavanje kulture ter ozadja otrok priseljencev. Navedeno lahko vodi v neprimerne odzive in pomanjkljivo razumevanje otrokovih potreb, *nerazumevanje pristopa in dobrobiti*, saj predvidevajo, da nekateri nepedagoški delavci morda ne vidijo smisla ali dobrobiti v celostnem pristopu, kar lahko vodi v nezainteresiranost ali neudeležnost. Pri tem poudarjajo, da je treba zagotoviti ustrezno izobraževanje in ozaveščanje tudi za nepedagoški kader ter spodbujati sprejemanje in spoštljivost v vzgojno-izobraževalnem okolju.



Slika 6: Izzivi, ki jih strokovni delavci pričakujejo pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega celostnega pristopa v osnovnih in srednjih šolah.

Izživi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni staršev v osnovnih in srednjih šolah.

Udeleženci iz osnovnih in srednjih šol na podlagi izjav ($n = 88$) na področju sodelovanja s starši pričakujejo, da bo *nepoznavanje jezika* oz. pomanjkanje znanja jezika oteževalo komunikacijo in sodelovanje s starši, kar lahko vpliva na učni uspeh otrok. Predvidevajo tudi *nezainteresiranost staršev* za sodelovanje s šolo ali vrtcem ter nerazumevanje pomembnosti učenja slovenskega jezika. Omenjene so bile tudi težave pri *prehodih med šolami ali državami*. Predvidevajo tudi *kulturne in jezikovne konflikte*, pojav strahu pred izgubo kulturne identitete ter *komunikacijske ovire*. Udeleženci raziskave so v izjavah navajali problem *nizke motivacije in neodzivnosti nekaterih staršev* za sodelovanje ali učenje jezika, kar lahko zavira proces vključevanja. Omenjena je bila tudi *nepripravljenost na prilagajanje*, ker so strah, negotovost in nezaupanje v sistem lahko ovira za sodelovanje in prilagajanje na novo okolje. Pričakovane so tudi *finančne omejitve*, saj lahko socialno-ekonomski status družin vpliva na motivacijo za učenje jezika ali sodelovanje s šolo. *Pomanjkanje jezikovne pomoči*, prevajalcev ali mediatorskih storitev pa lahko ovira komunikacijo med šolo in starši. Predvidevajo pa se tudi *napetosti med kulturami*, ki jih lahko povzročijo predsodki in strahovi med različnimi kulturami, ki kasneje vplivajo na odnos do celovitega pristopa. Pojavlja pa se tudi *pomanjkanje zaupanja v sistem* – strah pred diskriminacijo ali napačnim obravnavanjem lahko vodi v zavračanje sodelovanja s šolo ali vrtcem. Obenem pa je zaznано *distanciranje staršev v srednji šoli*, ki se včasih distancirajo od izobraževanja svojih otrok v srednji šoli, kar lahko oteži proces vključevanja otrok.

Izživi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni strokovnih delavcev v osnovnih in srednjih šolah.

Udeleženci raziskave v svojih izjavah ($n = 86$) pri svojih kolegih, strokovnih delavcih v šolah predvidevajo *preobremenjenost in pomanjkanje časa*. Učitelji se soočajo s preveliko obremenitvijo zaradi siceršnjega dela v razredu, kar otežuje dodatno prilagajanje in individualizacijo za učence s prilagoditvami. Predvidevajo tudi *pomanjkanje znanja in izkušenj* za delo z učenci priseljenci, kar lahko vodi v neuspešno prilagajanje pouka. Ponovno pričakujejo *predsodke in nestrpnost* do priseljencev, kar lahko vpliva na njihovo pripravljenost za sodelovanje in prilagajanje. Obenem pa sta prisotna sklopa *neustrezna izobrazba in nepoznavanje jezikov* ter *nedoslednost in neučinkovitost* pri delu in vključevanju učencev/dijakov priseljencev.

Izživi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni ravnateljcev v osnovnih in srednjih šolah.

V izjavah udeležencev iz osnovnih in srednjih šol smo v izjavah ($n = 77$) z odprtim kodiranjem identificirali *finančne omejitve* povezane z zagotavljanjem zaradi dodatnih gradiv in izobraževanj, s katerimi se ravnatelji pogosto soočajo, kar bi otežilo izvajanje celovitega pristopa, obenem pa je bila navedena kategorija *nepripravljenost in neučinkovitost* nekaterih ravnateljev pri izvajanju obveznosti šol pri vključevanju priseljencev. Prisotna je tudi *podpora in angažiranost*, ko ravnatelji aktivno podpirajo izvajanje različnih programov za otroke priseljence in zagotavljajo dovolj ur za pomoči. Izpostavljeni so bili *sistemski izzivi* na ravni šibkega povezovanja vrtca/šole z lokalnim okoljem. Pričakujejo tudi *nenaklonjenost in neznanje* ter pomanjkanje izkušenj nekaterih ravnateljev za delo s tujci ali nenaklonjenost tujcem. Predvidevajo pa tudi *organizacijske težave*, kot so neučinkovita razporeditev ur ali premalo podpore učiteljem pri delu z učenci priseljenci.

Izzivi pri uvajanju koncepta celostnega pristopa na ravni nepedagoških delavcev v osnovnih in srednjih šolah

Udeleženci iz osnovnih in srednjih šol so v svojih izjavah ($n = 75$) navajali, da pri nepedagoških delavcih pričakujejo *nepoznavanje in stereotipe* zaradi pomanjkanja znanja, kar lahko vodi v neprimerno komunikacijo ali ravnanje s priseljenci in ovira uspešno uvajanje celostnega pristopa ter vodi v izključevanje otrok/učencev/dijakov priseljencev. Pričakovano je *nepoznavanje jezikov in kultur*, kar lahko ovira učinkovito komunikacijo z otroki in razumevanje njihovih potreb, *pomanjkanje strokovnosti in znanja* zaradi nezadostnih jezikovnih ali strokovnih veščin za delo z otroki priseljenci, kar lahko vodi v nemoč pri zagotavljanju podpore pri vključevanju in sprejemanju otrok/učencev/dijakov priseljencev.

Sklepna spoznanja

Šole in vrtci se soočajo z raznolikimi potrebami otrok oz. mladostnikov priseljencev, ki se vključujejo v nova okolja. V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati raziskave, v kateri smo s perspektive celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok/učencev/dijakov proučevali: 1) prakse prepoznavanja jezikovnih potreb otrok priseljencev; 2) pomen, ki ga strokovni delavci pripisujejo celostnemu pristopu vključevanja otrok priseljencev po celotni vzgojno-izobraževalni vertikali ter 3) izzive, ki jih pri sodelovanju s starši, kolegi, vodstvu in nepedagoškem kadru pričakujejo strokovni delavci pri uvajanju celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok/učencev/dijakov priseljencev. Ugotavljamo, da prepoznavanje jezikovnih potreb v vrtcih in šolah poteka z različnimi metodami, vključno s pogovori, opazovanjem, testiranjem otrok,

učencev oz. dijakov in v sodelovanju s starši. Strokovni delavci pripisujejo velik pomen zagotavljanju individualiziranega pristopa za vsakega otroka oz. mladostnika ter spodbudnemu in vključujočemu okolju, ki omogoča učenje in razvoj vseh otrok oz. mladostnikov, ne glede na njihova jezikovna predznanja in jezikovne zmožnosti. Šole se trudijo izvajati dodatne ure slovenščine, zagotoviti prevode in prevajalce, vključiti medvrstniško pomoč in sodelovati s strokovnjaki, da bi otrokom oz. mladostnikom priseljencem omogočili čim boljšo integracijo v vzgojno-izobraževalno okolje.

Individualni načrt aktivnosti (INA) v vrtcih in šolah izpostavljajo kot ključen element za sistematično prepoznavanje in obravnavanje jezikovnih potreb otrok oz. mladostnikov že ob vpisu otrok v vrtce in šole, kar omogoča takojšnje prilagajanje programov in metod poučevanja ter participacijo otrok/učencev/dijakov. Menijo, da otroci oz. mladostniki priseljenci potrebujejo intenzivno učenje slovenskega jezika kot učnega jezika, pri čemer je nujno vključevanje staršev, uporaba sodobnih učnih pripomočkov ter ustvarjanje spodbudnega in vključujočega učnega okolja z intenzivnimi socialnimi medvrstniškimi in učnimi interakcijami. Pri tem je za strokovne delavce pomemben tudi vidik sodelovanja različnih strokovnih delavcev, kot so drugi učitelji in svetovalni delavci, za skupno spremljanje napredka otrok oz. mladostnikov in nudenje potrebne podpore.

Celosten in vertikalno povezan pristop podpore vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole bi po mnenju strokovnih delavcev iz vrtca in šol zagotovil sprejetost in vključenost otrok, varno in spodbudno okolje, ohranjanje kulture in jezika, večsmerno komunikacijo med otroki, starši in strokovnimi delavci in s tem boljšo podporo in razumevanje otrok. Izpostavljeni so pomen individualnega pristopa ter vertikalno sodelovanje med vrtcem, šolo in lokalno skupnostjo ter podpora strokovnim delavcem. Pripoznana je možnost ugotavljanja jezikovnih potreb otrok oz. mladostnikov in možnost za uspešno socialno integracijo v novo okolje ter pripadanje skupnosti, kar je ključno za otrokov oz. mladostnikov razvoj in učni uspeh.

Čeprav so bile v navedbah udeležencev raziskave pogosto izpostavljene komunikacijske in jezikovne ovire, tudi nepoznavanje kultur ter pomanjkanje zaupanja in znanja tako staršev, strokovnih delavcev, ravnateljev in drugih zaposlenih v vrtcih in šolah, želimo ravno s celostnim pristopom vključevanja otrok priseljencev preseči izključevalno držo in diskurz deficita, ki lahko vodi v pogojevanje vključenosti otrok priseljencev z znanjem učnega jezika. Znanje drugega oz. učnega jezika ne more biti prag za socialno vključevanje otrok priseljencev v

skupino, razred in širšo družbo, kar je Vezovnik (2013) opredelila kot asimilacijsko držo dominantnega režima resnice.

Ugotavljamo pa, da bo v prihodnje treba zagotoviti ustrezno ozaveščanje in izobraževanje tako pedagoškega kot nepedagoškega kadra glede potreb otrok priseljencev ter spodbujati spoštljivost, empatijo in sodelovanje znotraj šolske skupnosti. Tudi druge raziskave (Licardo in Leite, 2022b) kažejo, da so za uspešno vključevanje otrok priseljencev ključne interpersonalne spretnosti, kot so pozitivne vrednote učiteljev, čustvene kompetence in pozitivna stališča učiteljev do poučevanja otrok priseljencev.

Ponovno je bilo potrjeno, kar je bilo ugotovljeno že v predhodnih razpravah in študijah (Peček in Skubic Ermenc, 2016), da bo v pedagoške študijske programe in vsebine nadaljnjega izobraževanja in usposabljanja treba vključiti znanja za delo v kulturno in jezikovno raznolikih oddelkih in razredih. Spoznanja drugih raziskav kažejo, da se večina učiteljev med študijem nikoli ni srečala z vsebinami s področja medkulturnega izobraževanja (Čančar in Drljić, 2015).

Presenečata obseg in vsebina ovir, ki so jih udeleženci raziskave izpostavili kot pričakovane pri uvajanju celostnega pristopa vključevanja otrok priseljencev v vrtce in šole pri delu ali sodelovanju s starši. Zato bo v prihodnje treba zagotoviti pozornost razvoju in proučevanju vloge jezika kot komuniciranja pomena in kulture v funkciji pri sodelovanju s starši otrok priseljencev. Čeprav raziskave kažejo, da je otrokova učna uspešnost odvisna tudi od vključenosti staršev v delo šole in organizirane aktivnosti, bo v prihodnje za uspešno vključevanje otrok priseljencev ključno tudi spoznavanje dejanskih pričakovanj in potreb staršev (Tobin, 2020), kar bo omogočilo upoštevanje in usklajevanje perspektiv staršev in strokovnih delavcev vrtcev in šol pri načrtovanju in izvajanju podpore otrokom in mladostnikom priseljencem.

Spoznanja so nakazala, da strokovni delavci potrebujejo sistematično strokovno in sistemsko podporo za celostno in didaktično ustrezno izvajanje vzgojno-izobraževalnega procesa. V ta namen bo treba nadaljevati z razvojem in zagotavljenjem razvojno, spoznavno in vsebinsko smiselnih pristopov upoštevanja prvega jezika in učenja slovenskega jezika kot drugega oz. učnega jezika za vključevanje in zagotavljanje učne uspešnosti otrok/učencev/dijakov priseljencev ter nenazadnje za preprečevanje morebitne učne anksioznosti pri učenju drugega oz. tujega jezika, kar skladno s spoznanji Žefran (2015) negativno vpliva na zmožnost učenja tujega jezika.

Učitelji in vzgojitelji izkazujejo naklonjenost strokovnim rešitvam, vendar bo v prihodnje treba zagotavljati stalne priložnosti za timsko delo strokovnih delavcev in s tem učenje v profesionalni učeči se skupnosti. Izhodišče sprememb mora postati izkustveno učenje s preizkušanjem pristopov, refleksijo ustreznosti izvedb pedagoškega procesa ter povezovanje teorije in prakse (Močinić in Tatković, 2021). Zagotavljanja uspešnosti vključevanja otrok priseljencev ne moremo prepustiti iniciativnosti in naklonjenosti posameznih strokovnih delavcev. Celostni pristop vključevanja otrok priseljencev zato vzpostavlja participativen odnos stalne in kontinuirane podpore otrok/učencev/dijakov, staršev ter vseh pedagoških in nepedagoških delavcev na ravni vrtcev, osnovnih in srednjih šol, ki so vključeni v proces vključevanja in zagotavljanja psihološkega blagostanja ter učne uspešnosti vseh otrok in učencev v slovenskih vrtcih in šolah.

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MOTIVACIJA ZA UČENJE TUJIH JEZIKOV IN ODNOS DO NJIH V KONTEKSTU FUNKCIONALNE VEČJEZIČNOSTI V DRUŹINSKEM OKOLJU

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Izvleček/Abstract

Študija preučuje jezikovna stališča, motivacije za učenje jezikov in večjezičnost v družinah dnevnih čezmejnih migrantov (DČM) iz Slovenije v Avstrijo. Osredinja se na vpliv vsakodnevnega potovanja med delom v Avstriji in domom v Sloveniji na rabo jezika in družinsko jezikovno politiko. Anketa med srednješolci v severovzhodni Sloveniji razkriva jezikovne identitete in motivacije, pri čemer primerja stanje v družinah, kjer so DČM, s tistimi, v katerih starši ne sodijo med DČM. Študija zapolnjuje vrzel v raziskavah jezikovnih stališč in učnih strategij med otroki DČM, zlasti glede nemščine. Primerjalna analiza z mlajšimi otroki in študenti v Sloveniji in na Slovaškem poudarja nenehno naravo kulturnih identifikacij in prilagajanje jeziku.

Motivation for and Attitudes Towards Foreign Language Learning in the Context of Functional Multilingualism in the Family Environment

The article examines language attitudes, motivations for language learning, and multilingualism in families of cross-border workers (CBW) from Slovenia to Austria. It focuses on how daily travel between work in Austria and home in Slovenia influences language use and family language policy. Surveying secondary school children in northeastern Slovenia, it identifies language identities and motivations, comparing those with CBW parents to those without. The study fills a research gap on language attitudes and learning strategies among CBW children, especially regarding German. Comparative analysis with younger children and students in Slovenia and highlights the complex dynamics of language policy and adaptation in migrant families.

Ključne besede:

funkcionalna
večjezičnost, jezikovna
politika v družini,
jezikovna stališča, dnevni
čezmejni migranti.

Keywords:

functional
multilingualism, language
policy in the family,
language attitudes, cross-
border workers.

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Uvod

Dandanašnji so že dolgo preživete predstave o homogeni enojezični podobi tipičnega razreda v slovenski osnovni šoli, v katerem enojezično vzgojeni slovenski učenci in učenke svojo večjezičnost razvijajo skozi formalni in neformalni pouk tujih jezikov. Šolo namreč, vsaj v urbanih središčih, obiskuje delež tistih, ki so večjezični zaradi rabe več jezikov v družini ali pa razvijajo svojo večjezičnost, saj se v okolju govori jezik, ki ni njihov prvi jezik. Gre za učence in učenke iz mešanih družin ali pa otroke migrantov. Ob teh obiskujejo šolo tudi učenci oz. učenke, ki so "notranje večjezični", kar pomeni, da so (vsaj pasivno) usvojili dve različni zvrsti slovenskega jezika ali več. Vemo, da jezikovne situacije v šolah danes v velikem številu držav odpirajo različna vprašanja o usvajanju oz. učenju jezika okolja v razmerju s prvimi jeziki otrok migrantov (gl. npr. Delucchi Danhier, R., in Mertins, 2018). Del teh vprašanj sodi na področje konkretne jezikovne in šolske politike, obenem pa se tičejo tudi identifikacije posameznikov z jeziki in razvijanja njihove večjezičnosti. Ob neki splošni predstavi, da otroci iz družin migrantov govorijo doma enega od jezikov, ki ni večinski jezik okolja v Sloveniji, se pridružuje tudi vrsta kontekstov v družinah, ki sicer uporabljajo slovenščino kot prvi jezik. Gre za kontekste migracij v slovenskih družinah, ki vplivajo na razvijanje funkcionalne večjezičnosti otrok. S tem mislimo na situacije, v katerih sta oba starša ali je eden od njiju migrant v drugih jezikovnih okoljih, in situacije, kjer sta oba starša ali je eden od njiju dnevni čezmejni migrant v sosednjo državo. Ob vsem tem smo izpustili situacije, v katerih gre za avtohtone manjšine v Sloveniji. Če sklenemo, lahko ugotovimo, da potekata razvijanje funkcionalne večjezičnosti in identificiranje z različnimi jeziki in zvrstmi danes v slovenskem prostoru (najverjetneje?) zelo različno, saj ga določa družinsko okolje, seveda pa tudi različni družbeni dejavniki, kar pa ni tema tega prispevka. V prispevku poskušamo odgovoriti na raziskovalni vprašanji, ki izhajata iz nekaterih naštetih situacij. Vprašanji se tičeta jezikovne identifikacije in motivacije za učenje tujih jezikov pri dijakih oz. dijakinjah iz srednjih šol na severovzhodu Slovenije, katerih enega od staršev ali oba uvrščamo v skupino dnevnih čezmejnih migrantov iz Slovenije v Avstrijo. Vprašanje jezikovnih identifikacij in motivacije za učenje tujih jezikov je smiselno primerjati s podatki za skupino dijakov oz. dijakinj, katerih starši ne sodijo med dnevne čezmejne migrante. Opravljena je bila kvantitativna analiza (anketa, $n = 358$) in njeni rezultati bodo primerjani tudi z rezultati neobjavljene analize jezikovnih identifikacij v skupini učencev oz. učenk iz osnovnih šol (od petega do devetega razreda), ki v družini kot najpogostejši (ali edini)

jezik uporabljajo enega od jezikov migrantov v Sloveniji (Lipavc Oštir in Jazbec, 2013). Rezultati o jezikovnih identifikacijah dijakov oz. dijakinj bodo primerjani tudi z raziskavo o stališčih do jezikov pri dijakih oz. dijakinjah v Sloveniji in na Slovaškem (Lipavc Oštir in Muzikařova, 2021). Primerjave z navedenimi raziskavami bodo omogočile ne samo primerjavo s skupino dijakov oz. dijakinj, katerih oba starša ali eden od njiju sodi med dnevne čezmejne migrante, ampak bodo omogočile sopostavljanje empiričnih podatkov, ki temeljijo na kvantitativnih metodah oz. anketiranju.

Ob tem je treba poudariti, da v slovenskem prostoru nimamo raziskav, ki bi ugotavljale odnose do jezikov, motivacijo in razvijanje funkcionalne večjezičnosti v primeru družin dnevnih čezmejnih migrantov, obstaja samo nekaj raziskav, ki se osredinjajo na same dnevne čezmejne migrante (Lipavc Oštir, 2018a; 2018b; Tibaut, 2023) in ne na njihove otroke. S tem poskušamo zapolniti raziskovalno vrzel in obenem pokazati pomembnost upoštevanja posameznih skupin dijakov oz. dijakinj glede na funkcionalno večjezičnost v njihovem okolju.

Dnevni čezmejni migranti iz Slovenije v Avstrijo in funkcionalna večjezičnost v njihovih družinah

Področje raziskovanja razvijanja večjezičnosti pri dnevnih čezmejnih migrantih (v nadaljevanju DČM) je v Evropi novo raziskovalno področje in ga lahko za zdaj omejimo samo na tri regionalne prostore: Luksemburg s sosednjimi državami (Wille, 2012), vzhodna Slovenija/Avstrija (Lipavc Oštir, 2018a; Lipavc Oštir, 2018b in Tibaut, 2023) ter Srbija/Madžarska (Gábrity, 2012). Razvijanje funkcionalne večjezičnosti in razvijanje jezikovnih strategij, ki jih posameznik in skupine ob tem uporabljajo, se razlikujejo od tradicionalne predstave o migrantih, ki se preselijo v neko drugo državo kot družina ali posamezniki. Osnovna razlika je v tem, da se DČM dnevno vračajo v okolje, iz katerega izvirajo (tipični dnevni čezmejni migranti po Wille, 2017). Definicija EU (Uredba sveta, št. 1408/71) sicer govori o vračanju najmanj enkrat na teden, vendar omenjene raziskave večjezičnosti izhajajo iz situacij, ko DČM dnevno potujejo preko meje na delovno mesto in se po končanem delu vračajo domov.

Za razliko od opisanih se nekateri posamezniki preselijo v sosednjo državo ter se dnevno vračajo v okolje, iz katerega izvirajo, na delo (atipični dnevni čezmejni migranti po Wille, 2017). Ti dnevni premiki preko meje pomenijo menjavanje jezika in kulture. Situacije so seveda zelo različne. V določenih primerih lahko govorimo o

jezikovnem kontinuumu (DČM iz Nemčije, ki se vozijo na delo v Luksemburg), o nekakšnem delnem jezikovnem kontinuumu (DČM iz madžarske manjšine v Vojvodini, ki razpolagajo z različnimi jezikovnimi kompetencami v madžarščini in se vozijo dnevno na delo na Madžarsko v Szeged in okolico) in o odsotnosti kontinuumu (DČM s slovenščino kot J1, ki se dnevno vozijo na delo v Avstriji). Te tri opcije seveda niso enoznačne, saj so zelo odvisne od jezikovnih biografij posameznikov. Primer: nekdo, ki je prvih štirinajst let kot otrok slovenskih migrantov preživel na Bavarskem in se nato preselil v Slovenijo, po zaključeni srednji šoli pa se kot DČM vozi na delo v Avstrijo, menjavanje jezika in kulture vsekakor doživlja drugače kot DČM, ki nima migrantske izkušnje iz otroštva. Veliko bolj zapletena je situacija pri menjavanju kulturnega okolja, saj so tukaj podobnosti na dveh straneh iste meje lahko ne glede na različna jezika veliko manjše kot neke druge.

Ker v EU v zadnjih desetletjih raste število DČM (gl. Jorens idr., 2015) in ker gre za neraziskano področje razvijanja večjezičnosti, so raziskave na tem področju gotovo perspektivne. To velja tudi za položaj Slovenije na t. i. vzhodni osi (gl. podatke Eurostata) dnevnih čezmejnih migracij, kjer se DČM vozijo na delo predvsem v Avstrijo, pa tudi v Italijo in drugi sosednji državi.

V zgoraj omenjenih raziskavah DČM, ki se dnevno vozijo na delo iz vzhodnih regij Slovenije v avstrijski zvezni deželi Štajersko in Koroško, področje odnosa do jezikov, ki (naj) se jih otroci DČM učijo v šolskem ali izvenšolskem kontekstu, ni tematizirano. Vse tri raziskave (Lipavic Oštir, 2018a; Lipavic Oštir, 2018b in Tibaut, 2023) omenjajo pojav tako imenovanih *Fernsebkinder* (posameznikov, ki so receptivno in nekateri tudi produktivno znanje nemščine usvojili preko gledanja nemških televizijskih programov), vendar pa sam pojav *Fernsebkinder* ne pomeni nujno posebnega truda, kar pomeni spodbujanje učenja nemščine pri njihovih otrocih. Seveda je možno pričakovati nekakšno pozitivno stališče, če si sam bil deležen ugodnosti zaradi usvojenih spretnosti v nemškem jeziku kot posledica gledanja nemških televizijskih programov, vendar tega ne moremo posploševati.

Na prisotnost nemškega jezika v domačem okolju v Sloveniji kaže izjava iz študije primera (Lipavic Oštir, 2018a), v kateri je DČM ugotovila, da njeno družinsko življenje zaznamuje uporaba slovenščine, medtem ko izjemo predstavlja spremljanje konzum medijev, kjer nemščina močno prevladuje. Na osnovi tega seveda lahko predpostavljamo, da otroci DČM z mediji usvajajo nemščino, da sodijo torej med t. i. *Fernsebkinder*, DČM pa pričakujejo tudi, da se bodo otroci nemško učili tudi v sklopu šolskega sistema.

V raziskovalnem gradivu, ki je bilo zbrano za kvalitativno analizo intervjujev DČM (Lipavic Oštir, 2018b) najdemo tudi izjave, ki sicer v sami objavi niso navedene, so pa del gradiva. Kot primer dve izjavi:

»Žal mi je, da se sam nisem učil nemško v šoli. Bi mi bilo veliko lažje, ko sem začel delati v Avstriji. Zato si želim, da se bodo moji otroci učili nemško v šoli. Zdaj sta še oba v vrtcu in imajo nemščino, no, bolj se igrajo in pojejo, ampak so še mali. Ko bosta šla v šolo, bomo izbrali nemščino, ker se lahko odločijo, ali bo prvi jezik nemščina ali angleščina.« (R., 34 let)

Razvidno je jasno stališče, da je smiselno otrokom omogočiti lažjo pot pri usvajanju nemščine. Druga izjava prinaša splošno jezikovno politično stališče:

»Tu pri meji, kjer smo doma, bi se vsi morali učiti nemško. Takoj od začetka v šoli. Saj angleščina pride kasneje in vsi se je naučijo zadosti.« (M., 48 let)

Obe izjavi je treba interpretirati v perspektivi jezikovnega vsakdanjika DČM. To so posamezniki, ki začnejo s svojim delom v Avstriji z zelo različno razvitimi jezikovnimi kompetencami v nemščini. V splošnem jih lahko delimo na tiste, ki se nemščine v Sloveniji niso učili, in tiste, ki imajo za seboj pouk nemščine ali pa usvajanje jezika po televiziji ali kako drugače. Slednji so seveda v veliki prednosti, kar pa je spet odvisno od narave dela, poklica in sodelavcev. Vendar tudi ta skupina doživlja jezikovne težave, ki so pogojene s skoraj dosledno rabo narečij avstrijske nemščine, ki pa se je DČM v šoli v Sloveniji niso učili (prim. Učni načrt: nemščina, gimnazija; splošna, klasična, strokovna gimnazija. Ljubljana, Slovenija, letnica 2008 str. 10). Prednost imajo tisti, ki so razvili senzibilizacijo za avstrijska narečja ob gledanju televizije, vendar tudi ta prednost ni tako velika. Tako bolj ali manj vsi (prim. Lipavic Oštir, 2018a; Lipavic Oštir, 2018b in Tibaut, 2023) potrebujejo neko prehodno obdobje, v katerem usvojijo dovolj receptivnih spretnosti v avstrijskih narečjih. Jezikovni vsakdanjik DČM predstavlja zelo različne kontekste in kombinacije ter rezultira v razvijanju zelo različnih jezikovnih strategij, kar je izhodišče za to, da želijo svojim otrokom manj ovir na poti razvijanja večjezičnosti kot DČM ali sicer na sploh.

Rezultati ankete med dijaki in dijakinjami

Na osnovi opisane situacije glede pojava DČM v vzhodnih regijah v Sloveniji izvajamo naslednji raziskovalni vprašanja.

- A. V kolikšni meri vpliva funkcionalna večjezičnost staršev DČM na stališča dijakov oz. dijakinj glede učenja nemškega jezika, odnosa do tega jezika in želje za prihodnost? Izhajamo namreč iz tega, da dnevni stik staršev z nemškim jezikom in kulturnim okoljem, pogojen s poklicno dejavnostjo, sooblikuje družinsko jezikovno politiko (o različnih vrstah jezikovne politike glede na vrsto okolij gl. npr. Marten, 2016, ki govori o t. i. nedržavni jezikovni politiki, med katero sodijo zelo različne oblike: jezikovna politika v družini, v neki šoli, v bolnišnici, domu za ostarele itd.).
- B. Kaj nam pove primerjava s skupinami otrok migrantov, ki obiskujejo šole v Sloveniji? Ker na odnos do jezikov in tudi motivacijo vplivajo različni nejezikovni dejavniki, želimo ugotoviti, ali obstajajo relevantne razlike med njimi in med dijakinjami oz. dijaki, katerih starš oz. starši sodijo med DČM.

Ozek izbor raziskav na področju razvijanja večjezičnosti slovenskih DČM in tudi sicer primerljivih raziskav dopolnjujemo s podatki iz ankete, izvedene med dijaki v letu 2023. Anketa je ugotavljala različne aspekte odnosa in motivacije za učenje nemščine, tukaj navajamo podatke, ki predstavljajo dijakinje oz. dijake, katerih sta v Avstriji zaposlena oba starša ali le eden.

Celoten vzorec ankete predstavlja 358 dijakov in dijakinj z različnih srednjih šol v Mariboru in z Gimnazije Frana Miklošiča v Ljutomeru, ki jo obiskujejo tudi dijaki in dijakinje iz Prekmurja. Gre torej geografsko in gospodarsko za okolja, kjer DČM predstavljajo nezanemarljivo skupino delojemalcev. Med vsemi, ki so rešili anketo, je 70 dijakov oz. dijakinj z enim od staršev DČM ali obema, kar predstavlja natanko 20 % anketiranih. Predstavljamo rezultate analize ankete v tistem delu, ki nam dajejo odgovore na zgoraj zastavljeni raziskovalni vprašanja.

Motivacija za učenje nemščine glede na dejavnik, ali eden od staršev ali oba starša sodita v skupino DČM (v nadaljevanju *+staDČM*) ali ne (v nadaljevanju *-staDČM*), pokaže razliko med obema skupinama, kar prikazuje tabela 1.

Tabela 1: Lastna ocena motivacije za učenje nemščine pri obeh skupinah dijakinj oz. dijakov glede na starše DČM

Lastna ocena motivacije za učenje nemščine	+staDČM -staDČM	
	da	ne
	51,4 %	48,6 %
	39,9 %	60,1 %

Podatki kažejo prisotnost motivacije pri dijakih oz. dijakinjah, katerih eden od staršev ali oba starša sodita v skupino DČM, vendar pa opozarjamo na to, da podatke lahko glede na statistično signifikantnost ($P = 0.081$) razumemo samo kot težnjo.

Podatkom o lastni oceni motivacije dodajamo tudi odzive dijakinj oz. dijakov na različne predpostavke, povezane z razlogom za učenje nemščine kot tujega jezika. Te so:

- *nemščino se učim, ker sem se za nekaj moral/-a odločiti;*
- *nemščino se učim, ker je to bila moja lastna želja;*
- *nemščino se učim, ker tako želijo moji starši in*
- *nemščino se učim, ker bom ta jezik nekoč potreboval/-a.*

Posamezne predpostavke so med seboj različne, saj kažejo na zelo različne nejezikovne okoliščine. Glede na to, da je TJ2 v programu splošne gimnazije obvezni predmet, dijaki morajo izbrati enega od ponujenih tujih jezikov. Tako prvo predpostavko razumemo predvsem kot odločitev med nemščino in jeziki, kot sta španščina in francoščina. Druga in tretja predpostavka nekako nedefinirano izražata želje, kar lahko vsebuje tako čustvene kot racionalne elemente. Zadnja predpostavka je pragmatične narave in kaže na (ne)zavedanje o pomembnosti nemščine danes v slovenskem obmejnem prostoru.

V tabeli 2 navajamo odstotke tistih, ki so posamezno predpostavko izbrali kot takšno, ki velja zanje, in odstotke tistih, ki posamezne predpostavke niso izbrali/-e. Pri tem navajamo ločeno dijake oz. dijakinje, katerih eden od staršev ali oba starša sodita v skupino DČM ali ne.

Podatki oz. odstotki za posamezni skupini se razlikujejo. Dijakinje oz. dijaki, katerih eden od staršev ali oba starša sodita v skupino DČM, so v manjši meri izbrali nemščino kot TJ2 iz razloga, ker so pač nekaj morali izbrati. Razlika znaša 17,7 % in je statistično signifikantna. Ti podatki kažejo na nek kompleksnejši odnos dijakov oz. dijakinj iz te skupine do nemškega jezika in do njegovega pozicioniranja v prostoru kot tudi njegove vloge v življenju dijakov. Iz tega tudi izhaja, da so te dijakinje oz. dijaki nemščino izbrali v večji meri utemeljeno oz. ciljno.

Med te utemeljitve lahko sodi to, da je bila nemščina njihova lastna želja (za 6,2 % pogostejše) ali pa želja njihovih staršev (za 5,5 % pogostejše). Ob tem ne moremo ugotoviti, kaj botruje oblikovanju take želje. Gre namreč za kompleksno zgrajena stališča, ki temeljijo na vrsti dejavnikov, npr. odnos do jezika doma, odnos do jezika v šoli, v medijih, izkušnje s poukom nemščine v osnovni šoli, spekter želja in načrtov za prihodnost idr. Ne glede na vse navedeno kažejo podatki, da je želja po učenju nemščine pogostejše izražena v skupini dijakinj oz. dijakov iz družin, kjer je eden od staršev ali oba zaposlena v nemško govoreči državi.

Tabela 2: Lastna ocena razlogov za učenje nemščine pri obeh skupinah dijakinj oz. dijakov glede na starše DČM

Predpostavka/skupini dijakinj oz. dijakov	–staDČM		+staDČM		Statistična signifikantnost
Razlogi za učenje nemščine:	da	ne	da	ne	
... za nekaj sem se moral/-a odločiti	47,7 %	52,3 %	30 %	70 %	$\chi^2 = 7.175, P = 0,007$
... ker je to bila moja lastna želja	32,4 %	67,6 %	38,6 %	61,4 %	/
... ker tako želijo moji starši	18,8 %	81,2 %	24,3 %	75,7 %	/
... ker bom ta jezik nekoč potreboval/-a	61,3 %	38,7 %	65,7 %	34,3 %	/

Vprašanje izjemno pomembne vloge staršev pri oblikovanju stališč učenk oz. učencev do učenja tujega jezika (konkretno angleščine) so pokazale raziskave Klemen Blatnik in Bratož (2021) za starost v tretjem razredu OŠ. Nekako bi pričakovali, da ta pomembna vloga staršev z leti upada in da se prijatelji, sošolci oz. sošolke uveljavljajo kot pomemben dejavnik, vendar pa naši podatki kažejo, da starši tudi v srednji šoli še imajo vlogo pri oblikovanju stališč, povezanih z učenjem jezikov ipd.

Zavedanje o potrebnosti razvijanja jezikovnih spretnosti v nemščini je sorazmerno jasno izraženo v obeh skupinah dijakinj oz. dijakov, pri čemer je ta potreba pogosteje izražena v skupini z DČM med starši (za 4,4 %). Dijakinje oz. dijaki se zavedajo pomembnosti nemščine v bodočem življenju, kar ne velja samo za tiste, ki lahko pomembnost nemščine opazujejo v lastni družini, ampak tudi za druge. Navsezadnje je položaj nemškega jezika nedvomno pomemben na področju gospodarstva v Sloveniji (gl. Tibaut in Lipavic Oštir, 2024) in skupaj s položajem v šolstvu, skozi prizmo sosodstva ter zgodovinskih razmerij oblikuje položaj nemščine kot tako imenovanega *dopolnjevalnega jezika v družbi* (prim. teoretični koncept, kot ga pojasnjuje Marten, 2021).

Odnos do nemškega jezika in učenja nam pokažejo tudi odgovori na vprašanja glede želje po izboljševanju znanja nemščine in želja po študiju v nemško govorečih državah, ki smo ju prav tako preverili v anketi. Rezultate prikazujemo v tabelah 3 in 4.

Tabela 3: Želja po izboljššanju znanja nemščine pri obeh skupinah dijakinij oz. dijakov glede na starše DČM

Predpostavka/skupini dijakov	dijakinj oz.	–staDČM		+staDČM		Statistična signifikantnost
Razlog za učenje nemščine:		da %	ne %	da %	ne %	
Po srednji šoli želim izboljševati znanje nemščine.		44,4	55,6	61,4	38,6	$\chi^2 = 6.511$, P = 0,011

Razlika med obema skupinama je relevantna in tudi statistično signifikantna. Znaša 17 % v prid skupini, kjer eden od staršev ali oba sodita v skupino DČM. Odstotki pri tej skupini so primerljivi s tistimi iz tabele 2, ko gre za vlogo nemščine v življenju (ta jezik bom nekoč potreboval/-a), obenem pa so v nasprotju s podatki za skupino brez DČM med starši. Tudi ta skupina v več kot polovici (61,3 %) meni, da bo nemščino še potrebovala nekoč v življenju, vendar pa se je v veliko manjši meri pripravljena oz. ne namerava po končani srednji šoli še pridobivati znanj na področju nemškega jezika. Med obojim očitno ni neposredne korelacije, kar lahko pripišemo več razlogom, kot so nepoznavanje položaja nemščine v gospodarstvu in drugje, šibka želja ipd.

Dijakinje in dijaki v obdobju srednje šole gotovo razmišljajo o tem, kaj bodo počeli po maturi, saj vedo, da jim nadaljnje izobraževanje zagotavlja boljše poklicne, finančne in družbene možnosti. Tako razmišljajo tudi o izbiri in kraju študija. Z integracijo Slovenije v EU so jim odprte enakovredne možnosti pri prijavi na študij v vseh državah EU, kjer pa obstaja *numerus clausus*, pa imajo vlogo tako uspeh na maturi in v srednji šoli, sprejemni izpiti in tudi obvladovanje jezika, v katerem se izvaja dotični študijski program. Glede študija v nemško govorečih državah so dijakinjam in dijakom na voljo poti, po katerih si lahko zagotovijo ustrezno kvalifikacijo iz nemškega jezika, to sta predvsem *Deutsches Sprachdiplom* in izpiti Goethe Instituta. Ob tem je treba dodati, da obmejni položaj regij v vzhodni Sloveniji ugodno deluje tudi na izbiro študija v Avstriji, kar je dodatno atraktivno zaradi kakovosti univerz, kot sta univerzi v Gradcu in na Dunaju. Po podatkih *Zveznega ministrstva za izobraževanje, znanost in raziskovanje R Avstrije* (pridobljenih po elektronski pošti 1. 3. 2024) je v zimskem semestru 2023 v Avstriji na državnih in zasebnih univerzah na Dunaju in v Gradcu ter na zasebnih univerzah na Dunaju in na visokih strokovnih šolah v obeh mestih študiralo skupaj 1010 študentov in študentk iz Slovenije. Število ni zanemarljivo, če upoštevamo, da je treba za študij v Avstriji dokazati določen nivo obvladovanja nemščine, izjema so posamezni programi – predvsem na zasebnih univerzah.

V anketi smo želeli tudi preveriti, koliko dijakinj in dijakov razmišlja o študiju v Avstriji in Nemčiji, ter preveriti razlike med obema skupinama (s starši DČM in brez). Rezultate smo zbrali v tabeli 4.

Tabela 4: Razmišljanje o študiju v Avstriji ali Nemčiji glede na starše DČM med dijakinjami oz. dijaki

Predpostavka/skupini dijakinj oz. dijakov	–staDČM			+staDČM			Statistična signifikantnost
	da %	mogoče %	ne %	da %	mogoče %	ne %	
Razmišljam o študiju v Avstriji ali Nemčiji.	3,1	25,8	71,1	18,6	38,6	42,9	$\chi^2 = 27.101$, $L = 0,001$

Rezultati iz tabele 4 kažejo največje razlike med obema skupinama dijakinj oz. dijakov. Kar 15,5 % več tistih s starši DČM razmišlja o študiju v Avstriji ali Nemčiji in 12,8 % več jih te možnosti ne izključuje ter se jim študij v omenjenih državah zdi mogoč. Na drugi strani pa je kar 28,2 % več tistih, ki ne razmišljajo v študiju v Avstriji ali Nemčiji in sodijo v skupino dijakinj oz. dijakov brez staršev DČM. Podatki so statistično signifikantni, vsebinsko pa kažejo odprtost do nemško govorečega prostora, ki jo nedvomno v neki meri omogoča izkušnja staršev DČM ali pa družinska jezikovna politika, ki lahko vsebuje tako preživljanje časa v sosednji Avstriji (ali Nemčiji), spremljanje medijev iz teh dveh držav ali pa finančne ugodnosti, ki jih družini prinaša status enega od staršev DČM ali obeh. Kot kažejo raziskave (prim. Lipavic Oštir, 2018a ali druge), je namreč finančni razlog tisti, ki botruje širjenju pojava DČM na vzhodni in zahodni osi v Evropi.

Diskusija oz. odgovori na raziskovalni vprašnji

Podatki iz ankete nam v veliki meri omogočajo, da odgovorimo na zastavljeni raziskovalni vprašanji. Dijakinje oz. dijaki, katerih eden od staršev ali oba sodijo med DČM, v primerjavi s tistimi, ki med starši nimajo DČM:

- izkazujejo motivacijo za učenje nemščine nasploh;
- pogosteje so se ciljno odločili za nemščino kot TJ2;
- pogosteje je bila to njihova želja;
- pogosteje je bila to želja njihovih staršev;
- pogosteje predvidevajo pomembnost in uporabnost nemškega jezika kasneje v njihovem življenju;

- pogosteje si želijo po končani šoli še naprej izboljševati svoje znanje nemškega jezika in
- pogosteje razmišljajo o študiju v Avstriji ali Nemčiji oz. ga načrtujejo.

Na prvi pogled se zdi, da samo neposredno izražena želja staršev po učenje nemščine za otroke kaže na oblikovanje stališča in želja, povezanih z učenjem nemščine. To bi pomenilo, da vpliv staršev DČM prepoznamo samo v tem aspektu. Vendar pa je treba na jezikovno politiko v družini pogledati širše. Gre namreč za kompleksnost stališč, želja, navad, načina življenja, vrednost in še česa, kar z majhnimi koraki in pogosto samo posredno izraženimi stališči oblikuje jezikovno politiko v družini, ki se seveda tiče celotnega spektra jezikov in zvrsti. Študij na področju jezikovne politike v družinah DČM ne najdemo, najdemo pa vrsto primerljivih študij, ki se nanašajo na jezikovno politiko v družinah migrantov, ki so se v celoti preselile v nemški jezikovni prostor, npr. Braband, 2019, Panagiotopoulou in Zettl, 2021 in Uçan, 2022. Te študije vse ugotavljajo pomembnost jezikovne politike v družini za razvoj jezikovnih spretnosti druge generacije, tj. otrok, in oblikovanja stališč do jezikov. Izhajamo iz tega (gl. poglavje o DČM), da posamezniki (gl. Lipavc Oštir, 2018b; Tibaut, 2023), ki dnevno preživijo svoj delovni čas v Avstriji in izražajo svoje dobro počutje in prepoznavajo ugodnosti prehajanja čez mejo na delo, na posreden in neposreden način oblikujejo pozitivno jezikovno politiko do nemškega jezika in kulture v svojih družinah, obenem pa neposredno tudi izražajo svoja stališča o uporabnosti razvijanja spretnosti v nemškem jeziku ter možnosti študija v nemškem govornem prostoru. V tem smislu rezultati naše ankete potrjujejo pozitivno jezikovno politiko do nemškega jezika v družinah z DČM oz. – povedano z druge perspektivne – ugotavljamo pozitivnejšo jezikovno politiko v primerjavi z družinami brez DČM. Pojav dnevnih čezmejnih migrantov poznamo v Sloveniji ne samo kot odhajanje na delo v sosednje države, ampak tudi kot obraten pojav s stališča slovenskega prostora, s čimer mislimo predvsem na dnevne migracije iz Hrvaške v Slovenijo v obmejnem pasu (npr. v krajih kot Rogaška Slatina). Do danes ne premoremo raziskav razvijanja jezikovnih strategij, razvijanja funkcionalne večjezičnosti pri teh skupinah in prav tako ne razpolagamo z raziskavami o jezikovni politiki v njihovih družinah na Hrvaškem. Neke določene vzporednice lahko ugotovimo za primere druge generacije t. i. zdomcev (gl. npr. Ščukanec in Durbek, 2021), ki po preselitvi nazaj na Hrvaško in bivanju v tej državi izpričujejo identifikacije tako s hrvaškim kot nemškim prostorom ter povezanost z njim. Razen DČM govorimo v Sloveniji danes

predvsem o migrantih, ki so se priselili iz držav nekdanje Jugoslavije, katerih generacijska struktura izkazuje lahko tudi že več generacij. Primer večgeneracijskega prebivanja v Sloveniji je posledica beguncev leta 1991, kjer je okrog 70000 bošnjaških migrantov prebivalo po begunskih centrih in še dodatnih 30000 pri svojcih in sorodnikih. Dodatni razlogi za selitve iz bivše Jugoslavije v Slovenijo je premik na podobno ali slabše delovno mesto v zameno za boljše plačano delo (Josipovič, 2013). S stališča šolske politike in tudi jezikovne politike v posameznih družinah se pojavlja vrsta vprašanj, med katerimi je tudi vprašanje stališča in občutenja jezikov, s katerimi živijo druge generacije migrantov, ko so del šolskega sistem. V ta namen je bila v letu 2012 v sklopu projektnih aktivnosti Oddelka za germanistiko Univerze v Mariboru opravljena anketa med osnovnošolci od petega do devetega razreda, ki je želela ugotovljati (ne)uspeh romskih učencev v šoli, obenem pa je zajela tudi učence iz družin migrantov. Rezultati, ki se nanašajo na romske učence, so bili objavljeni (Jazbec in Čagran in Lipavc Oštir, 2013), medtem ko tisti, ki se tičejo otrok iz družin migrantov, niso bili objavljeni, zato jih navajamo kot neobjavljeno projektno gradivo. Med anketiranimi ($n = 692$) jih je 163 navedlo naslednje različne jezikovne kombinacije, ki kažejo na jezikovno sliko družin migrantov: 85 jih je doma govorilo samo hrvaško (ali srbsko, bosansko) ali albansko ali pa slovensko in hrvaško (srbsko, bosansko)/albansko, 78 pa jih je doma govorilo slovensko/hrvaško (srbsko, bosansko)/albansko. Torej je bilo 163 učencev in učenk dnevno soočenih s tem, da so uporabljali dva jezikovna koda in med njima preklapljali glede na različne funkcije in domene jezikov. V anketi smo med drugim postavili odprto vprašanje *Kateri jezik imaš najraje?* Odgovori so pokazali naslednje: učenci in učenke iz družin, kjer so se govorili jeziki migrantov ali pa le-ti in slovenščina, so imeli najraje naslednje jezike: slovenščino, angleščino, albanščino, nemščino, španščino, bosanščino, madžarščino, hrvaščino in druge, ki pa so bili navedeni v manj kot dveh odstotkih. Slovenščino je na prvem mestu kot najljubši jezik navedla malo več kot tretjina učencev oz. učenk. Mešanih zakonov v Sloveniji ni toliko, da bi lahko to čustveno navezanost na slovenščino pojasnili z njimi, zato predpostavljamo, da se otroci migrantov zelo močno zavedajo, kako pomembna je slovenščina v njihovem vsakdanjiku v Sloveniji. Izstopali so samo učenci oz. učenke, ki so med jeziki družine navedli albanščino, saj je pri teh opaziti, da je albanščina jezik, ki ga imajo najraje. Anketa je nedvomno pokazala, da so identifikacije z jeziki na področju migracij izjemno zapletene in da nimajo enoznačne podobe. Nedvomno je področje migracij tisto, kjer se konceptidentifikacije z jeziki (kulturo itd.) najprej pokaže kot nezadosten, saj stara logika identitete (Hall, 1994) predpostavlja pravi, resnični jaz in

pomeni, da ljudje, ki se identificirajo na enak način, vsi izgledajo enako, čutijo enako in se dojemajo enako. To v današnjih družbah ni več sprejemljivo, zato Hall namesto identitete kot zaključene stvari raje predlaga identifikacije, ki pa predstavljajo proces. To pomeni, da človek nima fiksne identitete, temveč je v nenehnem procesu različnih kulturnih identifikacij in govorimo lahko o večplastnih identitetah. Velički in Aladrovič Slovaček (2020) pišeta tako npr. o povezavah evropske identitete in učenju tujih jezikov. Katere relacije lahko ugotovljamo med izjavami, stališči idr., kot so se pokazale v obeh anketah? Nedvomno je na prvem mestu kompleksnost, ki jo pogojuje kontekst migracij. Odločilna v tem kontekstu je vrsta nejezikovnih dejavnikov, ki jo nujno spremlja funkcionalno večjezična raba v vsakdanjiku. Oboje deluje nenačrtovano in deloma načrtovano v smislu, da v družinskem okolju sprejmemo odločitve o rabi nekega jezika (ali zvrsti). S tem se pokaže pomembnost jezikovne politike v posamezni družini, ki jo v kontekstu migracij gotovo zaznamuje komponenta jezikovnega prilagajanja. Jezikovno prilagajanje je kot način delovanja ugotovljeno za zelo različne kontekste (npr. poslovna komunikacija, turizem, gl. npr. Franz, 2023) in je v migrantskem kontekstu del želje, uspeti v okolju, v katerega se je družina preselila, ali pa uspeti v okolju, ki je za starše trenutno aktualno, za mlajšo generacijo pa je verjetno, da bo odigralo neko pomembno vlogo, kar kažejo rezultati prve ankete in se nanašajo na situacijo DČM.

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MEHRSPRACHIGKEIT IN DER DEUTSCHEN SCHULE: DER EINFLUSS DER EIGENEN VORURTEILE VON LEHRKRÄFTEN AUF DEN SCHULERFOLG DER SCHÜLER:INNEN MIT DEM SOGENANTEN „MIGRATIONSHINTERGRUND“

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Abstract/Izveček

In Deutschland stellt Mehrsprachigkeit keine Ausnahme dar. Dennoch bestehen hartnäckige Vorurteile, beispielsweise, dass mehrsprachige Kinder keine ihrer Sprachen „richtig“ beherrschen (doppelte Halbsprachigkeit) und dass die mit dem Migrationshintergrund vermeintlich verbundenen schlechten Deutschkenntnisse zu schlechten Schulleistungen führen. So werden Schüler:innen mit Migrationshintergrund ohne weitere Differenzierung in den PISA-Studien stigmatisiert. In diesem Beitrag wird belegt, dass Mehrsprachigkeit Vorteile für den Schriftspracherwerb mit sich bringt und dass die Gleichsetzung von Mehrsprachigkeit und Migrationshintergrund nicht haltbar ist. Es wird für einen aktiven und wertschätzenden Gebrauch sowie Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit in der schulischen Vermittlung von Lese- und Schreibkompetenzen plädiert.

Večjezičnost v nemških šolah: Vpliv predsodkov učiteljev na šolski uspeh učencev s tako imenovanim "migrantskim ozadjem"

Večjezičnost v Nemčiji ni izjema. Kljub temu pa so predsodki še vedno prisotni, na primer, da večjezični otroci ne govorijo nobenega od svojih jezikov "pravilno" (t. i. dvojna poljezičnost) in da slabo znanje nemškega jezika, ki naj bi bilo povezano z migrantskim ozadjem, vodi k slabšemu šolskemu uspehu. Tako so učenci z migrantskim ozadjem v raziskavah PISA brez dodatnega razlikovanja stigmatizirani. V članku želimo pokazati, da ima večjezičnost prednosti pri usvajanju pisnih spretnosti in da enačenje večjezičnosti in migrantskega ozadja ni vzdržno. Zagovarjamo aktivno in enakovredno uporabo ter spodbujanje večjezičnosti pri razvijanju bralnih in pisnih spretnosti v šoli.

Keywords:

Mehrsprachigkeit,
Migrationshintergrund,
Spracheinstellung der
Lehrkräfte, Sprachwertigkeit,
sprachstarke/sprachschwache
Schüler:innen.

Ključne besede:

večjezičnost, migrantsko
ozadje, jezikovna stališča
učiteljev, vrednotenje jezikov,
jezikovno močnejši/šibkejši
učenci in učenke.

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Einleitung

Deutschland gilt seit mehreren Jahrzehnten als Migrationsland. Etwa ein Viertel der Bevölkerung spricht tagtäglich neben Deutsch mindestens eine weitere Sprache, wie z.B. Arabisch, Polnisch, Russisch oder Türkisch (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). Dies zeigt, dass funktionale Zwei- oder Mehrsprachigkeit in Deutschland keine Ausnahme mehr darstellt. Dennoch bestehen im schulischen Kontext sowie in der Bildungspolitik weiterhin hartnäckige Vorurteile. Die Ausgangslage dafür wurde bereits mehrmals als *monolinguale Fiktion* (Tracy & Gawlitzek-Maiwald, 2000; Delucchi Danhier & Mertins, 2018) beschrieben. Monolinguale Fiktion heißt zum einen, dass man glaubt, Einsprachigkeit (der monolinguale Habitus, vgl. Gogolin, 2008) wäre der Regelfall. Wie oben ausgeführt, trifft dies national nicht zu. Aus globaler Sicht geht die monolinguale Fiktion ebenfalls nicht auf, da schätzungsweise mehr als die Hälfte der Weltbevölkerung täglich mehr als eine Sprache verwendet (Grosjean, 2010). Ein weiterer Aspekt, auf der die monolinguale Fiktion beruht, ist der Glaube, dass Zwei-/Mehrsprachigkeit einen negativen kognitiven Ausnahmezustand auslöse. Dieses Vorurteil widerlegen systematisch seit geraumer Zeit zahlreiche Studien aus unterschiedlichen Fächern (Bialystok, 2017; Bialystok & Craik, 2022; Bialystok, Craik & Luk, 2012; Bialystok, Luk, Peets & Yang, 2010; Hopp, Vogelbacher, Kieseier, & Thoma, 2019; Haberzettl & Wulff, 2014; Odermann, 2023; Singh, Cristia, Karasik, Rajendra & Oakes, 2023; Adesope, Lavin, Thompson & Ungerleider, 2010). Im Gegensatz dazu weisen diese Studien darauf hin, dass das Erlernen/der Gebrauch von mehreren Sprachen viele Vorteile im Bereich des metalinguistischen Bewusstseins, der Aufmerksamkeitszuteilung und -kontrolle sowie beim Erwerb weiterer Sprachen mit sich bringt.

Dieser Beitrag verfolgt zwei Ziele: (1) Laut den Ergebnissen aus den Bildungs- und Erziehungswissenschaften sowie aus der Didaktik ist die Haltung der Lehrkräfte in Deutschland gegenüber Mehrsprachigkeit und kultureller Vielfalt positiv (Pözlbauer, 2009; Göbel, Vieluf & Hesse, 2010; Neveling, 2013; Häckel, 2016; Ekinci & Güneşli, 2016; Kaplan, 2023). Gleichzeitig belegen aber andere Studien (Lüdemann & Schwerdt, 2013; Sander, Ohle, McElvany, Zander & Hannover, 2018), dass negativ ausgerichtete Handlungen seitens der Lehrkräfte zu schlechter Notengebung sowie minderen Schulempfehlungen für weiterführende Schulen für mehrsprachige Kinder führen.

Zudem herrschen z.B. in NRW Sprachverbote im Unterricht und auf Schulhöfen. Das erste Ziel besteht somit darin, die widersprüchlichen Daten zu dieser Thematik zu klären und ein realistisches Bild der sprachlichen und kulturellen Vielfalt im schulischen Umfeld zu zeichnen. Dieses neu gezeichnete Bild, welches empirisch gestützt ist (siehe Studien unten), mag nicht so positiv erscheinen. Eine realitätsnahe Darstellung sowie die Anerkennung der Lage zur Mehrsprachigkeit stellen aber (nicht nur) im schulischen Kontext unabdingbare Voraussetzungen dar, wenn Veränderungen in die Wege geleitet werden sollen. (2) Das zweite Ziel ist die Darstellung der Ergebnisse einer eigenen empirischen Datenerhebung zu der subjektiv empfundenen „Wertigkeit“ von ausgewählten Migrations- und Bildungssprachen. Diese Ergebnisse belegen die oben skizzierte Kluft. Anhand dieser Daten und weiterer einschlägiger Befunde zu Vorteilen und Ressourcen von Mehrsprachigkeit wird für einen neuen Zugang zu Mehrsprachigkeit inner- und außerhalb der Schule plädiert.

Ausgangslage in Deutschland

In Deutschland gibt es einige Erhebungen sowie Testinstrumente, die sich zum Ziel machen, die Verteilung der verwendeten Sprachen wiederzugeben bzw. im schulischen Kontext unterschiedliche sprachliche Kompetenzen der Kinder zu testen. Als Beispiel für das Erstere können die Daten aus dem letzten Mikrozensus genannt werden (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). Laut dieser Erhebung sprechen 80% der Menschen in Deutschland zuhause nur Deutsch. Das Problem hier ist, dass in der Befragung die Frage nach Mehrsprachigkeit gar nicht miterhoben wurde. Mit anderen Worten: Bei der Frage „Welche Sprache sprechen Sie vorwiegend zuhause?“ bleibt die Verwendung anderer Sprachen ausgeblendet. Die Relevanz einer solchen Befragung besteht darin, dass ein bestimmtes Bild über den Sprachgebrauch in Deutschland vermittelt wird, welches unter anderem eine allgemein gültige Norm suggeriert. Schließlich muss angemerkt werden, dass in der jüngeren Generation der deutschen Bevölkerung rund ein Drittel neben Deutsch noch mindestens eine andere Sprache tagtäglich nutzt, wie aus anderen Erhebungen mit Schüler:innen hervorgeht (Stanat, Lohbeck, Schipolowski, Schneider, Weirich, Henschel & Sachse, 2023; Stanat, Schipolowski, Schneider, Sachse, Weirich & Henschel, 2022).

Zu den erwähnten Testinstrumenten sollte hier die kürzlich erschienene IGLU-Studie (McElvany, Lorenz, Frey, Goldhammer, Schilcher & Stubbe, 2023) erwähnt werden, welche abermals das Ergebnis hervorhebt, dass Schüler:innen, die zuhause kein Deutsch verwenden, schlechtere Leistungen vorweisen (vor allem im Bereich des Lesens). Solche Aussagen gab es schon zuvor in unterschiedlichen PISA-Studien (Baumert, Klieme, Neubrand, Prenzel, Schiefele, Schneider, Stanat, Tillmann & Weiß, 2001; Prenzel, Baumert, Blum, Lehmann, Leutner, Neubrand, Pekrun, Rolff, Rost & Schiefele, 2004; Klieme, Artelt, Hartig, Jude, Köller, Prenzel, Schneider & Stanat, 2010) und sie wurden mit dem sogenannten *Migrationshintergrund* verbunden. Diese Art von Narrativ, nämlich dass die Variablen „kein Deutsch zuhause“ bzw. der Migrationshintergrund der Familie zu schlechteren Schulleistungen führen, bleibt erhalten, obwohl die an die Öffentlichkeit kommunizierten Interpretationen entweder falsch sind oder zu kurz greifen. So zeigt eine Reanalyse der PISA-Daten (SVR-Forschungsbereich – Forschungsbereich beim Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2016), dass nicht der Migrationshintergrund, sondern der sozioökonomische Status einer Familie die identifizierte Varianz erklärt. Auch die Erklärung „kein Deutsch zuhause“ ist nicht stimmig, weil bei ausreichendem Input in beiden Sprachen eine ausschließliche Nutzung der Herkunftssprache zuhause nichts ausmacht, ja sogar vorteilhaft sein kann (De Houwer, 2007; SVR-Forschungsbereich – Forschungsbereich beim Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2016).

Diesen Daten und Argumentationen folgend wird Mehrsprachigkeit in Deutschland als ein Problem dargestellt und zugleich mit dem Konstrukt des *Migrationshintergrunds* fälschlicherweise gleichgesetzt (weitere Erläuterungen folgen unten). Stillschweigend zeigen sowohl gesellschaftliche als auch bildungspolitische Diskurse, dass es beim Thema Mehrsprachigkeit immer darauf ankommt, mit welchen Sprachen man mehrsprachig ist: Mit den sogenannten „Bildungssprachen“ wie Französisch, Englisch oder Spanisch ist die Mehrsprachigkeit scheinbar gut und förderungswürdig; eine Mehrsprachigkeit mit den sogenannten „Migrationssprachen“ wie Kurdisch, Türkisch oder Arabisch erscheint in keinem guten Licht (Dirim, Mecheril, Heinemann, Khakpour, Knappik & Thomas-Olalde, 2018; Guldenschuh, 2018; Mertins, 2023). Diese Art von Wertigkeit ist extrem subjektiv und für die eigene Haltung der Mehrsprachigkeit gegenüber oft zentral (das Thema Wertigkeit wird unten mit eigenen Daten noch weiter kritisch diskutiert).

Parallel zu diesem vorwiegend negativen Bild der Mehrsprachigkeit in Deutschland wird ein weiteres Narrativ vermittelt und mit Fragebogendaten unterstützt, das ein ganz anderes Bild zeichnet. Fragebogenstudien aus der Erziehungs- und Bildungswissenschaft zu Glaubenssätzen und Haltungen von Lehrkräften und Lehramtsstudierenden zeigen konsistent, dass die deutsche Schule ein idealer, toleranter und gleichberechtigter Ort für alle sein müsste. Mehrsprachigkeit wird geschätzt, alle Sprachen werden als gleichwertig betrachtet und mehrsprachige Kinder als Bereicherung empfunden (Pözlbauer, 2009; Göbel, Vieluf & Hesse, 2010; Neveling, 2013; Häckel, 2016; Ekinci & Güneşli, 2016; Kaplan, 2023). In der Gegenüberstellung dieser beiden Sichtweisen entsteht eine große Kluft. Diese wird dadurch vertieft, dass in vielen Schulen und OGS von NRW Sprachverbote gelten und eine systematische Einbeziehung anderer Sprachen als Deutsch in den Unterricht sehr selten ist. Hinzu kommt, dass die in den PISA- und IGLU-Studien festgestellten Defizite bereits vor langer Zeit dazu geführt haben, dass Kinder „mit Migrationshintergrund“, egal ob mehrsprachig oder nicht, extra Förderunterricht in der Schule erhielten (Barzel, 2011). Offensichtlich sind diese Maßnahmen, wie aus der letzten IGLU-Studie hervorgeht, nicht besonders wirkungsvoll. Aus unserer Sicht liegt es auf der Hand, dass dieses Förderangebot nicht wirksam ist, weil nicht immer die richtige Zielgruppe im Fokus steht.

Wer ist bilingual?

Unabhängig davon, ob in der Bildungspolitik, der Schule und den unterschiedlichen behördlichen Kontexten – der Begriff *Mehrsprachigkeit* wird oft mit dem Begriff *Migrationshintergrund* gleichgesetzt. Dies ist falsch, da es sowohl Familien mit dem sogenannten Migrationshintergrund gibt, die nicht mehrsprachig sind, als auch Mehrsprachige ohne Migrationshintergrund (Mertins, 2023; Odermann, 2023). Außerdem wird der Begriff *Migrationshintergrund* in der Regel fast ausschließlich in Verbindung mit Migrationssprachen verwendet bzw. assoziiert. Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund empfinden darüber hinaus die Zuweisung dieses Merkmals als diskriminierend und rassistisch (El-Mafaalani, 2017; Fereidooni, 2012; Foroutan, 2010; Kooroshy, Mecheril & Shure, 2021). Auch in der Verwendung dieses Begriffs spielt die sogenannte Sprachwertigkeit eine entscheidende Rolle. Dies bestätigt auch unsere kürzlich durchgeführte Umfrage mit Lehramtsstudierenden in der Germanistik (N=90).

So schreibt eine Person zur Frage, ob bestimmte Sprachen mit dem Begriff *Migrationshintergrund* verbunden sind:

„Türkisch, Russisch, Polnisch, Ukrainisch. Das sind Sprachen, die zumindest hier im Ruhrgebiet viel gesprochen werden, aber die meistens in der monosprachlichen [sic!] Umgebung nicht als „nützlich“ für die Schule oder den späteren Beruf betrachtet werden.“

Und wieder eine andere Person schreibt:

„Oft wird eine Sprache wie Englisch wahrscheinlich nicht [mit dem Migrationshintergrund] assoziiert. Das kann zum einen daran liegen, dass dies die Weltsprache ist oder zum anderen, dass Menschen mit dieser Muttersprache gesellschaftlich oft als privilegierter gelten und sozial stärker sind als Menschen, die z.B. wegen des Krieges aus ihrer Heimat flüchten mussten und beispielsweise aus dem arabischen Raum kommen.“

Eine weitere Person stellt den negativen Kontext automatisch her:

„Sprachen aus Ländern, in denen korrupte Politik oder Krieg herrscht.“

In vielen weiteren Antworten wurden Türkisch, Arabisch und Russisch erwähnt, zum einen mit Begründung der Häufigkeit der Sprechergruppen, jedoch auch oft mit einem Bezug zu medialen/gesellschaftlichen Darstellungen oder Klischees.

Die Frage, wer als zwei- oder mehrsprachig gilt, wird sehr unterschiedlich beantwortet. In der Forschung reicht die Definition von der Auffassung, dass nur Menschen, die von Geburt an mit zwei Sprachen aufwachsen, zweisprachig sind (De Houwer, 2009), bis hin zu der Auffassung, dass Zweisprachige beide Sprachen tagtäglich nutzen müssen, um als zweisprachig zu gelten (Grosjean, 2010, 2021). Der Grad der Bilingualität hängt unserer Auffassung nach (Delucchi Danhier & Mertins, 2018; Mertins, 2023; Mertins & Delucchi Danhier, 2022) grundsätzlich von der Menge und Qualität des Inputs in beiden Sprachen ab. Um die Variable Input genau zu erforschen, haben wir einen detaillierten Fragebogen entwickelt, und mit über 100 bilingualen Erwachsenen durchgeführt. Die Daten zeigen eine klare Verteilung der Stichprobe (s. Abb. 1). Ein Drittel der Befragten war dominant im Deutschen, ein zweites Drittel dominant in der anderen Sprache und ein Drittel waren balancierte Bilinguale mit ähnlich entwickelten Kompetenzen in beiden Sprachen. Diese Daten sind zentral, da sie aufzeigen, dass die bloße Frage nach der Verwendung einer oder mehrerer Sprachen die relevanten Nuancen im Input und der alltäglichen Sprachverwendung nicht erfasst.

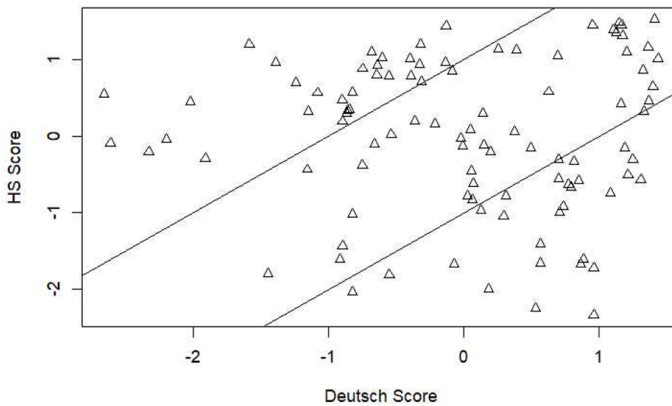


Abb. 1: Grad des Bilingualismus

Die Verteilung der Kinder nach dem Grad ihrer Bilingualität ist insofern hochrelevant, als sie mit einem potenziellen Förderbedarf zusammenhängt. Mit anderen Worten, es gibt bilinguale Kinder mit oder ohne „Migrationshintergrund“, die stark in beiden Sprachen sind und keinen Förderunterricht im Deutschen benötigen. Hier soll auch angemerkt werden, dass beim Förderbedarf unbedingt die Variable der Bildungsferne/-nähe bzw. der sozioökonomische Status der Familie in Betracht gezogen werden muss, da Kinder, die monolingual mit Deutsch aufwachsen, natürlich ebenfalls dringend Förderbedarf bräuchten (Delucchi Danhier, Neugebauer, Dröse, Prediger & Mertins, 2019), diesen aber nicht bekommen, da sie keinen Migrationshintergrund haben. Die Analysen unserer Fragebogendaten belegen darüber hinaus, dass der erreichte Grad der Bilingualität mit der Bildungsnähe der Familie korreliert. Mit anderen Worten, je höher der Bildungsgrad der Eltern, desto größer die Menge und desto besser die Qualität des Inputs in den Sprachen, die das Kind erlernt.

Betrachtet man nun die in der Forschung mehrfach attestierten Vorteile im Bereich der exekutiven Kontrolle (vgl. Bialystok, 1999; Bialystok, Craik, Klein & Viswanathan, 2004; Barac & Bialystok, 2012; Morales, Calvo & Bialystok, 2013; Sullivan, Prescott, Goldberg & Bialystok, 2016) oder im Bereich des metalinguistischen Bewusstseins (Ricciardelli, 1992; Campbell & Sais, 1995; Bialystok, Majumder & Martin, 2003; Barac & Bialystok, 2012; Reder, Marec-Breton, Gombert & Demont, 2013; Altman, Goldstein & Armon-Lotem, 2018), so kann in

diesem Zusammenhang abgeleitet werden, dass es gerade die balanciert bilingualen Kinder sind, die bereits früh im Leben Vorteile aufweisen. Der Zusammenhang zwischen den Vorteilen und der Mehrsprachigkeit besteht zum einen darin, dass sich das bilinguale Gehirn durch die ständige Aktivierung und gleichzeitige Hemmung der Einträge ebendiese Fähigkeit auf anderen Gebieten zunutze macht, wie beispielsweise selektive Aufmerksamkeit oder die Unterdrückung irrelevanter Reize (Green, 1998; Prior & Macwhinney, 2010; Bialystok, 2017). Bezüglich des metalinguistischen Bewusstseins zeigen balancierte Bilinguale zum anderen im jungen Alter Wissen über Mehrdeutigkeit sowie Arbitrarität des sprachlichen Zeichens, die sich durch den Erwerb zweier unterschiedlicher Systeme erklären lässt (Odermann, 2023). Aus dieser Sicht wird auch klar, dass die übergreifende Diskussion um die Existenz der kognitiven Vorteile von Bilingualen (Paap, 2019; Bialystok, 2009, 2016; Rothman, Bayram, DeLuca, Di Pisa, Duñabeitia, Gharibi, Hao, Kolb, Kubota, Kupisch, Laméris, Luque, van Osch, Pereira Soares, Prystauka, Tat, Tomić, Voits & Wulff, 2023) problematisch ist, da es immer darauf ankommt, mit welchen Proband:innen die Forschung durchgeführt wird. Wenn der Grad der Bilingualität nicht im Detail bestimmt wird, ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die getestete Stichprobe sehr heterogen ist, sehr hoch. Anders ausgedrückt, Bilinguale mit einer dominanten Sprache müssen nicht unbedingt diese Vorteile zeigen.

Die Rolle der Lehrkräfte

Im Kontext der Schule geht es in diesem Beitrag vorwiegend um die Haltungen und Glaubenssätze der Lehrkräfte, welche im Folgenden näher betrachtet werden. Großflächige Studien zu diesem Thema geben keine Dissonanzen wieder: Lehrkräfte scheinen Mehrsprachigkeit gegenüber positiv und offen zu sein (Pözlbauer, 2009; Göbel et al., 2010; Neveling, 2013; Ekinci & Güneşli, 2016; Kaplan, 2023). Die Studien von Gresch (2012), Stanat und Edele (2015) sowie Bonefeld, Dickhäuser, Janke, Praetorius, und Dresel (2017) zeigen aber, dass Lehrkräfte Schüler:innen mit Migrationshintergrund tendenziell schlechtere Noten geben als Schüler:innen ohne Migrationshintergrund. Eine andere Studie legt zudem nahe, dass Schüler:innen mit Migrationshintergrund auch schlechtere oder mindere Empfehlungen für weiterführende Schulen erhalten (Lüdemann & Schwerdt, 2013). Die systematische Forschung von Katharina Brizić bestätigt diese Muster der negativen Glaubenssätze seitens der Lehrkräfte (Brizić, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2013, 2022). Brizić (2022) hat hierzu umfangreiche Untersuchungen zur Wahrnehmung

der Lehrkräfte von Migrationssprachen und Schüler:innen mit Migrationshintergrund durchgeführt. In einem Datenkorpus aus Interviews mit 39 Lehrkräften an 16 Schulen (160 Kinder, Fokus auf Deutsch mit Türkisch und Kurdisch) sammelte Brizić Adjektive zur Wahrnehmung der Schüler:innen von Lehrkräften. Außerdem erhob sie in der Studie auch Informationen zur Notengebung in Abhängigkeit der Variable *Migrationshintergrund*. Eine Clusteranalyse der Adjektive offenbart dabei, dass die Wahrnehmung der Lehrkräfte relativ einheitlich ist und bezüglich des ausgewählten Sprachprofils durchaus negativ ausfällt. Ganz besonders fiel dabei die Gruppe junger Schüler:innen auf, die zum einen aus sozial niedriger gestellten Familien kamen, gleichzeitig aber durch ihre Mütter besonders stark auf dem Bildungsweg unterstützt wurden. Alle diese Schüler:innen hatten eine Mutter an ihrer Seite, die trotz des niedrigen SÖS der Familie Bildung für wichtig hielt und sich für die Tochter den Bildungserfolg gewünscht hat. Insbesondere diese Gruppe von Mädchen wurde als „unangenehm“, „zu laut“, „rebellisch“ und „überfordernd“ empfunden (Brizić, 2022, S. 261-269). Eine solche Wahrnehmung, die für alle befragten Lehrkräfte (N=39) konsistent war, hat sich auch in der Notengebung niedergeschlagen. Somit wurde gerade diese Mädchengruppe doppelt abgestraft: Nicht nur erhielten sie in ihrem Bildungsstreben keine Unterstützung, sie wurden durch die schlechte Notengebung von den Lehrkräften auch aktiv auf ihrem Bildungsweg behindert.

Aus unserer Sicht ist der Widerspruch zwischen den Ergebnissen dieser Studien bezüglich der Einstellungen von Lehrkräften und den Befunden von Brizić (2022) vorwiegend durch den unterschiedlichen methodischen Zugang zu erklären: Während der Fragebogen als Methode *per se* durch soziale Erwünschtheit die Ergebnisse verzerrt, umgeht das von Brizić verwendete Studiendesign die soziale Erwünschtheit und erzielt somit Daten, die viel eher den realen Stand der Dinge wiedergeben. Außerdem erfassen die Daten von Brizić mehrere Merkmale gleichzeitig und beziehen diese aufeinander (Haltung der Mutter, SÖS, Geschlecht der Befragten). Auch dadurch reflektieren die Daten von Brizić die von uns betrachtete Kluft zwischen dem, was sich durchaus viele für die Schule wünschen und dem Stand, welchen Mehrsprachigkeit in der deutschen Schule hat. Weitere, unveröffentlichte Daten aus eigener Forschung belegen ebenfalls diese Spaltung: In einer kleineren Stichprobe wurden Lehrkräfte zunächst mit einem Fragebogen zum Thema Mehrsprachigkeit und ihren Einstellungen und Glaubenssätzen dazu befragt. Wie erwartet, waren die Ergebnisse konsistent positiv, Belege für eine Sprachwertigkeit existieren in diesem Datensatz nicht. Aus dieser Gruppe von

Lehrkräften haben sich sechs Personen für ein Experiment mit der Messung des Hautwiderstands bereiterklärt. Diese physiologische Messung, die eine Genauigkeit im Millisekundenbereich aufweist, ermöglicht die Erfassung von Stressreaktionen bei den Probanden. In unserem Design haben Teilnehmende kurze authentische Videos aus der Schule geschaut, in denen die sogenannten „Migrationssprachen“ in einem unterschiedlich emotional geladenen Kontext gezeigt wurden. Diese Situationen entsprachen der Beschreibung aus dem Fragebogen. Es fiel auf, dass alle befragten Personen im Fragebogen sehr positiv diesen Situationen gegenüberstanden, im Experiment aber eine frühe und starke Hautwiderstandsreaktion aufwiesen. Auch wenn es sich hier um die ersten Pilotdaten handelt und das Forschungsdesign noch weiter präzisiert werden muss, sind wir der Meinung, dass auch diese Ergebnisse die Existenz der Kluft belegen.

Wertigkeit

Eigene Daten aus einer umfangreichen Studie zur wahrgenommenen Sprachwertigkeit von Lehrkräften an verschiedenen deutschen Schulen und von Lehramtsstudierenden, die Ende 2023/Anfang 2024 durchgeführt wurde, belegt eindeutig, dass es Vorurteile gegenüber bestimmten Sprachen in Deutschland gibt. Die Fragebogenstudie (N=213) fokussiert die wahrgenommene Wertigkeit, unter anderem von Türkisch, Kurdisch und Arabisch (sogenannte Migrationssprachen) im Vergleich zu den Sprachen Englisch, Französisch und Spanisch (sogenannte Bildungssprachen). Die Einstellungen gegenüber den Sprachen wurden im ersten Teil des Fragebogens anhand der Zuordnung ausgewählter Adjektive zu den genannten Sprachen erfasst. Die gleichen Adjektive wurden bei der Auswertung in drei Gruppen unterteilt: Gruppe 1: negative Wertung (z.B. *aggressiv, hässlich, kriegerisch, ungebildet*), Gruppe 2: positive Wertung (z.B. *angenehm, schön, friedlich, gebildet*) und Gruppe 3: neutrale Wertung (*normal*).

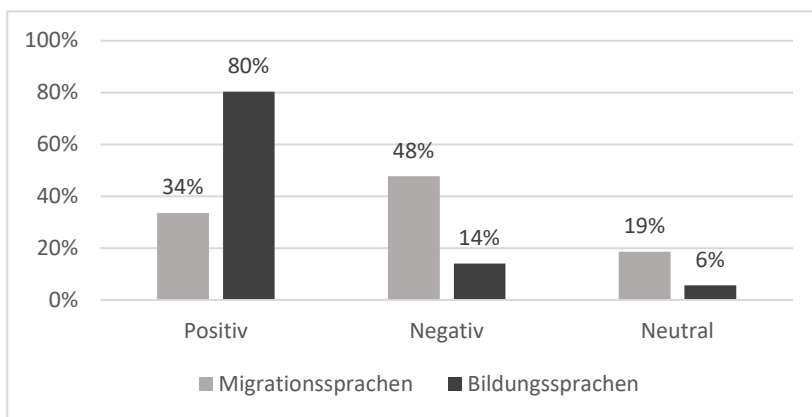


Abb.2: Wertigkeit von Sprachen in Einteilung in Migrations- und Bildungssprachen durch Zuordnung von Adjektiven

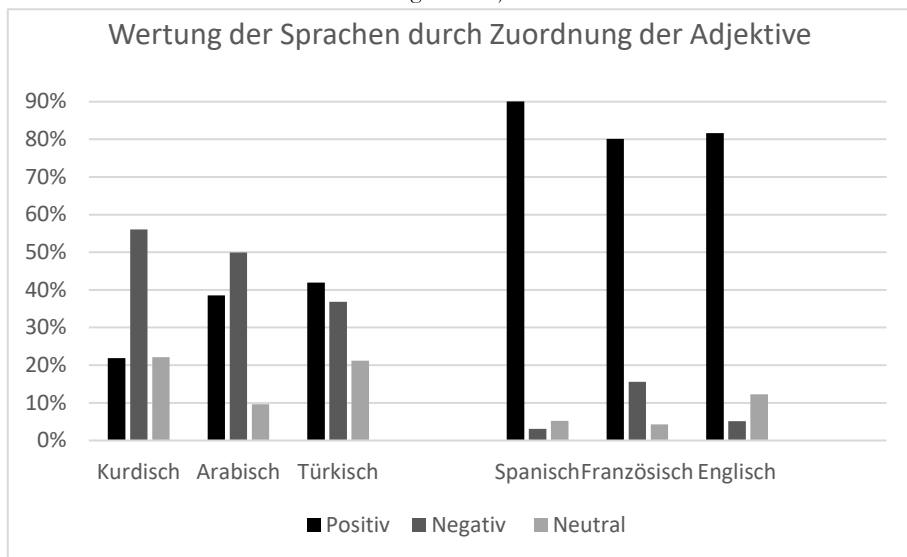


Abb.3: Wertigkeit der Sprachen durch Zuordnung der Adjektiv

Im zweiten Teil des Fragebogens hörten die Proband:innen kurze Audioaufnahmen mit authentisch vorgelesenen kurzen Texten. Dabei wussten die Proband:innen nicht, um welche Sprache es sich handelt. Die Aufgabe bestand darin, jedes Audiobeispiel hinsichtlich der folgenden sechs Adjektive *elitär*, *kriminell*, *sympathisch*, *aggressiv*, *unfreundlich*, *gebildet* auf einer 5-Punkte-Likertskala (von „ich stimme gar nicht zu“ bis „ich stimme völlig zu“) zu bewerten.

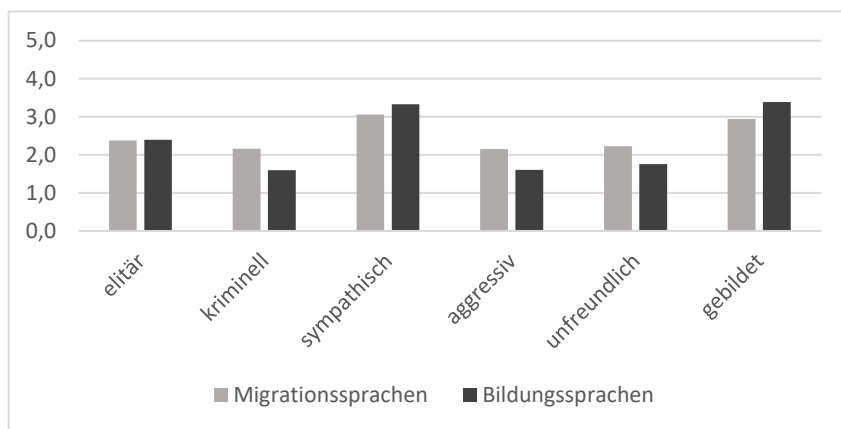


Abb.4: Wertigkeit der Migrations- und Bildungssprachen anhand von randomisierten Audioaufnahmen

Die Ergebnisse zeigen einen klaren Zusammenhang zwischen der subjektiv wahrgenommenen Sprachwertigkeit und der vorgenommenen Bewertung durch die Proband:innen. Die Sprachen Arabisch, Kurdisch und Türkisch wurden insgesamt negativ bewertet, während Englisch, Französisch und Spanisch insgesamt positiv bewertet wurden. Diese Bewertung kommt nur dann zur Geltung, wenn die Proband:innen wissen, um welche Sprache es sich handelt (s. Abb. 2 und 3). Wenn Proband:innen eine Sprache nur hören, ohne vorab zu wissen, um welche Sprache es sich handelt, und diese beim Hören auch nicht erkennen, dann werden die Sprachen Arabisch, Kurdisch und Türkisch nicht als negativ, sondern eher neutral empfunden (s. Abb. 4). Diese Befunde zeigen, dass, wenn eine Sprache als ein rein linguistischer Input – ohne jegliche subjektive und/oder gesellschaftliche und soziale Assoziationen – bewertet werden soll, die vermeintliche Sprachwertigkeit keine Rolle spielt. Anders gesagt, dadurch, dass in unserer Studie in der ersten Aufgabe eine konkret genannte Sprache bewertet werden soll, wird bei den Proband:innen das Konstrukt der Sprachwertigkeit aktiv. Erstaunlich ist dabei, dass bei dieser Aufgabe die Zuweisung der angebotenen Adjektive über die gesamte Stichprobe hinweg sehr konsistent ist: So wird Kurdisch als *aggressiv*, *unangenehm*, *unattraktiv*, *unsympathisch* und *ungebildet* wahrgenommen. Im Vergleich dazu gilt das Spanische für die Proband:innen als *angenehm*, *freundlich*, *rhythmisch* und *schön*. Bezüglich des Arabischen kommt aus den bereits genannten Adjektiven für das Kurdische noch *kriegerisch* hinzu – ein Adjektiv, das bei den Sprachen Englisch, Französisch und Spanisch entweder gar nicht oder nur einmal vorkommt.

Erwähnenswert sind auch die Ergebnisse zu den Sprachen Französisch und Englisch, die in beiden Teilen des Fragebogens als sehr positiv bewertet und offensichtlich auch von den meisten Proband:innen im Audiobeispiel als Französisch bzw. Englisch erkannt werden.

Im Rahmen dieser Studie wurden mit ausgewählten Proband:innen leitfadengestützte Interviews geführt. Es wurden insgesamt sechs Proband:innen über ihre Spracherfahrung, auch während der Schulzeit, befragt. Alle sechs Proband:innen sind in Deutschland geboren und haben familiäre Wurzeln außerhalb von Deutschland. Auch in den Interviews zeichnet sich ein klares Bild: Während Proband:innen mit Arabisch, Kurdisch oder Türkisch als Familiensprachen im Hinblick auf die Einschätzung der eigenen Kompetenz in ihrer Muttersprache Deutsch konsistent Unsicherheit zeigen und eher von Unzulänglichkeiten ausgehen, sehen sich Proband:innen mit Englisch, Französisch oder Spanisch als selbstbewusste bilinguale Nutzer beider Sprachen und schätzen ihr Deutsch als hervorragend ein. Der Punkt ist hier nicht, ob diese Selbsteinschätzung stimmt oder nicht, sondern, wie unterschiedlich die Selbstwahrnehmung der einzelnen Personen ist. Diese ist nämlich grundlegend für die Entfaltung und Festigung der eigenen Identität und Zugehörigkeit in einer Gemeinschaft (Müller, 2011; Mertins, 2023). Abschließend soll hier, mit Blick auf die oben erwähnten Studienergebnisse, noch betont werden, dass die in dieser Studie identifizierten Vorurteile durch einige Lehrkräfte in deutschen Schulen reproduziert werden und vielen Schüler:innen mit dem sogenannten „Migrationshintergrund“ einen nachhaltigen Schaden zufügen, der sich nicht nur auf den Bildungserfolg, sondern auch auf die Ausbildung der eigenen Identität und Möglichkeit einer erfolgreichen Teilhabe negativ auswirkt.

Fazit und neuer Zugang

Unser Beitrag zeigt einen Widerspruch zwischen Daten aus unterschiedlichen Fachbereichen. Diese vermeintliche Dissonanz lässt sich aber durch das Heranziehen weiterer Erklärungsvariablen sowie durch die Nutzung anderer methodischer Zugänge auflösen. Zu den zentralen Erklärungsvariablen gehört der sozioökonomische Status sowie der Grad der Bilingualität der getesteten Schüler:innen: die sozioökonomische Herkunft, und nicht die Mehrsprachigkeit *per se*, erklärt im typischen Spracherwerbsverlauf schlechtere Schulleistungen bzw. den minderen Schulerfolg. Der Grad der Bilingualität muss in allen Studien kontrolliert und vielschichtig erhoben werden. Unsere Daten zeigen ganz deutlich, dass eine sehr

allgemeine Frage vom Typ „welche Sprachen werden zuhause gesprochen?“ weder den Grad des Bilingualismus noch die Mehrsprachigkeitssituation in einer Familie erfassen kann. Dennoch beruht die absolute Mehrheit aller Studien zum Thema Mehrsprachigkeit auf solchen oberflächlichen, nichtssagenden Einteilungen zwischen Mono- und Multilingualen.

Der neue Zugang zu Mehrsprachigkeit ist begründet auf anderen Sichtweisen: (1) Zum Sprachenlernen in beliebigem Setting und Alter ist die Inputmenge und -qualität ausschlaggebend. Die Relevanz des Inputs im Erstspracherwerb ist bereits für die pränatale Periode belegt (Partanen, Kujala, Näätänen, Liitola, Sambeth & Huotilainen, 2013) und die Versorgung des Kindes mit optimalem Input hängt unter anderem vom SÖS der Familie und Umgebung ab (Dailey & Bergelson, 2022). In Anlehnung an die oben zitierten Studien wird hier nochmals betont, dass Bilingualismus bei ausreichendem Input in beiden Sprachen bereits im frühen Leben der Kinder positive Auswirkungen in verschiedenen sprachlichen und kognitiven Bereichen hat. Außerdem kann Mehrsprachigkeit zum Teil die negativen Effekte der sozialen Herkunft auf die kognitive Entwicklung ausgleichen (Calvo & Bialystok, 2014). Angesichts dieser Datenlage plädieren wir dafür, dass sowohl in der Forschung als auch in schulischen und bildungspolitischen Kontexten die Unterscheidung zwischen sprachschwachen (und förderungsbedürftigen) und sprachstarken Kindern/Schüler:innen getroffen wird. Die Ein- bzw. Mehrsprachigkeit darf dabei keine Rolle spielen, weil diese Einteilung stets eine Gruppe stigmatisiert (nämlich die Mehrsprachigen) und die andere Gruppe unter Umständen von der Teilhabe ausschließt (nämlich deutsch monolinguale Kinder aus Familien mit niedrigem SÖS, die einen hohen Förderbedarf im Fach Deutsch haben).

(2) Die zweite Sichtweise betrifft das Konstrukt *Migrationshintergrund*, welches in seiner Definition extrem vage und unklar ist und auch so verwendet wird. Wie wir in diesem Beitrag gezeigt haben, wird dieses Konstrukt implizit mit diskriminatorischer und rassistischer Sprachwertigkeit verwendet. Diese Verwendung wird in der Wahrnehmung der Menschen mit dem sogenannten Migrationshintergrund auch 1:1 bestätigt. Außerdem wird der Begriff *Migrationshintergrund* in der Regel mit dem Begriff *Mehrsprachigkeit* gleichgesetzt. Auch dies wurde in unserem Beitrag als falsch herausgestellt. In der neuen Sichtweise setzen wir uns dafür ein, dass der Begriff in allen relevanten Diskursen abgeschafft und die Bezeichnungspraxis grundlegend geändert wird.

Das bedeutet konkret: eine neue Bezeichnung darf nicht den Grundsatz des *Otherings* als Basis haben. Als Vorschlag könnten *die Personen, auf die es zutrifft* z.B. die Bezeichnung „Deutsche:r mit polnischen Wurzeln“ oder „Deutsche:r mit rumänischer Abstammung“ verwenden.

Eine Änderung ist auch für die in der Verwendung des Begriffs *Migrationshintergrund* in den Erhebungsinstrumenten der PISA- und IGLU-Studien fällig. Der Umgang mit der Begrifflichkeit (*Mehrsprachigkeit, Migrationshintergrund, Familien- oder Herkunftssprache*) ist hier viel zu undifferenziert und bringt eine grundsätzliche Verzerrung der Daten mit sich, die sich logischerweise auch in dem Dateninterpretation niederschlägt.

(3) Die dritte Sichtweise bezieht sich auf das Konstrukt der sogenannten *Sprachwertigkeit*. Aus linguistischer Sicht gibt es keine Wertigkeitsordnung zwischen Sprachen. Sprachwertigkeit ist subjektiv und folgt den eigenen Glaubenssätzen sowie positiven oder negativen Vorurteilen. Unser Beitrag zeigt, wie tief verwurzelt die Sprachwertigkeit in den Glaubenssätzen von deutschen Lehrkräften sowie Lehramtsstudierenden ist und zu welchen, zum Teil auch fatalen, Konsequenzen die von den Lehrkräften internalisierte Sprachwertigkeit führen kann: Die Schülerschaft, die mit den „falschen“ Sprachen ausgestattet ist und/oder nicht den „richtigen“ Nachnamen hat und/oder im Erscheinungsbild einer stillschweigend angenommenen Norm „nicht entspricht“, wird systematisch und konsistent auf ihrem Bildungsweg abgestraft. So wird einem deutschen Schüler mit iranischen Wurzeln Ende Dezember 2023 von einem Deutschlehrer an einem NRW-Gymnasium im Rahmen eines Beratungsgesprächs zu Leistungskursen mit dem Satz, „mit deiner Herkunft schaffst du es sowieso nicht“ vom LK in Deutsch abgeraten. Ein anderes Beispiel: Im Rahmen einer Schuleingangsuntersuchung im Juni 2023 wird an einem Gesundheitsamt in NRW behauptet, dass Kinder nur eine Muttersprache haben können. Infolgedessen wird die Mutter des Kindes, welches deutsch-spanisch bilingual ist, für den vor Ort ausgefüllten Fragebogen mit dem Satz „welche Sprache spricht das Kind besser?“ zur Angabe von nur einer Sprache gezwungen.

Solche Absurditäten sind keine Einzelfälle. Sie sind in der allgemeinen Schieflage zum Thema Mehrsprachigkeit in Deutschland angesiedelt. Diese Schieflage, oder Kluft, haben wir versucht, in diesem Artikel durch Daten aus eigener Forschung sowie aus zahlreichen einschlägigen Studien zu belegen bzw. aufzudecken. Wir haben drei neue Sichtweisen präsentiert, die den Diskurs zu Mehrsprachigkeit in Deutschland in ein neues Licht rücken.

Unter diesen Perspektiven ist wesentlich, die sehr heterogene Gruppe der Mehrsprachigen differenziert zu betrachten, die Rolle des Inputs ernst zu nehmen und die soziale Herkunft der Familien stets im Blick zu behalten. Die Gruppe der Bilingualen, die sprachstark in beiden Sprachen sind, zeigen nachweislich Vorteile. Im Licht dieser Befunde wollen wir abschließend auf eine für dieses Heft relevante Frage eingehen: Das Erlernen einer dritten Sprache von Mehrsprachigen. In deutschsprachigen Ländern handelt es sich meist um L3 Englisch und die Datenlage ist eindeutig: Balancierte Bilinguale lernen eine L3 mit niedrigeren Wechselkosten (Costa & Santesteban, 2004) und erwerben die L3 im Vergleich zu Monolingualen insgesamt schneller und effektiver (Hopp, Vogelbacher, Kieseier & Thoma, 2019; Kieseier, Thoma, Vogelbacher & Hopp, 2022).

Der Schlüssel zu einem besseren Mehrsprachigkeitsklima in Deutschland in der Schule und auf dem Schulhof liegt bei den Lehrkräften und Erzieher:innen. Deren Glaubenssätze und Haltungen bezüglich Sprachwertigkeit und Mehrsprachigkeit sowie zum Migrationshintergrund prägen das Schulbild und den Bildungsweg und -erfolg der Schüler:innen. Aus unserer Sicht liegt also das Problem nicht grundsätzlich bei der Schülerschaft, weil diese mehrsprachig und/oder zuge-wandert ist, sondern vielmehr in der mangelnden Reflexion der Überzeugungen und Vorurteile sowie in der Änderungsbereitschaft der Lehrkräfte.

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ZUM VERHÄLTNIS VON DEUTSCHUNTERRICHT UND ERSTSPRACHENUNTERRICHT BEI MIGRATIONSGESELLSCHAFTLICHER MEHRSPRACHIGKEIT IM SCHULTHEORETISCHEN KONTEXT

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Abstract/Izvleček

With reference to the power-critical research of migration pedagogy, this contribution of non-empirical research theoretically discusses the conditions under which numerous school-age multilingual children with German as a Second Language (GSL) pursue their education in the Austrian school system. From a systems theory perspective, the article focuses on the attitudes of teacher candidates towards their largely multilingual student body in Vienna and raises questions about the habitualization of German as a target language and the barriers to the education of multilingual students, who often come from socio-economically and culturally disadvantaged backgrounds in Vienna.

Keywords:

school theory, mother tongue instruction, German as a second language, professional practice, pedagogic relationship.

Ključne besede:

kognitivno procesiranje, poskus sledenja pogledu, pogled, Stroopov barvno-besedni test, večkodno besedilo.

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O razmerju med poukom nemščine in poukom prvega jezika v kontekstu migrantske večjezičnosti v okviru šolske teorije

V prispevku so v navezavi na kritično raziskovanje moči migracijske pedagogike teoretično obravnavani pogoji, v katerih se številni šoloobvezni večjezični otroci z nemščino kot drugim jezikom izobražujejo v avstrijskem šolskem sistemu. Z vidika sistemske teorije se članek osredotoča na odnos študentov pedagoških programov do njihovih večinoma večjezičnih učencev na Dunaju in odpira vprašanja o habitualizaciji nemščine kot ciljnega jezika in ovirah pri izobraževanju večjezičnih učencev, ki na Dunaju pogosto prihajajo iz družbenoekonomsko in kulturno prikrajsanih okolij.

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Einleitung

Schulische Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik neigt manchmal dazu, an Schüler*innen fragwürdige Signale zu senden. In Basil Schaders bekannter DVD zur Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik sitzen in einer Szene Schüler*innen der Primarstufe im Zuge der Buchstabenerarbeitung zum Buchstaben *Rr* in einem Zürcher Klassenzimmer im Sitzkreis. Als Auftrag haben einige Schüler*innen für diese Einheit von daheim Wörter in *ihren* Sprachen als Wortkarten mitgebracht. Der deutschsprachige Lehrer sitzt vor so genannten Wörtersäcken: Umrisse von unterschiedlich großen *Säcken*, die als ausgeschnittene Form auf Papier gezeichnet sind. Er hat Wörter in nur einer Sprache als Wortkarten dabei. Es handelt sich selbstverständlich um jene Sprache, die für die Schüler*innen im Lernprozess als die Zielsprache der Institution Schule zu verstehen ist. Für diese Sprache ist in diesem Lernsetting die größte Sackform vorgesehen, über drei weitere Sackformen sind Flaggen (Türkei, Albanien, Portugal) befestigt. Ein anderer kleiner Sack bleibt wie der größte Sack ebenfalls ohne Flagge. Nun erörtert der Lehrer mit den Schüler*innen die Graphem-Phonem-Zuordnung anhand lautgetreuer Anlaute, egal in welcher Sprache die Wörter auf den mitgebrachten Wortkarten der Schüler*innen stehen. Die Schüler*innen haben ihre Wörter dabei: *die Rose, roboti, rato* etc. – der Lehrer klebt die Wortkarten in die dafür vorgesehenen Sackformen auf Papier (Schader, 2010). Im Prinzip handelt es sich hier um eine einfache mehrsprachige Erweiterung des Primarstufenunterrichts im Zuge der Alphabetisierung – vorausgesetzt die Phoneme kommen bei den Anlauten auch in den Migrationssprachen mit den Graphemen überein. Aber warum sind manche Sprachen der Schüler*innen als Flaggen (und nicht als deutschsprachige Ganzwortkarten) präsent? Woher kommen die Kinder? Fliegen diese Schüler*innen werktags aus Istanbul, Tirana und Lissabon ein, um in Zürich die Volksschule zu besuchen? Ist es in der Schule wichtig, dass es *ausländische* und *inländische* Kinder gibt, die mit nationalen Flaggen adressiert werden? Ist Mehrsprachigkeit in postmigrantischen Verhältnissen (Terkessidis, 2018, S. 112) kein Bestandteil gesellschaftlicher Normalität?

Problemaufriss

Mehrsprachige Schüler*innen fungieren nur selten als ‚kulturelle‘ Expert*innen für Länder, in denen sie oder meist nur ihre Eltern geboren wurden, wenn das in der

zweiten oder dritten Generation überhaupt der Fall sein sollte. Oft kennen diese Kinder diese dergestalt schulisch beflaggten Länder eher nur als sporadisch besuchte Urlaubsländer, aber nicht als ihre primären Bezugsorte. Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik in der Migrationsgesellschaft soll aber nicht Didaktik für „Migrationsandere“ sein, die sich DaZ aneignen.

Mit dem Begriff „Migrationsandere“ werden gemäß Konzepten der Migrationspädagogik Prozesse und Phänomene der Konstruktion, Bewältigung, Bewahrung und Veränderung natio-ethno-kultureller Differenz unter bestimmten Bedingungen in den Blick genommen. Dieser Begriff dient als ein Werkzeug der „Konzentration, Typisierung und Stilisierung für eine in einer Migrationsgesellschaft als Andere geltende Person“ (Mecheril, 2010, S. 17). Die in der oberhalb beschriebenen Szene Kinder lernen Deutsch nicht als schulische Fremdsprache. Sie sind keine *Fremden* in dieser Stadt, aber es fällt auf, dass einige der von ihnen gesprochenen Sprachen keine Prestigesprachen sind, die am sprachlichen Markt weniger wert sind als die schulisch institutionell auch als Fremdsprachen verankerten Sprachen: Bourdieu definiert Kapital als eine gesellschaftlich relevante Ressource, die imstande ist, die Stellung eines Menschen innerhalb der Hierarchie einer Gesellschaft zu definieren. Diese Stellung wird erhalten oder verändert. Akteur*innen unserer Gesellschaft akkumulieren in ihrer voneinander abhängigen Figuration zueinander Kapital, um ihre Position im sozialen Raum der Gesellschaft zu verorten und zu behaupten. Bourdieu wendet hier den „Begriff des Kapitals in allen seinen Erscheinungsformen“ an (Bourdieu, 1983/2012, S. 230). Für den Zugang zu Bildung und dem (möglichen) sozialen Aufstieg verfügen Kinder und Jugendliche aus der Vielfalt von Kapitalsorten in erster Linie über drei verschiedene Arten von Kapital, die sie in Bildungseinrichtungen mitbringen: 1) Ökonomisches Kapital (Geld, Erbe, materielle Güter, Produktionsmittel etc.), 2) Kulturelles Kapital (Beherrschung von schulrelevanten Prestigesprachen als L1, Gewandtheit im Ausdruck der schulischen Zielsprache bei Schuleintritt, vorschulische Literacy- und Numeracy-Erfahrungen – als inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital; Bücher, Zugang zu Wissen – als objektives kulturelles Kapital), 3) Soziales Kapital (soziale Netzwerke, Freunde, Mentor*innen etc.). Schüler*innen setzen diese Kapitalien in der Schule wie auf einem Marktplatz ein. Sind sie in Besitz von etwas, das ihnen in der Schule nutzt, so werden sie in die Lage versetzt, ihre Kapitalien zu vermehren. Sollten sie bereits über relevante Kapitalsorten verfügen, die sie in der Schule in verinnerlichtes kulturelles Kapital umsetzen können, weil sie es strategisch in der Schule (z.B. Englisch als L1) einsetzen können, vermehren sie später auch eher ihr ökonomisches Kapital.

Es scheint evident, dass mehrsprachige Schüler*innen, die Prestigesprachen wie Englisch, Französisch und Spanisch (häufig schulische Unterrichtsfächer des Sprachunterrichts und damit institutionell *legitime* Sprachen) als L1 sprechen und AHS-Gymnasien besuchen, auch von Lehrer*innen mehrheitlich einen gesellschaftlich anderen Status zugewiesen bekommen als mehrsprachige Schüler*innen aus öffentlichen Volks- und Mittelschulen, die häufig gesprochene Migrationssprachen wie Türkisch, Bosnisch/Kroatisch/Serbisch, Arabisch, Albanisch (selten schulische Unterrichtsfächer des Sprachunterrichts und damit institutionell *illegitime* Sprachen) als L1 sprechen. Ob Mehrsprachigkeit in der gesellschaftlichen Institution Schule tatsächlich als Ressource wahrgenommen wird, liegt im Auge der Betrachter*in und wohl auch bezogen auf das Bildungssystem makrostrukturell in der Auswahl der schulischen Sprachunterrichtsfächer.

Wenn in der (Wiener) Schule von heute bei unregelmäßig oft wiederholten Gelegenheiten (bei SCHILF, SCHÜLF) bewusst positiv konnotiert von der persönlichen, individuellen Mehrsprachigkeit von einzelnen Schüler*innen die Rede ist, die (eher floskelhaft) als Schatz wahrgenommen werden (ÖAW 2023) soll, steht doch gleichzeitig ein offensichtlich heikles, aber überdimensional großes Thema im Raum, das bei der Hebung des Schatzes vermieden werden soll: Wie ist es aber denn nun bei diesen mehrsprachigen Schüler*innen um die Aneignung der institutionellen Zielsprache bestellt? Durch den ausgeprägten monolingualen Habitus (Gogolin, 1994, S. 263) der Mittelschichtsinstitution Schule und der in ihr agierenden Lehrer*innen als Akteur*innen spielt das Deutsche als so genannte Mehrheitssprache eine gesellschaftlich dominante Rolle, und dafür sind Kinder bereits sensibel. Die „Dominanzkultur“ (Rommelspacher, 1995) fordert von den Kindern und Jugendlichen verbindlich die Eingliederung in das geltende Normensystem: So genannte Integration setzt Deutschkönnen voraus. Das Deutsche hat eine Schlüsselfunktion im Bildungsbereich, bei Behörden und im öffentlichen Diskurs, und es ist selbst im halböffentlichen Raum eine vorherrschende Verkehrssprache, etwa beim Einkaufen, beim Busfahren oder bei der Interaktion mit Fremden auf der Straße. (vgl. Wiese, Tracy, & Sennema, 2020, S. 270).

Die Schüler*innen (und ihre Erziehungsberechtigten) in die Bringschuld zu setzen, heißt die Doxa zu leben – jenes „unmittelbare Verwachsensein mit der als ‚natürlich‘ erlebten und als selbstverständlich vorgegebenen Welt der Überlieferung“ (Bourdieu, 1976/2008, S. 325), bei der „Wahrnehmungs- und Bewertungsschemata sichtbar gemacht werden, die die Akteure verinnerlicht haben“ (Bourdieu, 1996, S.

30). Gängigen Vorstellungen entsprechend gibt es die (gesellschaftlich akzeptierte) geltende Gleichsetzung von Bildungsabschluss und (Schul-)Bildung, „in der sich Personen mit Abschlüssen größeren Prestiges als ‚emanzipiert(er)‘ und ‚gebildeter‘ wähnen können als die Personen, die sie in der Hierarchie des Bildungs- und Ausbildungssystems scheinbar hinter sich gelassen haben“ (Reichenbach, 2018, S. 116). Die Doxa zeugt von selbstverständlichen und unhinterfragten Vorstellungen einer gebildeten Sozialstruktur als Stabilisator von Herrschaftsverhältnissen: Sie macht deutlich, wer sich in der Dominanzkultur auch als sozio-kulturell überlegen fühlen darf – das österreichische Schulwesen mit den Ausprägungen ihrer Schulbehörden, deren dienende Lehrer*innen als Gatekeeper fungieren. Schüler*innen werden am Maßstab einer Schule gemessen, die ein Verständnis der Normalisierung über den zu beherrschenden Grad der Schulsprache Deutsch naturalisiert zu haben scheint. Schultheoretisch geschieht das jedem (mehrsprachigen) Kind bis zum Ende der Adoleszenz als Jugendlichen; von Transition zu Transition: vom elterlichen Zuhause in die Elementarstufe, von der Elementarstufe zur Primarstufe und von der Primarstufe zur Sekundarstufe I & II. Bei den ersten beiden Transitionen im sprachlichen Bereich noch von mündlichen Sprachhandlungen getragen und ab der zweiten Transition und allen folgenden nur mehr (vorwiegend) von Sprachhandlungen schriftlich-konzeptioneller Natur. Bei Transitionen, die mit Schuleintritt geschehen, werden selektionierende Maßnahmen gesetzt oder vermeintliche Stigmatisierungen vollzogen, von denen mehrsprachige Kinder aus sozio-ökonomisch benachteiligten Schichten traditionell in Europa wie Österreich häufig betroffen sind (Herzog-Punzenberger, Le-Pichon-Vorstman, Siarova, 2017; Herzog-Punzenberger, 2017).

Bourdieu definiert in „Die feinen Unterschiede“ (1979/1987), dass sich aus vielen individuellen Handlungen eine Haltung entwickelt, die sich in Überzeugungen widerspiegelt. Es sind habitualisierte Überzeugungen, die das „menschliche Denken, Handeln und die Wahrnehmung beeinflussen“ (Borg, 2011, S. 186). Sie rekurren bei der vorliegenden Untersuchung mittels Fragebogen auf persönliche Wahrnehmungen als individuelle Erfahrungen des Lernens und Lehrens (Kagan, 1990, S. 310f.; Trautwein, 2013, S. 4), die von Studierenden des Lehramts Primarstufe im Rahmen der Pädagogisch-Praktischen Studien (PPS) gesammelt werden, aber auch mit den persönlichen Erfahrungen als Student*in im Privaten eng verbunden sind: „Von Überzeugungen (beliefs) spricht man, wenn (meist) nicht-wissenschaftliche Vorstellungen darüber, wie etwas beschaffen ist oder wie etwas funktioniert, mit dem Anspruch der Geltung für das Handeln auftreten“ (Oser &

Blömeke, 2012, S. 415). Es wird von der These ausgegangen, dass diese beiden Erfahrungsarten habitualisierte Überzeugungen wesentlich beeinflussen. Es handelt sich dabei um subjektiv geprägte Überzeugungen, die die eigenen Haltungen und Einstellungen abbilden, die als Leitlinie für das individuelle Handeln als Lehrer*in fungieren (Grannemann, 2021, S. 101).

Forschungsdesign, Methode, Hypothesenbildung

Pierre Bourdieu spricht sich in seinen Schriften wiederholt für eine „rationale Pädagogik“ aus und ist bemüht zu betonen, dass er „im Gegensatz zu unseren Sozialphilosophen, die immer mit einem Appell an die Pädagogik enden, davon überzeugt [ist], dass man für Bedingungen sorgen muss, die die Voraussetzung für Pädagogik bilden“ (Bourdieu, 1966/2001, S. 16). Bourdieu wendet sich gewissermaßen an die Makro-Ebene des Bildungssystems, das Rahmenbedingungen für Schulen und Kindergärten schafft. Bourdieu befürwortet ausdrücklich eine Pädagogik, die in Bezug auf Ungleichheiten „um all die Unterschiede weiß und die *den Willen hat, diese zu verringern*“ – Unterricht heißt für ihn, bei Schüler*innen nichts als *bekannt* vorauszusetzen, sondern immer so vorzugehen, „als müsse man *allen alles* unterrichten“ (Bourdieu, 1966/2001, S. 24; Herv. i. O.). Zum einen lässt diese Aussage Bourdieus m.E. an Comenius’ „Wer wird mich das lehren?“ denken, zum anderen ist ein gewisser Interpretationsraum offen, der nicht klärt was dieses „alles“ beinhaltet. Sind es *alle schulrelevanten* Kapitalien, so werden die Bestimmer*innen der ökonomischen und kulturellen Elite, die vorgeben, was Schulbildung ist, keinesfalls hinterfragt, wodurch schon im Vorhinein bevorstehende Ungleichheit legitimiert wird. Diese Form von Unterrichtsgestaltung wendet sich explizit nicht gegen die privilegierten Schüler*innen, die über die notwendigen Kapitalien für den Schulerfolg verfügen: „Es geht nicht darum, die Erben zu enterben, sondern darum, *allen* das zu geben, was einige ererbt haben“ (Bourdieu, 1966/2001, S. 24; Herv. i. O.).

Die in diesem Sinne für den Fragebogen entwickelte offene Frage „Welche Hindernisse sehen Sie für die schulische Bildung von Schüler*innen aus sozio-ökonomisch und sozio-kulturell schlecht gestellten Verhältnissen in unserer Gesellschaft?“ zielte darauf ab, herauszufinden, ob die Studierenden in ihren Kohorten (jeweils nach Lehramtsstudium, jeweils nach Studienabschnitt) *Barrieren* für diese genannten Schüler*innen identifizieren und welche Faktoren sie dafür ausfindig machen, die je nach Überzeugung eher dem Bildungssystem (*externe*

Faktoren) oder der Schüler*in als einzelnes Individuum und ihrem Umfeld (*interne Faktoren*) zukommen. Diese als Stichprobe zu verstehender Untersuchung setzt sich zum Ziel zu erheben, welche Überzeugungen und Annahmen im Themenfeld „Schule unter migrationsgesellschaftlichen Differenzverhältnissen“ zum Verhältnis von Deutschunterricht und Erstsprachenunterricht bei migrationsgesellschaftlicher Mehrsprachigkeit im schultheoretischen Kontext von angehendem Lehrer*innen (Primarstufe, Sekundarstufe) als plausibel gelten und schriftlich formuliert werden. Es stellte sich die Frage, ob sich im weiteren Verlauf des Studiums diese Überzeugungen über angeführte Faktoren bei den Lehramtsstudierenden ändern, und ob die Studierenden im weiteren Verlauf des Studiums den Eindruck gewinnen, vermehrt Einblick in die Situation von Schüler*innen zu gewinnen, die nicht die für den (so genannten) Schulerfolg wichtigen Kapitalien mitbringen. Wie wird der monolinguale Habitus der Institution Schule mit Folgen für die Schüler*innen interpretiert: Welche Überzeugungen zeigen sich als bereits habitualisiert? Welches Problembewusstsein gegenüber der Situation von mehrsprachigen Schüler*innen aus sozio-ökonomisch benachteiligten Verhältnissen zeigt sich bei Studierenden als etabliert?

Der Fokus der vorliegenden Untersuchung liegt im Bereich der Professionsforschung. Gemäß dieser Zielsetzung ergab sich folgende Forschungsfrage: Erkennen angehende Lehrer*innen in Wien bei fortschreitender Semesterzahl des Lehramtsstudiums strukturelle Barrieren, die zahlreichen migrationsbedingt mehrsprachigen Schüler*innen im österreichischen Schulsystem bereitet werden? Die daran anschließende Hypothese lautet, dass Studierende bei fortschreitender Semesterzahl des Lehramtsstudiums (1. Abschnitt – 2. Abschnitt) mehr Einblick gewinnen in die Barrieren, die oft migrationsbedingt mehrsprachigen Schüler*innen aufgrund des segregierenden österreichischen Schulsystems bereitet werden.

Gestellt wurde die oben angeführte Frage als Item nach einer Testphase schließlich im Sommersemester 2018 und zu Beginn des Wintersemesters 2018/19 mittels einer Fragebogenerhebung in Paper-Pencil-Version im Rahmen von Seminaren an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Wien (Lehramt Primarstufe) und des Verbunds Nord-Ost (Lehramt Sekundarstufe). Durch das fortschreitende Studium des seit 2015/16 erstmals achtsemestrigen Studiums Primarstufe und jenes der Sekundarstufe (PädagogInnenbildung NEU) konnten zwei Gruppen in jedem dieser Lehramtsstudien befragt werden: die Gruppe der Studierenden im ersten Abschnitt (1. – 4. Semester) und die Gruppe der Studierenden im zweiten Abschnitt (4.– 8.

Semester und höher). Von $n = 337$ waren es in den Untergruppen mehr als 60 – 80 Prozent der Studierenden, die im Alter von 18 – 24 Jahren die gültigen Fragebögen ausfüllten. Es handelt sich somit vorwiegend um Studierende, die den Habitus von Lehrer*innen vor nicht allzu langer Zeit mehr als ein Jahrzehnt lang als Schüler*innen beobachtet haben, bevor sie nun als Studierende im Fortlauf des Studiums dazu aufgefordert werden, den Perspektivenwechsel zu vollziehen. 236 von 337 Bögen wurden als gültig gewertet, das entspricht einer Rücklaufquote von 76,85 Prozent. Einschränkend muss vorausschickend davon ausgegangen werden, dass sich Studierende bei einer Fragebogenerhebung sozial erwünscht verhalten, wie es auch generell in der Lehrer*innenbildung ein womöglich begrenzt erfolgreiches Unterfangen darstellt, Stimuli für eine gewünschte soziale Perspektivenübernahme von angehenden Lehrer*innen gegenüber ihren künftigen Schüler*innen zu erreichen.

Die elizitierten Antwortfelder aus dem Datensatz wurden als Datenmaterial einer Content Analyse gemäß Qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse (Mayring, 2010; Früh, 2011) unterzogen. Gemäß dem inhaltsanalytischen Ansatz wurde auf Basis der Hypothese ein diagnostischer Zugang zu dem erhobenen Datenmaterial gewählt: Wie wird argumentiert? Auf wen und was wird Bezug genommen?

Die Erfassung von Mitteilungsmerkmalen in den elizitierten Dokumenten wurde im Prozess der Content Analyse (Gliederung des Datenmaterials, Markierung von Mitteilungen) strukturiert einem deduktiven Kategoriensystem nach Faktoren unterzogen. Als Form des inhaltsanalytischen Vorgehens wurde in weiterer Folge die Kontingenzanalyse (siehe Tabelle 1) gewählt, die der Frage nachgeht, welche Merkmale wie häufig auftreten (vgl. Zierer et al 2013, S. 122).

Hinsichtlich der Berücksichtigung gängiger Gütekriterien (Verfahrensdokumentation, argumentative Interpretationsabsicherung, Regelgeleitetheit) für die qualitativ-strukturierende Inhaltsanalyse wird im Folgenden die Gedankenführung bei der Kategorienbildung des Kodierleitfadens in ihrer Dimensionierung dargelegt: Es wurde in der Entwicklungsphase auf Basis von schultheoretischen Zugängen zwischen externen (Fend, 1981) und internen (Bourdieu, 1979/1987) Faktoren unterschieden, um Trennschärfe zu gewährleisten. Prägend für die Kategorienbildung der externen Faktoren war die Beschreibung von Schule als System, wie es Fend in seiner Schultheorie (1981) nach Luhmann entwickelt. Er beschreibt neben der gesellschaftlichen Funktion institutionalisierter Erziehung ihre innere Gestalt, eröffnet Erfahrungsfelder und führt eine Wirkungsanalyse durch. Bei der Kodierung der Kontexteinheiten wurde hinsichtlich der externen Faktoren

zwischen drei Faktoren unterschieden. Der erste externe Faktor nennt sich „Fehlende finanzielle Ressourcen im Schulsystem, die in ‚zu wenig Förderung‘ resultieren“ – dieser Kategorie wurden elizitierte Antwortteile zugeordnet, in denen berichtet wurde, dass es an finanziellen Mittel mangelt, um diese Schüler*innen adäquat zu unterstützen; z.B. zu wenig Lehrkräfte – zu wenig Unterstützung, da die einzelne Klassenlehrer*in die *pädagogische Förderung* (das als *diffuser* Begriff) nicht leisten kann. Als zweiter externer Faktor wurde summiert: „Intersektionale Faktoren (gesellschaftliche Vorurteile gegenüber vermutet migrationsbedingt mehrsprachigen Personen, Rassismus an der Institution Schule: Ausgrenzung durch Peers und/oder institutionelle Diskriminierung durch Lehrer*innen)“, die sich vom dritten externen Faktor „Das Schulsystem an sich (Segregation durch Selektion ab der 5. Schulstufe, unmotivierte Lehrer*innen. Lehrer*innen ohne Erfahrung im Unterricht von DaZ im Migrationskontext an öffentlichen Schulen)“ abheben. Während sich der dritte Faktor auf die Beschreibung systeminterner schultheoretischer Faktoren beschränkt, um die Schule in Österreich zu beschreiben und zu erörtern, was sie *ist* und wie sie *wirkt*, ist der zweite Faktor eher von gesellschaftstheoretischem Interesse: Mutwillige Vorurteile und Wirkungen im Umgang mit „Migrationsanderen“ (Mecheril, 2010, S. 17), die fern der „Begabungsideologie“ (Bourdieu, 1970/2001, S. 56) der Schule bestehen.

Bei den internen Faktoren wurden das soziale Kapital (soziale Netzwerke, Freunde, Mentor*innen etc.) und zunächst zwei der drei Formen des kulturellen Kapitals berücksichtigt, das Bourdieu (1979/1987) wie folgt hinsichtlich seines Auftretens charakterisiert:

(1.) in verinnerlichtem, *inkorporierten Zustand*, in Form von dauerhaften Dispositionen des Organismus, (2.) in *objektiviertem Zustand*, in Form von kulturellen Gütern, Bildern, Büchern, Lexika, Instrumenten oder Maschinen, in denen bestimmte Theorien und deren Kritiken, Problematiken usw. Spuren hinterlassen oder sich verwirklicht haben, und schließlich (3.) in *institutionalisiertem Zustand*, einer Form von Objektivation, die deswegen gesondert behandelt werden muss, weil sie – wie man beim schulischen Titel sieht – dem kulturellen Kapital, das sie ja garantieren soll, ganz einmalige Eigenschaften verleiht. (Bourdieu, 1979/2001, S. 113; Herv. i. O.) Kulturelles Kapital in institutionalisiertem Zustand wurde als Kategorie berücksichtigt, da es sich als Folge von der Wirkung der Institution erst in der Primarstufe in Österreich bei der 4. Schulstufe eminent abzeichnet, wenn Schule tatsächlich Titel verleiht (Bourdieu, 1979/1987, S. 238), die sich in der Allokation

von Schüler*innen in österreichischen Schularten (Sekundarstufe I: MS, AHS) manifestiert.

Das inkorporierte kulturelle Kapital wurde in vier Unterkategorien unterteilt. Die Unterkategorie „Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Fehlende Beherrschung von Deutsch)“ gibt Aufschluss über eine gewisse Selbstverständlichkeit in Bezug auf den monolingualen Habitus der Schule, während „Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Fehlende Beherrschung von L1 hat negative Auswirkung auf DaZ-Aneignung)“ abwägt, ob gemäß der Interdependenzanalyse (Cummins, 2000; Caprez-Krompàk, 2010) eine Beherrschung der Erstsprache relevant ist, um sich DaZ im institutionellen Rahmen formal anzueignen. Der interne Faktor „Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Kennen die ‚österreichische Kultur‘ nicht, leben in Parallelgesellschaft in eigenen kulturellen Entitäten)“ ist gesellschaftstheoretisch relevant, wenn in den Antworten von kulturellen Eigenheiten Österreichs die Rede ist und das Phänomen eines segregierten Lebens von sozialen Klassen beschrieben wird, bei der – je nach Sichtweise und Charakterisierung monolingual Deutsch sprechende Menschen der Mittelschicht/Oberschicht oder migrationsbedingt mehrsprachige Personen in eigenen (selbst gewählten oder zugewiesenen) Enklaven zu leben scheinen.

Interpretation der Ergebnisse und Beantwortung der Hypothese

Bei der Auswertung im Zuge der Rücküberprüfung des Kategoriensystems an Theorie und Material fällt auf, dass die Gruppen von Lehramtsstudierenden für Primarstufe und Sekundarstufe im zweiten Studienabschnitt deutlich mehr Faktoren benennen können, wenn es darum geht, die Frage zu beantworten, welche Barrieren für die schulische Bildung von Schüler*innen aus sozio-ökonomisch und sozio-kulturell schlecht gestellten Verhältnissen in unserer Gesellschaft gelegt sind.

Signifikant ist, dass beide Gruppen im zweiten Studienabschnitt häufiger als im ersten Studienabschnitt externe Faktoren als relevant wahrnehmen, die das System Schule als gesellschaftliche Institution mit den in ihren agierenden Akteur*innen beschreiben. Die zwei Modalwerte mit den häufigsten Nennungen in der Gesamtperspektive sind statistisch gesehen „Interner Faktor: Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Kennen die ‚österreichische Kultur‘ nicht, leben in Parallelgesellschaft in eigenen kulturellen Entitäten)“ und „Externer Faktor: Intersektionale Faktoren (gesellschaftliche Vorurteile gegenüber vermutet migrationsbedingt mehrsprachigen Personen, Rassismus und an Institution Schule:

Ausgrenzung durch Peers und/oder institutionelle Diskriminierung durch Lehrer*innen)“ mit jeweils 63 Nennungen. Der interne Faktor „Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Fehlende Beherrschung von Deutsch)“ seitens der Schüler*innen rangiert auf dem zweiten Rang der internen Faktoren. Die folgende Tabelle gibt die Gesamtkohorte wieder.

Die Hypothese gilt als bestätigt: Es zeigt sich, dass Studierende beider Lehramtsstudien mit fortlaufendem Studium (1. Abschnitt – 2. Abschnitt) mehr Einblick in das Feld widersprüchlicher Funktionen der Schule als zukünftigem Einsatzort ihres pädagogischen Handelns gewinnen. Die Antworten verdeutlichen, dass Studierende höheren Semesters signifikant mehr Faktoren benennen können, die Aufschluss darüber geben, dass Studierende die Wirkungsweisen von Schule als gesellschaftliche Institution in einem Feld mit strukturellen Widersprüchen und der damit verbundenen Aufgaben (Personalisierungsfunktion, Qualifikationsfunktion etc.) besser kennenlernen.

Tabelle 1: Kontingenztabelle mit Anführung der Regel aus Kodierleitfaden; Gesamtkohorte

Externe Faktoren	Gesamt
	236 von 337, 76,85 %
Externer Faktor: Fehlende finanzielle Ressourcen im Schulsystem, die in „zu wenig Förderung“ resultieren.	27
Externer Faktor: Intersektionale Faktoren (gesellschaftliche Vorurteile gegenüber vermutet migrationsbedingt mehrsprachigen Personen, Rassismus an der Institution Schule: Ausgrenzung durch Peers und/oder institutionelle Diskriminierung durch Lehrer*innen).	63
Externer Faktor: Das Schulsystem an sich (Segregation durch Selektion ab der 5. Schulstufe, unmotivierte Lehrer*innen. Lehrer*innen ohne Erfahrung im Unterricht von DaZ im Migrationskontext an öffentlichen Schulen).	47
Interne Faktoren	
Interner Faktor: Fehlendes ökonomisches Kapital – „Elternhaus“ (Geld, Erbe, materielle Güter, Produktionsmittel etc.).	23
Interner Faktor: Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Fehlende Beherrschung von Deutsch).	31
Interner Faktor: Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Negative Auswirkungen auf DaZ-Aneignung durch fehlende Beherrschung von L1).	7
Interner Faktor: Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital in Bezug auf Bildungaffinität – oft bedingt durch „Elternhaus“ aus einer anderen sozialen Klasse als der Mittelschicht	63
Interner Faktor: Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital (Kennen die „österreichische Kultur“ nicht, leben in Parallelgesellschaft in eigenen kulturellen Entitäten).	21
Interner Faktor: Inkorporiertes objektives kulturelles Kapital (Bücher, Zugang zu Wissen).	2
Interner Faktor: Soziales Kapital (soziale Netzwerke, Freunde, Mentor*innen etc.).	6

Besonders wenn die Lage von Schüler*innen aus sozio-ökonomisch und so genannten sozio-kulturell benachteiligten Verhältnissen im derzeitigen Schulsystem betrachtet wird, zeigt sich, dass Studierende mit fortschreitendem Studium signifikant häufiger Faktoren benennen können, die sich mit Schule als System und ihrer Struktur (z.B. Segregation durch Selektion ab der 5. Schulstufe in Österreich) befassen. Auffällig ist in der Gesamtperspektive, dass Hindernisse für intersektionale Faktoren (gesellschaftliche Vorurteile gegenüber vermutet migrationsbedingt mehrsprachigen Personen, Rassismus an der Institution Schule: Ausgrenzung durch Peers und/oder institutionelle Diskriminierung durch Lehrer*innen) im Bereich der systeminternen Faktoren am häufigsten genannt wurden, während als ausschlaggebender externer Faktor „Fehlendes inkorporiertes kulturelles Kapital in Bezug auf Bildungsaffinität – oft bedingt durch ‚Elternhaus‘ aus einer anderen sozialen Klasse als der Mittelschicht“ am häufigsten angeführt wurde.

Es zeigt, dass Studierende zunehmend erkennen, dass das Schulsystem dazu beiträgt, das kulturelle Erbe, das von der Familie kommt, als schulischen Verdienst „zu ratifizieren, zu sanktionieren und zu transformieren“ (Bourdieu, 1999/2001, S. 175). Die Erkenntnis, dass davon Schüler*innen, die die Sprache der Schule verstehen, wesentlich mehr profitieren als jene Schüler*innen, die diese Codes (Bernstein, 1971) nicht kennen, scheint bei den Studierenden im zweiten Studienabschnitt vergegenwärtigt. In Ansätzen werden Studierende im Zuge ihres Studiums somit zunehmend mit „der anspruchsvollen ‚Unmöglichkeit‘ ihres Berufs vertraut“ (Heinemann & Mecheril, 2018, S. 269) gemacht.

Schlussfolgerungen und Ausblick

Mehrsprachigkeit ist der Regelfall unserer Gesellschaft in urbanen Settings Europas. Es gilt bei migrationsgesellschaftlicher Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik zu vermeiden, dass Lehrer*innen mehrsprachigen Schüler*innen unschwellig „natio-ethno-kulturelle“ (Mecheril, 2010, S. 59) Zuschreibungen machen. Sie sollen sie als Kinder und Jugendliche wahrnehmen und sich – wie bei jeder Schüler*in – Gedanken über die spezifischen Sozialisationsbedingungen ihres Aufwachens und den Möglichkeiten des Lernens machen. Prägend ist die Frage, was Erziehung als ein von außen kommendem gesteuertem Zugriff auf die Schüler*innen bewirken kann, um in weiterer Folge Bildungsmöglichkeiten für sie zu eröffnen, denn „ohne Berücksichtigung von Mehrsprachigkeit wird aus ‚Die Kinder müssen Deutsch lernen‘ ein für Bildungsprozesse dysfunktionales Disziplinar geschehen“

(Karakaşoğlu & Mecheril, 2019, S. 47). Die Bezeichnungen von Erst-, Zweit-, Drittsprachen und Fremdsprachen sind in diesem Zusammenhang aus mehreren Gesichtspunkten als problematisch zu bezeichnen. Bei bilingual aufwachsenden Kindern könnte man feststellen, dass sie zwei L1 haben. Mehrsprachig aufwachsende Kinder können generell sprachenfluid aufwachsen und permanent zwischen unterschiedlichen Repertoires in ihren Sprachen wechseln. Wie Nodari erörtert, wird traditionsgemäß „zwischen Lernenden des Deutschen als Erstsprache (= Muttersprache), als Zweitsprache und als Fremdsprache unterschieden. Danach richten sich auch die entsprechenden Teilbereiche der Deutschdidaktik aus. Lassen sich die Zielgruppen wirklich so eindeutig definieren, wie die entsprechenden Didaktiken es suggerieren?“ (Nodari, 2009, S. 11). Deutschdidaktik darf m.E. aus schulpädagogischer Sicht nicht als eine Legitimierung zur VerÄnderung (Reuter, 2002) von Schüler*innen instrumentalisiert werden.

Es soll schulisch *eine* Deutschdidaktik gelten, die allen Schüler*innen gerecht werden will. Ist es denn notwendig, bei der Beherrschung von Sprachen eine Rangordnung einzuführen und was soll pädagogisch den mehrsprachigen Schüler*innen damit eigentlich sinnstiftend signalisiert werden? Migrationsgesellschaftliche Mehrsprachigkeitsdidaktik beschäftigt sich „differenzfreundlich und zuschreibungsreflexiv“ (Dirim & Mecheril, 2010, S. 137) mit Sozialisationsbedingungen im schultheoretischen Kontext: Die Kinder kommen von zuhause und sie gehen in die Schule als jenen Raum, der ihnen von Anbeginn (Primarstufe) ein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl vermitteln sollte. Es gibt bei „migrationsbedingter Mehrsprachigkeit“ (Dirim, 2015, S. 25f.) auch kein weiteres Nachfragen darüber, woher die Kinder – gemeint sind eigentlich die Eltern – *wirklich* kommen, weil sie doch auch noch eine andere Sprache sprechen. Erstsprachenunterricht ist auch kein Vehikel, damit Schüler*innen besser Deutsch lernen.

Wie die Resultate der Erhebung zeigen, scheint Mehrsprachigkeit schulpädagogisch oft in direkter Opposition zur Frage des Aneignungsgrads der institutionellen Zielsprache zu stehen. Mehrsprachig zu sein, bedeutet aber in amtlich Deutsch sprechenden Regionen auch nicht, dass Individuen prinzipiell nicht Deutsch sprechen, nur weil es nicht ihre erste Umgangssprache ist. Es gilt schließlich als Aufgabe von (schulischen) Erziehungssystemen in einer Migrationsgesellschaft wie sie in Wien zu finden ist, „Strukturen der Bildung und des Lernens zur Verfügung zu stellen, die es Menschen ermöglicht, deren einzige und erste Sprache nicht Deutsch ist, ein respektables Deutsch zu sprechen“ (Mecheril, 2005, S. 135). Die von Mecheril formulierte Forderung nach ‚respektablen‘ Sprachkenntnissen von

Sprecher*innen ist aus gouvernementaler Sicht bedeutsam: Natürlich gilt die Würde des Menschen als prinzipiell unantastbar, egal ob jemand eine Sprache aus Sicht von jemand anders subjektiv wertend als ‚respektabel‘ oder als ‚nicht respektabel‘ beherrscht.

Pierre Bourdieu spricht sich in seinen Schriften wiederholt für eine „rationale Pädagogik“ aus und ist bemüht zu betonen, dass er „im Gegensatz zu unseren Sozialphilosophen, die immer mit einem Appell an die Pädagogik enden, davon überzeugt [ist], dass man für Bedingungen sorgen muss, die die Voraussetzung für Pädagogik bilden“ (Bourdieu, 1966/2001, S. 16). Bourdieu wendet sich gewissermaßen an die Makro-Ebene des Bildungssystems, das Rahmenbedingungen für Schulen und Kindergärten schafft. Bourdieu befürwortet ausdrücklich eine Pädagogik, die in Bezug auf Ungleichheiten „um all die Unterschiede weiß und die *den Willen hat, diese zu verringern*“ – Unterricht heißt für ihn, bei Schüler*innen nichts als *bekannt* vorauszusetzen, sondern immer so vorzugehen, „als müsse man *allen alles* unterrichten“ (Bourdieu, 1966/2001, S. 24; Herv. i. O.). Diese Form von Unterrichtsgestaltung wendet sich explizit nicht gegen die privilegierten Schüler*innen, die über die notwendigen Kapitalien für den Schulerfolg verfügen: „Es geht nicht darum, die Erben zu enterben, sondern darum, *allen* das zu geben, was einige ererbt haben“ (Bourdieu, 1966/2001, S. 24; Herv. i. O.). Die Lehrer*innenbildung ist in Curricula für Aus- und Weiterbildung dazu angehalten, vermehrt in der Ausbildung auf intersektionale Verbindungslinien (Soziale Klasse – andere L1 als Deutsch) in Pflichtschulsettings einzugehen und den Studierenden pädagogisches Können in der Migrationsgesellschaft zu vermitteln, denn setzt ein Erziehungssystem als normative Rahmung zu erreichende Standards in Bezug auf Sprachkenntnisse in den jeweiligen Schulstufen eines mehrgliedrigen Schulsystems, sind nicht ausschließlich die Schüler*innen in der Bringschuld: Was leistet das Erziehungssystem an Unterstützung und Maßnahmen für Schüler*innen, die von zuhause nicht das kulturelle Kapital mitbringen bzw. mitbekommen, um den Bildungsstandard entsprechend eine respektable Sprachbeherrschung zu entwickeln? Sich als mehrsprachiges Kind eine institutionelle Zielsprache als L2 anzueignen, braucht Zeit und förderliche Bedingungen als Rahmen, die die in der Gesellschaft dafür Verantwortlichen herzustellen haben. Es ist ein Menschenrecht, dass mehrsprachige Kinder auf ihre L1 haben. Dass das (öffentliche) Schulsystem dafür Sorge zu tragen hat, steht außer Frage. Ergebnisse von PISA-Tests führen m.E. nicht zu Handlungskonsequenzen im österreichischen Schulsystem, die als sinnstiftend zu betrachten sind. Es hat wenig Sinn, dem Standardisierungswahn

anheimzufallen. Es stellen sich viel mehr pädagogische Fragen, die sich das Bildungsministerium, die Schulbehörden, die Lehrer*innengewerkschaft und die Universitäten wie Pädagogischen Hochschulen als Ausbildungs- und Weiterbildungsorte unbedingt an einem gemeinsamen Tisch zu stellen haben: Wie erreichen wir außer- und innerschulisch die Lebenswirklichkeiten und Lernerfahrungen der Kinder und Jugendlichen? Wie kann man ungeachtet häuslicher Unterstützung in der Schule lernen, was man für die Schule braucht? (vgl. Hopmann 2024).

Wie realisieren wir im Einwanderungsland Österreich eine Schule, die mehr kann als die Reproduktion bestehender sozialer Klassen?

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DEVELOPING TEACHERS' INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCES THROUGH INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY PROGRAMMES

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Abstract/Izvleček

The main aim of the paper is to explore primary school teachers' attitudes towards the impact of international mobility on their professional and personal development, with a special focus on the ways mobility contributed to the development of their intercultural competences. We present the results of a qualitative study based on semi-structured interviews with teachers (n=10) who have taken part in Erasmus+ mobility abroad. The results of the study show that the experience of mobility proved to be a positive one for all interviewees who reported numerous benefits in terms of professional and personal development of the participants as well as in terms of gaining intercultural competences.

Keywords:

international mobility,
intercultural
competence,
professional
development, primary
school teachers.

Ključne besede:

mednarodna mobilnost,
medkulturna
kompetenca, poklicni
razvoj, osnovnošolski
učitelji

Razvijanje medkulturnih kompetenc učiteljev s pomočjo mednarodnih programov mobilnosti

Glavni namen prispevka je raziskati stališča osnovnošolskih učiteljev do vpliva mednarodnih programov mobilnosti na njihov poklicni in osebni razvoj, še posebej na razvoj njihovih medkulturnih kompetenc. Predstavljamo rezultate kvalitativne študije, ki temelji na polstrukturiranih intervjujih z učitelji (n=10), ki so sodelovali v programu Erasmus+. Rezultati študije kažejo, da se je izkušnja mobilnosti za vse udeležence izkazala kot izrazito pozitivna, poročali so o številnih pozitivnih učinkih na poklicni in osebni razvoj udeležencev ter na njihovo pridobivanje medkulturnih kompetenc.

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Introduction

Professional development of teachers plays a pivotal role in ensuring the quality of education and the overall success of students. It is an ongoing, lifelong process that comprises not only the acquisition of new knowledge and the improvements in one's teaching but even more so the development of one's personality, values, and personal beliefs that help individuals define and understand the world around them (Collinson, 2009; Javornik Krečič, Vršnik Perše., and Ivanuš Grmek, 2015; Korthagen, 2017). In turn, these beliefs, understandings, and subjective theories, i.e. the teacher's internal world, further shape the teacher's professional development (internal factors), alongside formal education and professional training, the evolving educational landscape, informal influences of important others, etc. (external factors) (Makovec Radovan, 2018).

In the multicultural and multilingual educational landscape of today, the teacher's ability to effectively engage with students from varied cultural backgrounds and to create inclusive learning environments where all students feel valued and respected is key. Therefore, there is an urgent need for professional development opportunities that emphasise and develop intercultural competence. Numerous authors (Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey, 2002; Bennett, 2011; Huber and Reynolds, 2014) stress that real changes in attitudes, knowledge and understanding, skills and action that build the complex construct of intercultural competence can only be achieved through personal experience. Teachers must become intercultural learners, capable of analysing their own intercultural experiences and incorporating newly acquired knowledge and skills into their teaching (Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey, 2002). This paper aims to investigate the impact of international mobility programmes on the professional and personal development of primary school teachers, especially their intercultural competences.

Intercultural competence of teachers

Intercultural interactions are an integral part of the majority of educational contexts and teachers play a crucial role in fostering intercultural communication within these contexts. Culturally competent communication enables us to understand and respect people with different cultural affiliations from us, to interact and communicate with these individuals or groups in an appropriate, effective and respectful manner, and to establish positive and constructive relationships with them.

At the same time, it empowers us to understand ourselves and our cultural affiliations through encounters with them (Huber and Reynolds, 2014). This can influence not only the teachers' attitudes towards their students but also the students' attitudes towards their teachers, which, as Žefran (2015) points out, further affects the students' anxiety and achievement levels. For such appropriate interactions in various cultural contexts, one needs a well-developed intercultural competence, which, according to Bennett (2011), is composed of cognitive, affective, and behavioural characteristics and skills. The cognitive aspect of intercultural competence includes awareness and knowledge of one's own and other cultures, general and specific cultural knowledge, and the ability to analyse the influence of one culture on another. The emotional aspect is defined by curiosity, cognitive flexibility, motivation, and open-mindedness, while the behavioural aspect encompasses relationship-building skills, problem-solving, empathy, listening skills, and the ability to consider others' opinions.

Additionally, Huber and Reynolds (2014) emphasise the relationship between intercultural competence and language competence. They explain that language is the most important symbolic system which enables group members to share their cultural perspectives, beliefs and values, therefore, language competence is crucial for understanding cultural perspectives, beliefs and practices to which it is linked. In situations where people with different languages interact, plurilingual competence is especially important. Hence, when developing intercultural competence, we must consider also developing plurilingual competence and communicative awareness as its crucial components.

Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey (2002) define intercultural competence as a complex construct of attitudes, knowledge, and skills, supplemented by an individual's values stemming from one's social identity, formed by belonging to various social groups. At the core of intercultural competence are intercultural attitudes (*savoir être*), which manifest as curiosity and openness towards other cultures, encompassing a readiness to relativize one's own values, beliefs, and behaviours. This implies the ability for an individual to view their own culture through the eyes of someone from another culture, with different values, beliefs, and behaviours. Another significant factor is knowledge (*savoirs*), which includes not only knowledge about a particular culture but primarily an understanding of how social groups and identities function in intercultural interaction. As important as attitudes and knowledge are skills, specifically interpretation and connection skills (*savoir comprendre*) and research and interaction skills (*savoir apprendre/faire*).

These relate to an individual's ability to interpret elements from another culture and link them to elements from their own, as well as the ability to find out new knowledge and link it to the existing one. The fourth key factor is critical cultural awareness (*savoir s'engager*), which refers to an individual's ability to be aware of their own values and how they influence their understanding of others' values. As the authors emphasise, the role of the teacher as an intercultural mediator is multifaceted, involving not only developing knowledge about a particular culture but also fostering skills, attitudes, and awareness of values.

However, to become intercultural mediators, teachers first need to attain intercultural sensitivity and skills themselves. Cushner and Mahon (2009) report on several studies that have been conducted using the Intercultural Development Inventory (Hammer and Bennett, 2003), an instrument for assessing the level of intercultural sensitivity of teachers, which identifies where an individual falls along a continuum from highly ethnocentric to highly ethnorelative. The results of these studies show an unexpected gap between teachers, education students, and the children they are preparing to teach, demonstrating that young learners exhibit greater intercultural sensitivity compared to their teachers. The studies revealed a link between the number of intercultural contacts and relationships, developed for example while attending an international school, and the level of intercultural sensitivity (Cushner and Mahon, 2009). Also Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey (2002) emphasize that teachers are not necessarily the sole or main source of information about another culture as they have not had the opportunity to personally experience the same and as many cultures as their students. Thus, teachers first need to become intercultural learners themselves to be then able to promote all the aspects of intercultural dimension in their teaching.

Developing intercultural competences through mobility

The two components of intercultural competence that are usually in focus in a classroom are knowledge and skills, while the change in attitudes and values tends to happen almost by coincidence (Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey, 2002). However, to achieve the long-term development of interculturality, it is necessary to combine

the affective and the cognitive. This is best done with experiential learning that makes “the strange familiar and the familiar strange” (Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey, 2002, 19) and challenges the learner’s emotions and feelings.

An international exchange or visit can be a holistic learning experience that enables just that. By participating in international mobility programmes, projects and exchanges, one gets the experience of working with people of other professional, cultural and national identities and acquires products and information with an intercultural dimension.

According to the Council of Europe's Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights (Council of Europe, 2010), participation in international professional networks, courses, workshops, and exchanges is part of informal and non-formal intercultural education. With the term informal intercultural education, we label lifelong acquisition of intercultural attitudes through family, peers, neighbours, chance encounters, reading materials, media, etc., while non-formal intercultural education stands for education occurring outside formal education in the form of courses, workshops, exchanges, etc. Byram, Gribkova, and Starkey (2002) stress that teachers should see these as significant in their professional development.

Numerous studies (among others Bracht et al., 2006; Čelebič, 2008; Engel, 2010; Ersoy and Günel, 2011; Lazar, 2012; Horta, Jung, and Santos, 2020; Biasutti et al., 2021) were conducted to analyse the impact of international mobility programmes, predominantly Erasmus+, on the participants' professional development. However, the majority of them focused on tertiary education and consequently reported the main benefits in the area of research, academic knowledge and networking, and less in the area of teaching and teaching practice. Fewer studies that focus on the mobility of teaching staff in pre-primary, primary and secondary education, mostly show that mobility has a positive impact on the participants’ teaching practice and the development of their intercultural competences. A study by Biasutti and her colleagues (2021) analyzed a professional development experience within an international Erasmus + project for primary and secondary teachers, with a focus on intercultural education and showed that by participating in the project, the teachers got the opportunity to work on their pedagogical orientation, examine teaching practices, and develop teaching strategies for intercultural education. Ersoy and Günel (2011) conducted research into pre-service teachers’ cross-cultural experiences and concluded that they had a distinctly positive influence on their professional skills and contributed to their individual development. Findings of the

study also indicated that diverse field experiences contributed to the participants' understanding of the importance of infusing a multicultural approach in their classrooms. The Slovenian National Agency MOVIT has also conducted several studies on the effects of the Erasmus+ Youth in Action program, focusing on the mobility of teaching staff. The results indicate positive effects on gaining new knowledge and skills, which include acquiring teaching methodologies, practical knowledge, and skills for working with target groups, broadening horizons through the establishment of personal and professional networks, and gaining new ideas, inspiration, and motivation for further work. Researchers report that mobility participants have recognized progress in strengthening intercultural dialogue and developing awareness of cultural diversity, and solidarity. Nearly 94% of participants have noticed positive effects on personal development, including better coping with new situations and increased self-awareness. Some did not recognize specific changes, which can be attributed to a longer period of recognition or already well-developed personality traits (Mayr and Bizjak, 2020).

Research aims and methodology

This research aims to determine the impact of international mobility programmes on the professional and personal development of primary school teachers. Specifically, we were interested in how individuals' intercultural competences were developed or reinforced due to their time spent abroad in a multicultural environment, and how teachers' classroom practices changed after participating in the mobility programme.

Therefore, the study focuses on the following research questions:

1. What is the participants' perception of the influence of international mobility experience on their career development?
2. What is the participants' perception of the influence of international mobility experience on their personal development?
3. In what ways did the participants' international mobility contribute to the development of their intercultural and multilingual competences?
4. In what ways did the participants' pedagogical practice change after the experience of international mobility?
5. What is the participants' perception of the advantages and disadvantages of participating in international mobility programmes?

Participants

The participants of this qualitative research are 10 Slovene primary school teachers who have already participated in international mobility within the Erasmus+ programme. They mostly participated in job shadowing programmes, where they worked at local primary schools with local teachers and colleagues from other European countries. Five participants have less than 10 years of work experience, two participants have been teaching for 10 to 20 years, and three of them are experienced teachers with more than 20 years of work experience.

Instruments

The data were collected with a semi-structured interview, which contained 12 open-ended questions on the participants' international mobility experience(s) and the way it influenced different aspects of their lives. Interviews were conducted in May and June 2023 in face-to-face meetings or on ZOOM. They were audio-recorded and later, for the purpose of the analysis, transcripts were made.

Another tool for data collection was "the river of career development" (Javornik Krečič, 2007; Krmac, 2021), which participants created prior to the interview. The river of career development is typically used as a component of a professional autobiography or autoethnography. It is a reflective tool that enables the participants to delve into the past and explore themselves, their professional path, and thereby their culture (Krmac, 2021). The participants were given the guidelines for the creation of the river of career development and were instructed to bring the completed version to the interview. By using this tool, we tried to determine how highly they value the importance of international mobility in their career paths.

Data analysis

The data obtained from the interviews were analysed according to the principles of qualitative data analysis. In data processing, coding units were determined and relevant concepts defined, from which we derived categories that correspond to the areas of participants' professional and personal development after international mobility, their intercultural and multilingual competences, changes in the participants' pedagogical practice, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of participation in international mobility programmes. The results are presented in the form of code charts. We also conducted a descriptive analysis of documents, namely the participants' rivers of career development.

Results and discussion

The influence of international mobility on professional development

The first aim of the research was to determine the participants' perception of the importance of international mobility experience for their professional development. Before the interview, the participants were asked to draw the river of their career development (we can see an example in Figure 1). They were not instructed on what to include, therefore, also international mobility was not mentioned in the instructions. The aim of this activity was to determine whether the participants would identify international mobility as one of the elements that shaped their career path and whether they would see it as a positive or a negative influence for their career development.

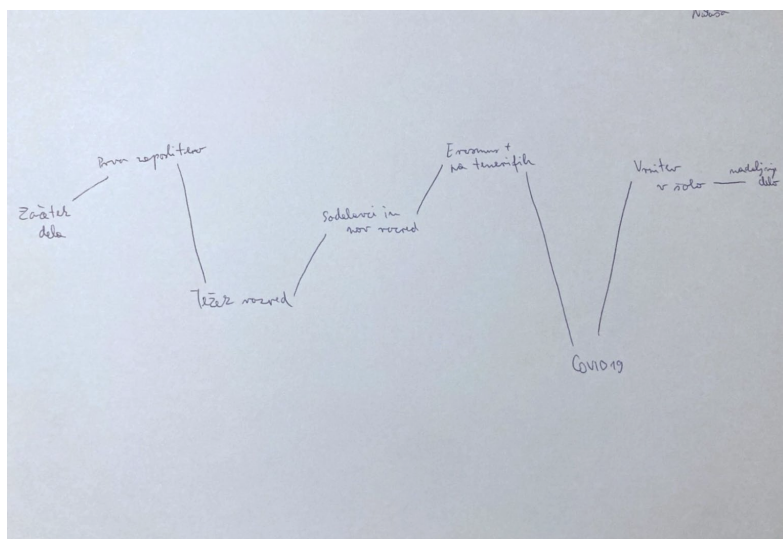


Figure 1: An example of the river of career development

In the representation of the river of career development, we can notice certain pivotal points, appearing across multiple participants. The first two points, which most perceive as the beginning of their career path, are the end of their studies and their first employment. Vertically, these points are positioned somewhere in the middle, indicating that participants perceive this period as fairly neutral. Further, more than half of the participants identified the COVID-19 pandemic as a

significant turning point, in all cases as a more or less negative one. It can be concluded that the period of the pandemic substantially changed their work and caused them considerable stress. Seven out of ten participants included international mobility in their river of career development. All of them marked it as a distinctly positive influence, either as a high peak or with a plus symbol, indicating that, in their opinion, international mobility significantly and positively shaped their professional path. All participants drew the end of their river of career development with an upward curve, indicating satisfaction with the current state and an optimistic outlook for the future. The end of the river curve is located higher than its beginning, which can be understood as a sense of progress in their career.

The participants were also asked about their perception of the effects international mobility had on their professional development. As we can see from Figure 2, the interviewed teachers unanimously reported that they had experienced professional growth as a result of their participation in international mobility programmes. They most frequently mentioned the importance of sharing examples of good practice with their foreign colleagues and getting valuable insights into several aspects of classroom management and work organization, as well as different teaching methods, approaches, and strategies they had not used before. International mobility came as a positive interruption to their work routine, which brought new ideas for a more dynamic pedagogical process and new motivation for their work.

Another result the majority of them emphasized was gaining a broader perspective and a wider view of their work as teachers and their role as colleagues. They also mentioned that the mobility helped them develop intercultural competences, like cultural knowledge of different educational systems, which helped them recognize the strengths and weaknesses of the Slovenian system of education. Participating in a foreign professional environment represented a shift from their comfort zone, which, however, did not frustrate them but gave them motivation for further improvements and professional progress. In the words of one participant: *"Sure, international mobility is a leap out of your comfort zone, but it is when you overcome that that you can feel confident, proud and strong."* Some stated gaining confidence in their professional abilities by comparing their pedagogical practices with those of their colleagues from other European countries. As a result, they reported feeling more self-reliant and ready to share their knowledge with colleagues at home, as well. Finally, they emphasized that participation in international mobility programmes allows for faster promotion in teacher job titles and salary grades. When asked if they would recommend international mobility to their colleagues, the majority responded that it

should become mandatory for all school staff, as it brings numerous positive effects on both professional and personal level. One of the teachers stated: “Personally, I would make education abroad an integral part of our profession so that everyone should go. Because that way you also see what role you play in the world as an educator“.

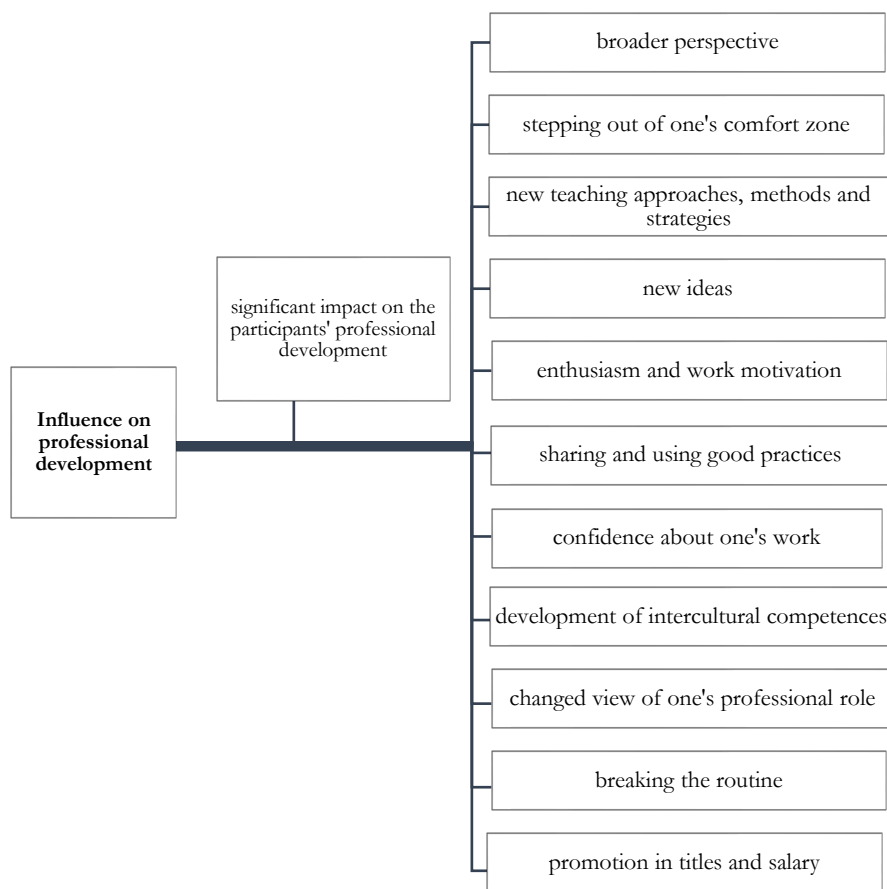


Figure 2: Influence of international mobility on professional development

The results are in line with the findings of Biasutti and her colleagues (2021), as well as those of Ersoy and Günel (2011), showing that international mobility experience can have a significant impact on participants' professional development, especially by improving their work motivation, intercultural competences and the perception of their professional role. International mobility exceeds typical professional training available for teachers at home since it requires a longer commitment during which

the teachers are exposed to stressful experiences and challenges that come with travelling and staying abroad. Therefore, the impact of such educational experience is more powerful, stimulating both internal and external factors of the teacher's professional development (Makovec Radovan, 2018).

The influence of international mobility on personal development

Staying in a new, unfamiliar, culturally diverse environment brings various challenges. According to the participants these have had a positive impact on their personal development (Figure 3). Many of them stated it has bolstered their confidence, giving them courage and motivation for future travels. They mentioned that upon returning from an Erasmus+ project, they felt more relaxed in foreign environments and had a greater desire to explore unfamiliar parts of the world. The exchange reportedly enabled them to deal with and overcome their prejudices, and become more tolerant. Additionally, the participants reported developing organizational and problem-solving skills. In the identified benefits we can recognise numerous affective and behavioural characteristics of intercultural competence, like curiosity, open-mindedness and problem-solving (Bennett, 2011).

Another benefit they mentioned was that due to international mobility, they forged new acquaintances and friendships with colleagues across Europe. This shows that international mobility can be quite effective also as an activity within informal intercultural education (Council of Europe, 2010).

The influence of international mobility on the development of intercultural and multilingual competences

All participants agree that well-developed intercultural competences are highly important for every primary school teacher, as they typically work with culturally and linguistically heterogeneous classes. This requires teachers who are open, tolerant, understanding, and inclusive mentors for all their students. One teacher particularly emphasized the equal treatment of the Roma pupils, who should receive the same attention and opportunities as other students.

The development of higher intercultural competences is influenced by factors such as a positive attitude towards cultural diversity, actively acquiring knowledge about other cultures, developing skills for communication and collaboration in intercultural situations, and reflecting on one's behaviour in intercultural situations (Bešter and Medvešek, 2016). Since international mobility provides teachers with

experiences precisely in the aforementioned situations, we were interested in the participants' perception of their own development of intercultural competences.

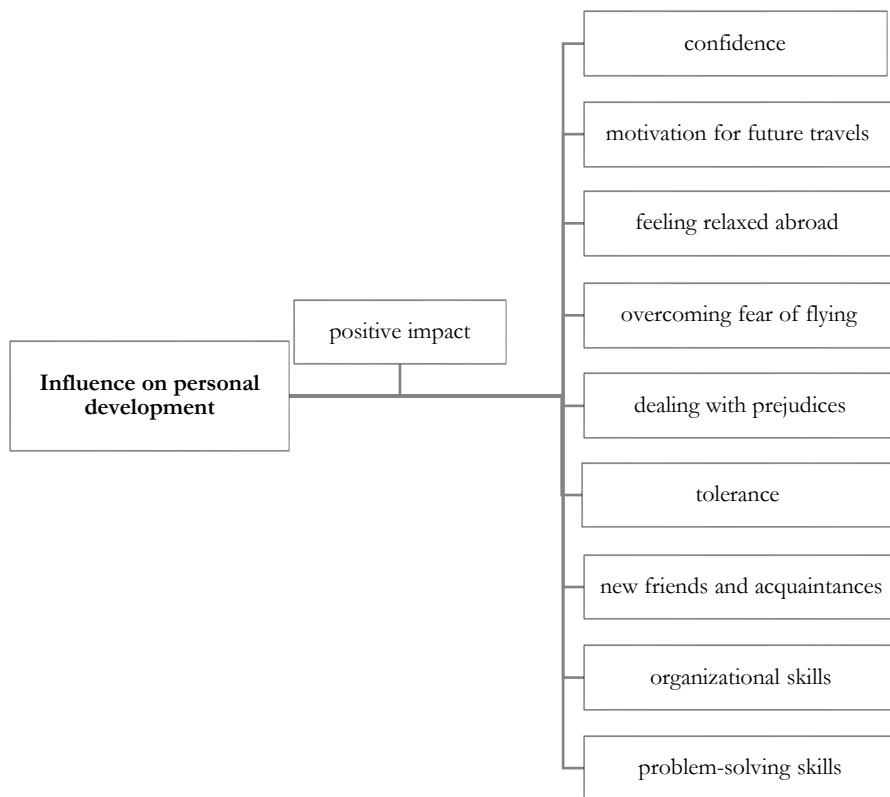


Figure 3: Influence of international mobility on personal development

Five participants stated that the experience of international mobility undoubtedly contributed to the development of their intercultural competences. In the international environment, they experienced a sense of foreignness, which better equipped them to understand and empathize with migrant students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. They also believe that teachers should promote intercultural tolerance and acceptance through their own example. One of the participants stated: *"I think [multiculturalism] is one of the key values, which the teachers nowadays need to pass on to their pupils, and to do that they need to live multiculturalism themselves."* This shows that the participating teachers understand the importance and

value of experiential learning in the development of their own intercultural competences, not only their pupils'. One teacher added that the experience opened up new perspectives on her own work environment and made her more open-minded, tolerant, and receptive to different viewpoints.

The other five teachers did not notice significant development in their intercultural competences, as they believed they were already fairly well developed. They believe that individuals who are already open-minded and aware of intercultural issues, such as themselves, primarily opt for international exchanges. This observation may be attributed to a longer period of recognizing changes or to well-developed personality traits in this area before mobility (Mayr and Bizjak, 2020). However, it must be added that all participants reported gaining knowledge not only about the other culture but also their own, which corresponds to the cognitive aspect of intercultural competence. This might indicate that the teachers who reported no significant development in this area, understand intercultural competence as a set of mainly affective characteristics, rather than a construct where cognitive, affective, and behavioural characteristics and skills intertwine (Bennett, 2011).

Several participants identified fear of using a foreign language as a reason why so many of their colleagues never considered international mobility. In their opinion, it is predominantly older teachers who need additional encouragement while younger ones are less intimidated by communication in a foreign language.

These observations mirror the findings of Čelebič (2008), namely that as the level of foreign language proficiency decreases, the likelihood of participation in student exchanges also decreases, with the lowest participation observed among individuals with the poorest foreign language skills.

Five teachers reported experiencing some initial anxiety related to the use of foreign languages, however, in the course of mobility their self-efficacy beliefs changed and they returned home feeling much more confident about their multilingual competence. Two of them explained that they attended an intense language course to brush up on their English prior to the mobility which helped them overcome their fear of using a foreign language. The newly acquired confidence transferred to other foreign languages, as one of them reported trying to communicate in Spanish with the locals who did not speak English: *"I didn't feel uncomfortable or stressed out because I didn't speak Spanish; using a foreign language presented a challenge and I enjoyed acquiring new knowledge."*

The participants identified English as the lingua franca of international mobility programmes. Despite this, several teachers reported alternating between more

languages as they communicated with their hosts, colleagues from home as well as from other European countries, often in the same context. Four teachers who spent their mobility in Spain relied heavily on their knowledge of Italian, while one teacher took advantage of her mobility in Valencia to further improve her knowledge of Spanish. Two teachers reported using the Croatian language as their international group included also colleagues from neighbouring Croatia. It is safe to say that the responses confirm the interrelatedness of plurilingual competence, communication awareness and intercultural competence and the need to consider the development of plurilingual competence when aiming for the development of intercultural competence as well (Huber and Reynolds, 2014).

The influence of international mobility on pedagogical practice

The majority of respondents asserted that their pedagogical work changed after their training abroad, which, in their opinion, brought numerous positive changes to their classrooms. They all agree that mobility enhanced their enthusiasm for work and brought plenty of fresh ideas. They highlighted different approaches and methods, particularly in the teaching of mathematics, knowledge assessment and classroom management, as well as numerous activities to enhance motivation and collaborative learning, such as collaborative games, brain break activities, open classrooms, positive psychology, fit activities, etc.

One teacher mentioned the use of ICT and various digital apps in teaching, while some participants mentioned the structured integration of movement into all school lessons. Only one of the teachers reported not noticing significant changes in her work, as she had already been teaching in a dynamic way, incorporating cultural elements into her teaching, etc. However, she managed to improve her classroom management skills.

As Čelebić (2008) states, the greatest beneficiaries of staff mobility are the students, who perceive changes in their daily routines. When we asked the teachers how the pupils reacted to the novelties introduced, they all stated that the pupils found the activities interesting and different, they were motivated for learning and generally in a better mood, which positively affected the classroom atmosphere. However, most participants emphasized that while they could directly transfer some of these activities into their classrooms, quite a few required modifications or adaptations to the Slovenian context. Some participants also reported sharing the acquired novelties, ideas, and experiences in the form of presentations with their colleagues, thus benefiting the entire school. The benefit extends to the national and global

levels, as Lazar (2012) emphasizes that the mobility of educational staff at the global level contributes to the improvement of international involvement of educational institutions.

The advantages and disadvantages of participating in international mobility programmes

We asked the participants also about the advantages and disadvantages of international mobility programmes (Figure 4). They all agreed that there were many more advantages and positive effects than disadvantages, with approximately half stating that they did not notice any drawbacks at all. Among the advantages, the most frequently mentioned were opportunities for professional development, increased work motivation, the exchange of good practices among educators in Europe, forming new friendships and acquaintances, and broadening horizons. The most positive outcome of mobility for most of the respondents was the confidence and sense of self-assurance they gained on professional and personal level. As one respondent explained: *"Primarily, I would emphasize the professional breadth you gain when you learn about good practices abroad and become aware of the good or even better work at home."* Some highlighted also the opportunity for developing intercultural competences and improving foreign language skills. Teachers who renewed their English language skills after many years felt grateful for this opportunity.

One teacher pointed out the advantage of obtaining European funds through the programme, as professional trainings can otherwise be quite costly. On the other hand, another teacher asserted that the amount of funds obtained is too low and does not cover all living expenses, which she sees as a problem.

The main disadvantage mentioned was the bureaucracy and administrative work required by the international mobility projects. The participants complained about the complex administrative procedures related to applications and reporting, as well as the large amount of paperwork they had to fill out before and after going abroad. In addition to the project application, teachers have to plan substitutes for the period when they will be absent, which one teacher pointed out as a significant burden.

Organizing travel and accommodation abroad also posed challenges for teachers before departure, as the participants in mobility are responsible for renting and booking accommodation, purchasing plane tickets, organizing tourist activities, etc. The participants stated that travelling in pairs made the experience easier for them and added that more of their colleagues would opt for international mobility if they had the opportunity to travel in pairs or small groups.



Figure 4: Advantages and disadvantages of participating in international mobility programmes

Conclusion

Intercultural competence encompasses a blend of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and beliefs, the formation of which is a complex and continuing process that is shaped in formal as well as informal educational contexts. The purpose of this paper was to ascertain to what extent and in what ways international mobility of teachers influences the development of their intercultural competence and their overall professional and personal development.

The data analysed show that the participants recognized international exchanges as rich educational contexts that offer valuable learning opportunities as well as opportunities for their professional and personal growth, with intercultural competence as one of its key components. What is more, the majority of them see

international mobility as a highlight in their professional life. As Baloh and Bratož (2019) emphasize, the present-day curricula are commonly productivity and goal-oriented, which leaves very little room for the informal and non-formal acquisition of intercultural competence. This is why it is crucial to recognize the potential of intercultural mobility programmes for the development of intercultural competences of teachers, as well as their professional and personal growth in general.

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FOSTERING INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AT TERTIARY LEVEL: A CASE STUDY WITH STUDENTS OF HUMANITIES

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Abstract/Izveček

Intercultural education fosters respect, understanding, and solidarity, empowering individuals to become social agents in today's culturally diverse world. The paper presents a 10-week case study involving 24 students enrolled in humanities disciplines. It explored students' views on intercultural education, their progress in attitudes, knowledge, and skills related to intercultural competence, and effective instructional modes for intercultural education. Data collected using a questionnaire reveal that students value intercultural education for fostering understanding, appreciation of cultures, and intercultural dialogue. Effective instructional modes include active teaching methods. Challenges in overcoming well-established beliefs and a limited willingness to acquire new knowledge suggest that developing intercultural competence also depends on factors beyond education.

Keywords:

instructional modes,
intercultural
competence,
intercultural education,
English, tertiary
education.

Ključne besede:

učne strategije,
medkulturna zmožnost,
medkulturna vzgoja in
izobraževanje,
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Medkulturne vzgoje in izobraževanja na terciarni ravni: študija primera s študenti humanističnih ved

Medkulturna vzgoja in izobraževanje spodbujata razvoj spoštovanja, razumevanja in solidarnosti ter posameznike opolnomočata, da postanejo pomembni družbeni akterji v današnjem kulturno raznolikem svetu. V prispevku je predstavljena študija primera, v kateri je sodelovalo 24 študentov humanističnih ved in je trajala 10 tednov. Raziskovali smo stališča študentov do medkulturnega izobraževanja, njihov napredek v stališčih, znanju in spretnostih, povezanih z medkulturno zmožnostjo, ter učne strategije, učinkovite za poučevanje medkulturnosti. Podatki, zbrani z vprašalnikom, razkrivajo, da študentje cenijo medkulturno izobraževanje, saj spodbuja razumevanje in spoštovanje kultur ter razvoj medkulturnega dialoga. Učinkoviti načini poučevanja vključujejo aktivne učne strategije. Izzivi pri premagovanju ustaljenih prepričanj in omejena pripravljenost za pridobivanje novega znanja nakazujejo, da razvoj medkulturnih zmožnosti zavisi tudi od dejavnikov zunaj izobraževanja.

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Introduction

Intercultural education fosters respect, understanding, and solidarity among ethnically, socially, culturally, and religiously diverse groups (UNESCO, 2006). It promotes empathy, prevents stereotypes (Dervin & Jacobsson, 2021a, 2021b; Stan, 2020; Welikala, 2021), encourages openness to new cultural experiences, and enhances the ability for further language acquisition (Council of Europe, 2001a, p. 43). Additionally, it equips individuals with the skills and knowledge to experience, understand, analyse, and benefit from cultural diversity, thus developing interculturally competent individuals (Banks, 2015), a necessity in today's multilingual and multicultural world (Council of Europe, 2001a, 2018a, 2020; Tibaut & Lipavic Oštir, 2021). Moreover, it enables individuals to establish cognitive and affective links between past and new experiences of otherness, mediate between members of two (or more) social groups and their cultures, and critically question the assumptions of their cultural group and environment (Council of Europe, 2020). Yet intercultural competence is not a standalone skill but a broad spectrum of abilities that, when combined, enable actions to address issues and strive to create and maintain a positive and inclusive intercultural environment (Council of Europe, 2023). Possessing a well-developed intercultural competence transforms individuals into social agents (Council of Europe, 2001a, p. 168) able to identify potential sources of ambiguity and misunderstanding and find ways to resolve them (Beacco et al., 2016). This is why a well-developed intercultural competence is a crucial and desired educational outcome (Strasser & Reissner, 2022), compelling teachers to integrate intercultural elements into their educational practices (Beacco et al., 2016; Obilișteanu & Niculescu, 2018).

Tertiary education institutions have the potential to serve as hubs for fostering intercultural dialogue, embodying universality through their commitment to open-mindedness and enlightenment values; they possess the capacity to nurture intercultural intellectuals who can actively contribute to society (Council of Europe, 2008). The internationalization and merging of universities into larger alliances offer opportunities to foster intercultural dialogue across all educational activities and to address it through scholarly research (Strasser & Reissner, 2022).

Our study was motivated by a desire to examine whether the postulates presented in European Union language policies and their corresponding documents on intercultural education (Council of Europe, 2001a, 2008, 2018b, 2020, 2023; Unesco, 2006) resonate when practically applied in everyday tertiary educational settings.

Therefore, the primary objective was to examine university students' views on intercultural education. Further, the study aimed to assess students' self-reported progress in a selected set of skills, knowledge, and attitudes related to intercultural competence. Finally, we investigated the efficacy of different instructional modes for delivering intercultural education. Overall, the importance and relevance of this study lie in its potential to promote intercultural education at the tertiary level, which aligns with the goals set by leading European institutions (Council of Europe, UNESCO) that underscore the importance of fostering cultural awareness, empathy, tolerance, and an appreciation of cultural diversity, helping learners develop a sense of belonging in multicultural societies.

Intercultural education and foreign language teaching

Contemporary language educational paradigms rely on social constructivism, neuro- and psycholinguistics, viewing learners as active, motivated, and responsible co-creators of the educational setting with unique abilities, and cultural characteristics, able to use their previous experiences to influence their future acquisition of knowledge (Petrenko et al., 2020, p. 299). Educators seeking to utilize all learners' potential strategically plan educational process by incorporating interactive instructional modes and integrating languages across the curriculum (Lemut Bajec, 2022). This approach includes culturally responsive teaching (Pižorn et. al., 2022), experiential learning, heuristic approaches, and critical dialogue (Čok, 2008), fostering independent and creative thinking. By incorporating critical and comparison pedagogy (Yue & Ning, 2015), educators cultivate students' curiosity and openness to other cultures, develop sensitivity to social norms and beliefs (Obilișteanu & Niculescu, 2018), and foster understanding and appreciation of diverse values, mentalities, and facets of life (Eržen et al., 2008).

First acknowledged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (Unesco, 2006), the concept of intercultural education has since significantly influenced language teaching methodologies (Strasser & Reissner, 2022) and reinforced the emergence of several framework documents that could be of help to educators when preparing materials on intercultural education.

Notable examples include the *European language portfolio* (ELP) (Council of Europe, 2001b), *Guidelines on intercultural education* (Unesco, 2006), *White paper on intercultural dialogue* (Council of Europe, 2008), *Autobiography of intercultural encounters* (Barret et al., 2009), *Intercultural competence for all: Preparation for living in a heterogeneous world* (Huber,

2012), *Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education* (Beacco et al., 2016), *The common European framework of reference for languages (CEFR)* (Council of Europe, 2001a, 2020), *Framework for intercomprehension* (Strasser & Reissner, 2022) and *Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures (FREPA)* (Candelier, 2013). These documents were used as reference and resource materials for the present study. For example, the questionnaire was developed using *FREPA* (Candelier, 2013) descriptors related to skills, knowledge, and attitudes of the intercultural competence, while the materials that the students used were compiled according to guidelines on how to foster intercultural education. The discussion section of this paper will further seek to justify the results by drawing upon these foundational documents.

Methodology

Research focus

The objectives of the study were to explore students' views on intercultural education, identify the most effective instructional modes in intercultural education, and assess students' self-reported progress in a selected set of skills, knowledge, and attitudes related to intercultural competencies.

To achieve this, the following research questions and a hypothesis were established:

RQ1: How do students perceive intercultural education?

RQ2: Which instructional modes do students perceive as most effective in intercultural education?

H1: Pre- and post-intervention results show a statistically significant improvement in the selected descriptors related to the skills, knowledge, and attitudes of the intercultural competence.

Participants

The study involved a group of 24 students, selected conveniently, enrolled in the undergraduate programme Intercultural Linguistic Mediation. The group was culturally and linguistically heterogeneous, consisting of Slovenians, Serbs, Macedonians, Poles, Ukrainians, Italians, and Montenegrins, with most possessing a C1 level of English proficiency. All participants were females except for one male student. Nineteen students (80%) were aged between 19 and 21, and 5 students (21%) were between 22 and 25. The language of instruction was English. Factors,

such as prior experience with the English language, exchanges, linguistic backgrounds, study-abroad experiences, and gender were considered irrelevant, treating the participants as a unified group.

Intervention

The intervention lasted ten weeks, starting mid-February and finishing in late April. It was held twice a week, consisting of four 45-minute sessions. The overarching objective of the intervention was to foster intercultural competence, thereby promoting a more inclusive and tolerant perspective among students in navigating cultural diversity. The materials, compiled by the language educational expert, were obtained from the World Wide Web following postulates presented in the overarching European documents on intercultural education. These materials were authentic and written in English, although the authors came from diverse backgrounds.

The topics were explored through reading and discussing research papers and other written materials, watching clips or parts of documentaries, and listening to podcasts. Home assignments were diverse: ranging from analysing research papers, charts, and graphs to discussing video clips, preparing seminar papers, and delivering oral presentations to writing essays where students reflected on their own experiences, thoughts, and feelings. Each task was designed to promote holistic and comprehensive learning aligned with the objective of the intervention.

The topics included: the significance of norms, folkways, taboos, and values in shaping cultural identities, cultural practices, beliefs, and societal behaviours; cultural diversity; Americanization and the emergence of a global culture; the role of culture and language in fostering prejudice, stereotypes, and other forms of intolerance.

The study explored intercultural competence through various instructional modes, including lectures, discussions, debates, brainstorming sessions, case-based, problem-solving, and research projects.

We hosted guest speakers, utilized interactive multimedia, and facilitated self-reflection through metacognitive activities.

Type of research and research methods

To get an in-depth examination and understanding of the studied situation we opted for a case study, which is an empirical study that combines qualitative and quantitative paradigms (Sandars, 2021). Our study employed descriptive, causal, and

experimental methods to ensure the validity, reliability, objectivity, applicability, and overall quality of the research activities.

Research instruments and data collection techniques

To collect the qualitative and the quantitative data, we used a questionnaire. The pre-intervention questionnaire focused solely on the hypothesis. It investigated the selected descriptors pertaining to skills, knowledge, and attitudes among participating students. In the post-intervention phase, two additional questions were included to align with the research questions (Appendix 1). Overall, it is important to emphasize that all student responses were self-reported, and therefore subjective. First, drawing upon the FREPA document (Candelier, 2013), we designed an online questionnaire in an open-source application 1KA. Due to the extensiveness of the FREPA descriptors, the language educational expert decided to investigate only those assumed to be the least developed among students and most challenging for them. This decision was based on the language educational expert's experience and familiarity with the classroom settings, influenced by the specifics of the study program and its participants.

The statements followed a 5-point attitudes scale and a 5-point rating scale. Five statements examined participants' critical questioning approach and their views on language and culture. Three statements focused on the students' willingness to suspend judgement, and another two assessed their willingness to construct informed knowledge. Next, 18 statements focused on skills, gauging students' abilities to analyse (3 statements), recognize (3 statements), compare (2 statements), and explain various linguistic and cultural elements and phenomena (2 statements) and their capacity to argue about cultural diversity (2 statements) and monitor their learning (4 statements). Lastly, two statements examined students' knowledge about various cultures and four statements explored the role of culture in intercultural relations.

The two added questions in the post-intervention phase aimed to investigate students' perceptions of intercultural education and their views on the effectiveness of instructional modes in delivering intercultural education. The former question was open-ended, whereas the latter provided students with a list of ten instructional modes. They were asked to select five they considered most effective based on their personal experiences. To ensure students were familiar with each method, these instructional modes were incorporated within the intervention process whenever applicable.

Data collection process and data processing

The questionnaire was filled out twice: in February 2023, before the beginning of the intervention, and in April 2023, at the end of the intervention. Qualitative and quantitative data were processed in different ways, depending on their characteristics, requirements, and regularities.

Qualitative data, aimed at exploring students' perceptions of intercultural education and its impact on their personal development, were analysed by applying coding, which is a qualitative analysis involving the systemic categorisation of units based on the qualitative material under scrutiny (Kordeš & Smrdu, 2015, p. 53). The entire dataset was carefully examined and first segmented into individual lower-order categories, which were later organised into broader higher-order categories (Vogrinc, 2008). The resulting categories included: importance, respect, appreciation, lack of knowledge, and shift in views, totalling five categories.

The quantitative data analysis helped us identify the instructional modes and revealed significant differences among the selected descriptors among participating students, as evidenced by pre- and post-intervention assessment results. The quantitative data were processed at descriptive and inferential levels, involving bivariate and multivariate statistical analyses.

To ensure objectivity, the questionnaire included clear assessment scales. At the time of collecting the data, objectivity was additionally assured with non-guided data collection. The reliability of the questionnaire pertaining to the selected descriptors was assessed using the internal consistency method by calculating the Cronbach's α coefficient for each construct separately before and after the intervention. We aimed for at least moderate ($0.60 \leq \alpha \leq 0.80$), or even better, exemplary reliability ($\alpha \geq 0.80$) (Ferligoj et al., 1995, p. 159). Overall, the Cronbach α coefficient values for each construct demonstrated a high reliability of the questionnaire.

Construct validity was assessed using principal component analysis, with the conditions for its use verified beforehand. Factoriability, the most important condition, was checked using the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test of sampling adequacy and the Bartlett test of sphericity. Since the KMO measure was at least mediocre everywhere (0.5 or above) and the Bartlett test results were statistically significant ($p < 0.05$ before and after), we proceeded with the principal component analysis. We then looked at the screen plot diagrams for the individual constructs. Based on these diagrams and their points of inflexion, we adjusted the constructs where necessary so that they now indicate one prominent component in all cases, thus confirming the assumption that the constructs have a single dimension. The

basic criterion for validity testing was if the eigenvalues of factors were greater than 1, representing a substantial amount of variation. Finally, we examined the component matrix, which displays the component loadings, indicating the influence of the total components on how the individual variables correlate with the components. Based on internal consistency and validity analyses, we decided to remove some statements from the calculations to obtain reliable and homogeneous categories. Consequently, three categories with 11 constructs were created (Table 1).

Table 1: Overview of categories

Category	Construct	No. of statements in a construct
Attitudes	An attitude of critical questioning towards language/culture	5
	The will to construct “informed” knowledge	2
	The will to suspend one’s judgement	3
Skills	Can analyse linguistic and cultural elements	3
	Can recognise cultural phenomena in languages and cultures	3
	Can compare cultural features of different cultures	2
	Can explain aspects of one’s own language and culture	2
	Can monitor one’s learning	4
	Can holistically talk about cultural diversity	2
	Possesses knowledge about cultures	2
Knowledge	Knows the role of culture in intercultural relations	4

In the next step, we tested the statistical significance of the differences between the constructs (sum of variables) before and after the intervention. For each pair, we first created a new variable (from the difference between before and after) and checked the normality of its distribution using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. In seven cases, normality was confirmed ($p > 0.05$). Here, we performed a t-test for the two dependent samples (Tables 3 and 5). In four cases, normality was not confirmed ($p < 0.05$) or was borderline. Here, we performed a non-parametric Wilcoxon signed ranks test for the two dependent samples (Tables 2, 4, and 6).

Results

Knowledge

In the category of knowledge (Table 2), the construct ‘Knows the role of culture in intercultural relations’ shows statistically significant differences ($p = 0.001$) following the intervention. This suggests that students have developed an understanding of the stereotypes that other cultures hold about their own culture, and familiarity with

the origins of cultural stereotypes. Based on the acquired knowledge they now recognize that cultures influence particular ways in which each language expresses the world and are aware of some cultural elements that they have borrowed from others, along with the history of these elements.

Conversely, the construct 'Knowledge about cultures' ($p = 0.051$) did not exhibit statistically significant differences. Based on self-reported statements, this result indicates that students may not have acquired a substantial knowledge of cultural norms that encompass taboos and the arbitrary nature of certain social practices within each culture.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics and construct differences in the knowledge category (Wilcoxon signed ranks test)

Construct	M	N	σ	z-value	P
Knowledge about cultures_before	7.42	24	1.586	-1.915	0.056
Knowledge about cultures_after	8.42	24	1.316		
Knows the role of culture in intercultural relations_before	14.42	24	3.538	-3.441	0.001
Knows the role of culture in intercultural relations_after	17.33	24	1.880		

Skills

In the category of skills, all six constructs show statistically significant results ($p < 0.05$) after the intervention (Table 3). This suggests that participants have developed the ability to critically analyse misunderstandings arising from cultural differences. They can identify the cultural origins of certain behaviours and explain specific social phenomena as consequences of cultural differences. Students also reported an increased capability to recognise cultural prejudice and identify behaviours linked to cultural differences. They are aware of the risks of misunderstanding that stem from differences between cultures. Additionally, they can compare differences and similarities in various aspects of social life and cultural practices. Furthermore, they feel confident explaining the features of their own culture to foreigners and engaging in discussions about cultural prejudices. They can also adopt a critical perspective on their learning, employ diverse strategies to enhance their learning experience, identify their learning objectives, and critically reflect on their learning process.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics and construct differences in the skills category (T-test)

Construct	M	N	σ	t-value	P
Can analyse linguistic/cultural elements_before	10.67	24	2.408	-3.711	0.001
Can analyse linguistic/cultural elements_after	12.38	24	1.884		
Can recognise linguistic and cultural phenomena_before	11.96	24	2.236	-3.391	0.003
Can recognise linguistic and cultural phenomena_after	13.29	24	2.136		
Can compare cultural features_before	8.00	24	1.504	-2.502	0.020
Can compare cultural features_after	8.96	24	1.459		
Can argue about cultural diversity_before	7.21	24	1.587	-4.394	0.000
Can argue about cultural diversity_after	8.75	24	1.152		
Can monitor one's learning_before	16.29	24	3.483	-3.397	0.002
Can monitor one's learning_after	18.04	24	2.404		

Table 4: Descriptive statistics and construct differences in the skills category (Wilcoxon signed ranks test)

Construct	M	N	σ	z-value	P
Can explain aspects of one's own language and culture_before	7.92	24	1.742	-2.864	0.004
Can explain aspects of one's own language and culture_after	8.96	24	1.334		

Attitudes

Within the attitudes category, only one construct, i.e. 'An attitude of critical questioning towards language/culture' ($p < 0.05$), demonstrated statistically significant differences (Table 5). Based on students' self-reports, this finding suggests that the intervention had a meaningful impact on fostering an attitude of critical questioning towards languages and cultures. After completing the intervention, participants reported maintaining a critical attitude toward media representations and opinions concerning their own and other communities. They also developed attitudes that urge them to take a critical stance when assessing the values and norms of others and recognizing language as a tool for manipulation. Furthermore, participants demonstrated a critical attitude towards the socio-political aspects linked to the functions and statuses of languages.

On the other hand, the construct 'The will to suspend one's judgement' falls short of the commonly accepted threshold for statistical significance ($p < 0.05$) (Table 5), possibly suggesting that the intervention may not have significantly influenced participants' attitudes towards avoiding generalizations. Additionally, the construct 'the will to construct informed knowledge' is not statistically confirmed ($p < 0.05$) (Table 6), indicating no substantial changes in their attitudes to critically examine

their language, address their negative reactions towards cultural or linguistic differences or dispel prejudices concerning the languages of migrant learners.

Table 5: Descriptive statistics and construct differences in the attitudes category (T-test)

Construct	M	N	σ	t-value	P
An attitude of critical questioning towards language/culture_before	18.50	24	3.502	-3.498	0.002
An attitude of critical questioning towards language/culture_after	21	24	3.203		
The will to suspend one's judgement_before	12.46	24	2.245	-2.061	0.051
The will to suspend one's judgement_after	13.46	24	1.503		

Table 6: Descriptive statistics and construct differences in the attitudes category (Wilcoxon signed ranks test)

Construct	M	N	σ	z-value	P
The will to construct informed knowledge_before	8.25	24	2.245	-1.170	0.242
The will to construct informed knowledge_after	8.67	24	1.503		

Students' perceptions of intercultural education

Students' perceptions of intercultural education were grouped into four categories: importance, respect, appreciation, lack of knowledge, and shift in views.

Most of the students talked about recognising the importance of intercultural education. They stressed that "Now I see that intercultural education is of vital importance in today's culturally and linguistically intertwined world" as "knowing about different cultures forces us to accept the differences we come across when meeting different people, their habits and beliefs" and "it's important so that we can avoid forming prejudices". One student emphasized that "it taught me that there is more to culture than I had previously learned in primary and high school. It made me realise just how important culture is". They claimed that the topics "helped me become a better critical thinker", and "made me formulate my own opinion which might have been different from my schoolmates".

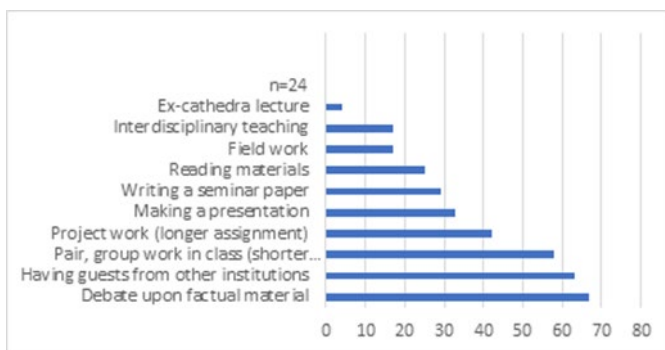
Four students expressed the appreciation and respect they developed as they immersed themselves in intercultural topics. They said: "I feel obliged to take care of preserving my own culture, but I also strongly feel we should treat others the way we want to be treated ourselves". And "We need to appreciate and respect not only our own culture but other cultures too" and "I feel we should embrace who we are." As well as "The fact that some cultures have it worse makes me appreciate having everything that I have."

Four students pointed out that the intervention made them realize they possess "many blanks in my knowledge". Another student emphasized that "it gave me a

push to think about cultures on a deeper level and to learn about them. It also made me more curious and more eager to learn about cultures” and “I gained more knowledge about the influence that culture can have on our society and individual identity”. Some students admitted that they “changed their views on some important cultural topics due to the knowledge we gained”. They said they became “more tolerant, empathetic, sensitive and willing to adapt”, “the topics we discussed gave me a much broader view of life”; “I see the influence that stereotypes have on our thinking and try to consciously avoid”. Moreover, a few discussed “the shift in views, which was more intense because of the culturally and linguistically diverse group”, further explaining that “this enabled hearing different perspectives and learning about other cultures firsthand” and “having classmates from other nations and cultures really made me see the bigger picture” and “forced me to acknowledge the cultural differences”. One student said: “I previously paid very little attention to different aspects of my own culture, but now, I really had to”, which was “important and necessary as we come from different cultures and saw how that affects our perception of things and we learned how to navigate through communication”.

Students’ perceptions of instructional modes

Lastly, we were interested in students’ perceptions regarding the most effective ways of delivering intercultural education (Graph 1). The results suggest that students think that *debating upon factual material* is the most effective way, followed by *having guests from other institutions* (63%) and *pair/group work in class* (58%). The least effective instructional mode, according to students’ answers, was *ex-cathedra lecture* (4%). However, the fact that *interdisciplinary teaching* (17%) and *fieldwork* (17%) were rated so low raises questions if the students have limited or negative experience with the two.



Graph 1: Most effective ways of delivering intercultural education

Discussion

In light of the results, it appears that intercultural education resonated with students, as evidenced by the awareness of how cultures highly affect people's lives, influence language and shape, and even determine, our understanding of everyday dynamics. This outcome leads us to presuppose that the intervention employed a holistic approach to intercultural education, consistent with guidelines on careful curriculum planning that addresses various aspects of education, including aims, content, approaches, activities, materials, resources, etc., thus ensuring overall coherence and responsiveness to learners' needs (Baecco et al., 2016; Council of Europe, 2016). Additionally, it aligns with Lemut Bajec (2020) who stresses that intercultural education is most effective when integrated across all disciplines, enabling a deeper, more comprehensive understanding of its numerous nuances.

In particular, it can be concluded that the topics discussed within the intervention importantly enhanced students' understanding of intercultural dialogue's value in establishing an inclusive society. This was evidenced by the students' self-reports regarding their abilities to explain their own culture, discuss cultural prejudices and stereotypes. This aligns with postulates presented in the *White paper on intercultural dialogue* (2008), which regard intercultural dialogue as crucial in combating prejudice and stereotypes, preventing marginalization, and fostering integration and social cohesion. The findings are also consistent with research conducted by Lemut Bajec (2022) among upper-secondary students, which underscores the development of a multicultural identity through fostering intercultural dialogue and developing recognition and appreciation of the specifics of one's own and other cultures.

Furthermore, drawing from the results, the intervention substantially improved students' skills. Their self-reports demonstrated enhanced abilities in critically analysing culturally-driven misunderstandings and explaining the impact of cultural diversity on social situations. This outcome underscores the vital role of intercultural education in strengthening an individual's cultural identity and fostering a deeper understanding and appreciation of others in a world marked by constant exposure to diverse cultures (Leo, 2010; Pižorn et al., 2022).

The findings also suggest that students developed a critical approach to learning, enabling them to recognize various strategies to improve their educational experience, set learning goals, and reflect on their learning process. This is consistent with several studies conducted among tertiary students (Gonzales Rodriguez & Puyal, 2012; Spies, 2012; Zhyrun, 2016) which show that learners link interactive

teaching strategies (e.g., teaching intercultural competence through literary texts, creative tasks, reflective essays, multimodal text analysis, project work assignments, problem-based tasks) with a heightened understanding of the world around them, thereby meeting the goals of intercultural education, which aims to prepare learners for participatory citizenship and educates them in understanding and appreciating diversity (Beacco et al., 2016; Tibaut & Lipavic Oštir, 2021).

On the other hand, despite the carefully designed intervention, it is evident that some students struggled to understand, potentially even declined to inform themselves about the reasons behind certain social practices observed in cultures, insisting on their opinions and judgements.

This observation highlights the notion that cultures are complex and challenging to fully comprehend. While visible aspects like language, art, attire, and cuisine are easy to notice, there is a substantial subconscious realm encompassing deeply ingrained concepts resistant to change (Huber, 2012). Additionally, as underscored by Jokikokko (2021) there might be institutional racism, discrimination, lack of intercultural competence among students and staff, as well as difficulties in acknowledging intercultural perspectives in curricula and pedagogy. These factors impede the development of truly equitable intercultural education, preventing the formation of learning communities where interculturalism is the norm.

Conclusion

Intercultural education is essential in today's culturally and linguistically diverse world (Bratož et al., 2022). It aims to develop individuals who are interculturally competent, capable of understanding and navigating cultural diversity. The study involving a group of tertiary-level students highlighted the benefits of intercultural education, promoting a critical approach to learning about and understanding the role of culture in intercultural relations. It positively influenced students' attitudes and skills regarding intercultural competence. Overall, it appears that intercultural education importantly resonated with students' lives. The study also highlighted the importance of instructional modes, forcing educators to carefully consider ways of delivering intercultural topics.

However, despite a carefully prepared and executed intervention, the will to construct informed knowledge, withhold judgement, and understand specific cultural norms and practices remains limited. This finding underscores the importance of recognizing the limitations of the education system and calls for the

understanding that educational interventions must be part of larger efforts to achieve lasting progress. The main limitation of this study is its non-representative sample. Nonetheless, the study could serve as a valuable pilot study and starting point for future research with a larger cohort or for monitoring students' progress in a selected set of skills, attitudes, and knowledge of intercultural competence over their academic years. Additionally, a future study involving a culturally and linguistically homogenous group could provide comparative results, or one involving students from other disciplines.

Lastly, adopting a cross-curricular approach through an integrative curriculum offers another opportunity to explore the development of intercultural competencies at the tertiary level.

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Appendix 1: A QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

Dear student!

You are kindly asked to fill out the questionnaire as sincerely and comprehensively as possible. The questionnaire checks if any significant changes have happened in the level of your intercultural knowledge, skills, and competences. Participation in the study is voluntary. All responses are anonymous. They will be used for research purposes only. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

*This questionnaire was formed with the help of the document *Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures* (FREPA) (Candelier, 2013).

Age:

Gender:

Nationality:

Study programme:

1. **Read the following statements and indicate the number that best relates to you.**

- 1 – I have no knowledge at all of the mentioned topic.
- 2 – I have insufficient knowledge to answer that statement correctly.
- 3 – I feel it's true but cannot provide evidence.
- 4 – I know it's true but would struggle to provide evidence.
- 5 – I know it's true and can easily provide evidence for the statement.

- I feel that I can take a critical distance from information and opinions produced by media about my own community.
- I feel that I can take a critical distance from information and opinions produced by media about other communities
- I feel that I can take a critical attitude to the values and norms of others.
- I feel that I have a critical attitude to the use of language as an instrument of manipulation.
- I feel that I have a critical attitude in respect of the socio-political aspects linked to the functions and statuses of languages.

Please indicate the extent to which the following statements are true. Consider the following scale of measurement:

1 - not true at all; 2 - not true; 3 - neither true nor false; 4 - mostly true; 5 - completely true

- I'm willing to take complexity into account.
- I'm willing to avoid generalisations
- I'm inclined to look at my own language from the outside.
- I'm attentive to my own negative reactions towards cultural or linguistic differences {fears, contempt, disgust, superiority ...}.
- I am ready to discard my prejudices about the languages of migrant learners.
- I'm familiar with the stereotypes other cultures have about my own culture.
- I'm familiar with the origin of cultural stereotypes.
- Culture influences particular ways in which each language expresses the world.
- I'm familiar with some cultural elements which we have borrowed from others, as well as the history of these elements.

3. **Please indicate the extent to which the following statements are true.** Consider the following scale of measurement:

1 - not true at all; 2 - not true; 3 - neither true nor false; 4 - mostly true; 5 - completely true

- I can recognise cultural prejudice.
- I can recognise specific forms of behaviour linked to cultural differences.
- I can recognise the risks of misunderstanding due to differences between communicative cultures.
- I can analyse misunderstandings due to cultural differences.
- I can analyse the cultural origins of certain behaviours.
- I can analyse specific social phenomena as being the consequence of cultural differences.
- I can perceive differences or similarities in different aspects of social life {living conditions, working life, participation in activities of charities, respect for the environment ...}.

- I can compare different cultural practices.
 - I can explain to foreigners certain features of my own culture.
 - I can talk about cultural prejudices.
4. **Please indicate the extent to which the following statements are true.** Consider the following scale of measurement:
1 - not true at all; 2 - not true; 3 - neither true nor false; 4 - mostly true; 5 - completely true.
- I can take a critical stance towards my own learning.
 - I can use different strategies to enhance my learning.
 - I can identify my own learning objectives.
 - I can critically observe my own learning process.
 - I have sufficient knowledge about cultural diversity {advantages, disadvantages, difficulties ...}.
 - I have my own reasoned opinion about cultural diversity.
 - Some of the cultural norms may constitute taboos.
 - Certain social practices in each culture are arbitrary.
5. **What are your thoughts on intercultural education (learning about different cultures)? Please base your answers on your own experiences as obtained in this study.**
6. **Tick 5 of the ways you consider most effective, most beneficial for studying intercultural education?**
- debating upon factual material
 - having guests from other institutions
 - reading materials
 - pair/group work
 - writing a seminar paper
 - ex-cathedra lecture
 - making a presentation
 - interdisciplinary teaching
 - project work
 - fieldwork

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TiDE MODEL – CREATING PLURILINGUAL DIGITAL MATERIALS WITH FUTURE PRESCHOOL TEACHERS

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Abstract/Izvleček

This article deals with developing plurilingual digital content with future preschool teachers. We present the TiDE (Teaching in Digital Education) model which promotes the development of digital didactic materials and relevant digital competences through active, experience-based, and interdisciplinary learning. A qualitative study was conducted focused on the process of designing new digital didactic materials for raising plurilingual awareness, i.e. stop-motion videos for preschool children. The data were obtained by analysing 16 stop-motion videos and feedback from 60 Slovenian first-year students of preschool education at the University of Primorska. The results suggest that new digital technologies can be very effective in developing engaging, effective, and learner-centered resources that promote students' plurilingual awareness and an open attitude towards linguistic and cultural diversity.

Keywords:

stop-motion video,
plurilingual education,
future preschool
teachers, digital
technologies, TiDE
model.

Model TiDE - Ustvarjanje digitalnega gradiva za raznojezično izobraževanje z bodočimi vzgojitelji

Prispevek obravnava pomen raznojezičnega izobraževanja in didaktične rabe digitalnih tehnologij v predšolskem obdobju. Predstavljamo model TiDE (Teaching in Digital Education), ki spodbuja razvoj digitalnih didaktičnih gradiv in ustreznih digitalnih kompetenc skozi načela aktivnega, izkustvenega in interdisciplinarnega učenja. Izvedena je bila kvalitativna študija, s katero smo raziskali proces ustvarjanja digitalnih didaktičnih gradiv (video posnetkov stop-motion) za razvijanje raznojezičnosti predšolskih otrok po modelu TiDE. Podatki so bili pridobljeni z analizo 16 stop-motion videov in povratnih informacij 60 slovenskih študentov prvega letnika predšolske vzgoje na Univerzi na Primorskem. Rezultati kažejo, da so lahko nove digitalne tehnologije zelo učinkovite pri razvoju zanimivih, učinkovitih in na učence osredotočenih virov, ki spodbujajo večjezično ozaveščenost učencev ter odprti odnos do jezikovne in kulturne raznolikosti.

Ključne besede:

video
posnetki stop-motion,
večjezično
izobraževanje, bodoči
predšolski učitelji,
digitalne tehnologije,
model TiDE.

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Introduction

Nowadays, multilingual learning environments are becoming increasingly common in Europe due to the rapid increase in global mobility and migration. For this reason, one of the main concerns of the European Centre of Modern Languages (ECML) and the Council of Europe is the preservation of linguistic diversity and the promotion and use of plurilingual education in multilingual environments to promote and support access to quality education for all (Newby et al., 2007). Plurilingual education promotes linguistic, racial, social, and cultural inclusion. When learners feel this sense of inclusion, they can take control of their learning journey and make positive changes in their educational pathway (Payant & Galante, 2022). At this point, it is important to distinguish between the terms 'multilingualism' and 'plurilingualism', which are often used interchangeably to refer to teaching that involves learners in the use of their language repertoire. According to the Council of Europe definitions (2007, p. 9), 'multilingualism' refers to the presence of more than one 'language variety' in a geographical area, while 'plurilingualism' refers to the repertoire of language varieties used by many individuals, i.e. the 'mother tongue' or 'first language' and any number of other languages or varieties. This means that in some multilingual areas, some people may be monolingual and others plurilingual. However, due to the limited and insufficient understanding of plurilingualism and the lack of resources that facilitate the integration of home languages in the classroom (Van Gelder & Visser, 2005), children from linguistically diverse backgrounds are exposed to school languages, ideologies, and strategies that do not match their language practises at home (Spotti & Kroon, 2017). Many teachers still favour monolingual forms of teaching, even though research has shown that including students' home languages in the classroom has positive effects on their cognitive development, identity formation, general well-being, and sense of belonging at school (Kirsch & Duarte, 2020).

This underlines the need for comprehensive initial teacher training programmes that prioritise plurilingualism, as well as continuous professional development opportunities for teachers in this area. Such programmes should focus on promoting language awareness and equipping educators with strategies to effectively support and recognise linguistic diversity in the classroom (Smeins et al., 2022). Van Laere et al. (2017) suggest that technology could be a solution.

Research has shown that the use of technology that supports learners' home languages can enhance the learning process (e.g. Clark et al., 2012; Lu et al., 2014)

without requiring teachers to speak all of their learners' home languages (Van Laere et al., 2017). Nevertheless, digital technologies should be appropriately integrated into classroom practises and play activities by using technology as a tool to enhance the learning process (OECD, 2017). For this reason, digital pedagogy begins with defining the purpose and goals of teaching and learning (Väätäjä & Ruokamo, 2021). However, digital teaching is used more effectively when teachers know and understand the technology and can recognise how digital tools and resources can be used to achieve better learning outcomes. These competences are crucial for achieving positive outcomes for learners with additional support needs or other disadvantages (The Scottish Government, 2015).

The study presented in this article is related to the GDI UP (Green Digital & Inclusive University of Primorska) project, in particular to the activity Green and digital transition competences in the early childhood education curriculum. One of the main objectives of the activity is related to a programme for digital transition in early childhood education, focusing on an interdisciplinary approach through the integration of digital technologies. Simultaneously, the transformation and creation of information and digital content is also one of the key competence areas proposed by the OECD (2019, p. 46) and DigComp 2.2 – The Digital Competence Framework for Citizens (Vuorikari et al., 2022). In vein with the above, we developed the TiDE (Teaching in Digital Education) model which promotes the development of digital teaching content and fosters relevant digital competences through active, experiential, and interdisciplinary learning. The main objectives of our qualitative study were to develop digital didactic materials (stop-motion videos) that would promote plurilingualism and technology awareness among future preschool teachers and consequently preschool children and to evaluate the TiDE model.

Our research begins with a review of the relevant literature on plurilingual education and digital technologies in the broadest sense, with a particular focus on the use of stop-motion videos for educational purposes and the design of digital didactic materials. Next, we present the steps within the TiDE model, aiming to promote the development of digital teaching content and relevant digital competences through active, experiential, and interdisciplinary learning at the university level. In the second part of the paper, we present the results of a qualitative study conducted among 60 Slovenian students of the first year of preschool education whose task was to evaluate the TiDE model.

Pluricultural and plurilingual education

The terms pluricultural and plurilingual education refer to school and classroom activities aimed at teaching students about cultural and linguistic diversity, particularly the diversity present within their communities (Marconi et al., 2020). The inclusive approach encompasses not only the languages taught in school but also all languages the learner encounters, such as home languages, dialects, sign languages, religions, and lifestyle, as highlighted in the Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages and Cultures (FREPA), which offers descriptors for plurilingual and intercultural competence (Bratož & Sila, 2021; Marconi et al., 2020). Galante et al. (2022, p. 13-17) present five strategies that foster successful integration of students' language repertoires into pedagogical contexts:

- cross-linguistic comparisons: Comparing students' native language with the target language at different levels, including linguistic features such as grammar, syntax, phonology and morphology, and language use. Through cross-linguistic comparisons, students actively participate in the learning process and feel that their language repertoire is respected and valued in the classroom.
- cross-cultural comparisons: They gain an insight into diverse cultures, including their customs, values, beliefs, and language use. Through cross-cultural comparisons, students can cultivate critical thinking, understand how knowledge is created, and appreciate diverse cultural perspectives.
- translanguaging: The practice of using different languages fluently is an effective approach to understanding content in a new language. Using languages other than the first language facilitates continuous communication and increases the effectiveness of language learning by ensuring understanding of the content and making language learning more relevant.
- translation for mediation: Incorporating translation exercises when introducing new expressions, vocabulary, or grammatical elements into the classroom. This way, students can compare the meanings in different languages, assess whether there are direct translations, and analyse differences in pronunciation. Through translation exercises in different languages, students get multiple opportunities to explore the meanings of words, which leads to more effective learning.
- pluriliteracies: In addition to traditional forms of communication such as listening, speaking, reading, and writing, students use additional forms of literacy such as visual representations, photos, gestures, and digital media.

When future preschool teachers engage in plurilingual and pluricultural education, they gain first-hand experience crucial for implementing such teaching and learning with preschool children through age-appropriate activities. These activities include songs and stories, role-playing games, interactive apps and digital tools, and board games, which focus on sharing simple words and phrases from various languages. This experience helps future teachers understand how to respect and value children's language repertoires, appreciate diverse cultural perspectives, enhance content understanding, deepen word exploration, and utilize various forms of literacy, ultimately enriching their teaching methods.

The importance of digital technologies in early childhood education

The main goal of using digital technologies in early childhood education is to provide meaningful learning experiences that empower young learners to actively build or extend their knowledge (Giannikas, 2020), thus promoting the development of 21st-century skills such as collaboration, communication, critical thinking, and problem-solving (Kewalramani et al., 2020; Lemut Bajec, 2023). Within the constructivist paradigm, which builds on learner-centredness, learner-initiated learning, and learner-directed experiences, the digital context in which learning takes place is seen as essential to the learning process, and recognising this importance can be central to teaching and creating educational programmes that use digital pedagogy (Giannikas, 2020). Digital technologies include devices such as tablets, mobile phones, laptops, and computers, as well as screenless technologies like digital cameras, voice assistants, digital toys, smart toys, walkie-talkies, and activity trackers (Wilkinson, et al., 2021). In early education, children are receptive to digital tools that present content in engaging and motivating ways, rewarding their efforts and achievements, for example through digital badges (Giannikas, 2020). According to Copple and Bredekamp (2009), incorporating appropriate digital technologies into young children's daily routines can enhance their engagement with materials, activities, and interactions.

Since children are already familiar with digital and non-digital tools at home and in their surroundings, integrating technology into their learning environment is logical. However, it is crucial to ensure that technology complements, rather than replaces, other materials, creativity, play, and interactive activities to optimize the development of cognitive, social-emotional, and language skills.

In language learning, children become more actively involved in listening and using digital tools, which encourage them to engage with and interpret auditory and visual cues to understand the message conveyed by speakers. Integrating spoken language with gestures and facial expressions enhances comprehension by linking language to real-world concepts and references stored in memory (Rost, 2002, p. 59). Digital resources such as videos, songs, stories, and interactive simulations providing young learners with access to authentic language material familiarise them with the target language in practical contexts, contributing to the development of listening comprehension, vocabulary, and cultural awareness.

Young learners can engage in interactive activities, group projects, and online discussions with peers from different countries, allowing them to learn and communicate together. This collaboration improves their social and communication skills in the target language and fosters a sense of global connectedness. Digital tools allow young learners to express their creativity and create their own digital stories or projects (Bers et al., 2004; Freeman & Somerindyke, 2001; Shahrinin & Butterworth, 2001).

The most useful technologies for working with children are tablets and projectors. However, to ensure effective learning, teachers must do more than just bring computers into the classroom. They must have the knowledge and skills to use technology effectively, understand the underlying learning theories, and select the appropriate technology to achieve the desired learning outcomes.

According to Lindeman, Svensson, and Enochsson (2021), teachers integrate digital technologies to varying degrees due to factors such as digital competence, various pedagogical aspects, personal drive as well as professional learning and development. However, teachers need to enhance their own digital skills to meet the expectations of students and parents who anticipate learning and teaching through digital means (Howell & McMaster, 2022).

Stop-motion videos in educational settings

Even though there are emergent studies on the use of digital technologies in educational settings, there is scarce literature on the use of stop-motion videos for raising plurilingual awareness. Stop-motion video is a method involving the physical movement of objects, captured frame by frame to create the illusion of motion. This technique allows for the addition of narration, music, and visual or auditory effects during editing. By engaging in the creation of a stop-motion video, learners are

prompted to re-evaluate and develop their ideas across various modes, as highlighted by Berg et al. (2019) and Hoban and Nielsen (2010).

Incorporating stop-motion videos into classroom settings brings numerous advantages. They can be customised to students' interests, making the material more engaging and relevant (Sanjaya, 2020). Compared to static images, stop-motion videos capture students' attention better and make learning easier, more efficient, and more enjoyable (Berney & Bétrancourt, 2016; Jitsupa et al., 2022). These videos help to stimulate interest, improve comprehension, and increase vocabulary (Sanjaya, 2020). They also enable teachers to keep students interested over a longer period and encourage unconscious learning through innovative methods (Jitsupa et al., 2022).

Stop-motion videos are suitable for presentations and for all age groups (Farrokhnia et al., 2020). They contain sounds that create a dynamic and engaging learning experience where learning is fun and exciting rather than challenging (Sanjaya, 2020). Hoban and Nielsen (2012) explored stop-motion animation as a tool for developing early literacy skills in preschool settings, revealing that creating stop-motion videos supported children's language development, storytelling abilities, and narrative skills. The multimodal nature of stop-motion animation provided opportunities for children to express themselves creatively and engage in meaningful communication. Kapaniaris and Lagogianni (2020) used stop-motion video to present traditional clothing in Primary Education with 10- to 11-year-old children. Although the results showed that students have limited knowledge of folk culture and traditional clothing, students were able to comprehend the specific issue through digital storytelling and create their own digital stories, acquiring knowledge in both folk culture and computer literacy through guided research projects. Additionally, students showed significant growth in collaborative learning environments, demonstrating critical thinking and imagination.

Model description

The TiDE (Teaching in Digital Education) model has emerged as a result of the piloting of several of our activities designed for developing the technological as well as plurilingual and pluricultural competence of future preschool teachers. The phases of the TiDE model are inspired by Sanjaya's (2020) procedure for creating engaging stop-motion videos to teach theme-based vocabulary to elementary students. However, unlike Sanjaya's model, our model emphasises an active, experience-based (exploratory), and interdisciplinary learning process, because as pointed out by

Ivanitskaya et al. (2002), learners who are capable of true interdisciplinary thinking, possess well-developed knowledge structures, foundational epistemological beliefs, critical thinking, and metacognitive skills, as well as the ability to apply interdisciplinary knowledge to various relevant contexts.

The phases are outlined as follows (Figure 2):

1. Teachers identify *the purpose* of using new digital technologies by determining which digital tool to use and for what specific purpose within a particular curriculum area. For example, they might decide to use stop-motion videos to enhance plurilingualism/storytelling skills or educational apps to help students visualise and solve geometry problems, while in social studies, they could use virtual reality to provide immersive historical experiences.
2. The model emphasises *interdisciplinary learning*. This means that teachers *determine the learning objectives for each curriculum area*, including the obligatory area of technology and the chosen area of language. For example, in the technology area, students will be able to design and produce engaging digital content using multimedia tools, demonstrating proficiency in both technical skills and creative expression. In the language area, students will develop the ability to create and utilize educational resources that support plurilingualism, enhancing their understanding of multiple languages and cultures while fostering inclusive communication in diverse classroom settings.
3. Educators define *how students' competences will be developed in each area*. In the digital area, they teach students how to use and design new material for educational purposes, following predetermined criteria. This includes integrating technical and audiovisual elements to represent instructional content and creating lesson plans, handouts, and other supporting materials. Special emphasis is placed on developing both digital and visual literacy, which are key competences in multiliteracy pedagogy. In the language area, educators focus on teaching students how to create and utilize plurilingual educational resources. This involves developing materials that support multiple languages, thereby enhancing students' understanding of diverse cultures and fostering inclusive communication in varied classroom settings.
4. Product development begins with *exploratory learning*. In the technology area, students work in groups or pairs to explore the app's functionality and form opinions on its use. They then present and discuss their newly created digital didactic materials with the ICT teacher, addressing their purpose and any technological challenges they encountered.

5. They create a *preliminary product for educational purposes* on a specific topic preferably chosen by the students. When creating digital didactic materials for language learners, researchers provide several key recommendations. Hoban and Nielsen (2012) advocate for incorporating multiple modes of representation, including visuals, audio, and text to enhance comprehension and language acquisition. Bitchener (2018) stresses the importance of aligning digital materials with the developmental level and interests of young learners, ensuring age-appropriate, culturally relevant, and engaging content. Moreover, Kewalramani et al. (2020) highlight the necessity of designing user-friendly, inclusive, and accessible materials, focusing on layout, navigation, and functionality to accommodate young learners effectively. Additionally, Donaghy and Xerri (2017) emphasize the significance of images in foreign language learning, questioning whether they are supplemental tools or integral components for effective communication. They underscore the potential of images to enhance students' communicative skills and foster creativity in the language learning process. Integrating these recommendations can significantly contribute to the development of effective digital materials for preschool children. Students present their preliminary product to their classmates and teachers.

6. Teachers and students offer valuable and supportive *feedback* on the integration and use of technical and audiovisual elements, as well as the didactic purpose of created digital materials. For gathering feedback, the following questions, based on the recommendations above, can help evaluate the digital materials for language learning:

- How effectively do digital didactic materials incorporate visuals, audio, and text, thus supporting comprehension and language acquisition?
- How effectively do the images enhance communicative skills and foster creativity?
- Do the audio elements include clear and age-appropriate narration and/or sound effects that enhance the learning experience?
- Are the digital didactic materials aligned with the developmental level of the target age group?
- Are the educational materials designed to align with the interests of students in order to keep them engaged and motivated?
- Are the content and themes culturally relevant and appropriate for the intended audience?
- How user-friendly and age-appropriate are the materials in terms of layout, navigation, and overall functionality?

- Are the digital didactic materials inclusive and accessible in creation and use? By addressing these questions, students can comprehensively assess the quality and effectiveness of digital didactic materials (*a preliminary product*) designed for preschool children, ensuring they meet educational standards and support optimal language development.

7. Final product: The final product can be used for educational purposes in kindergarten.

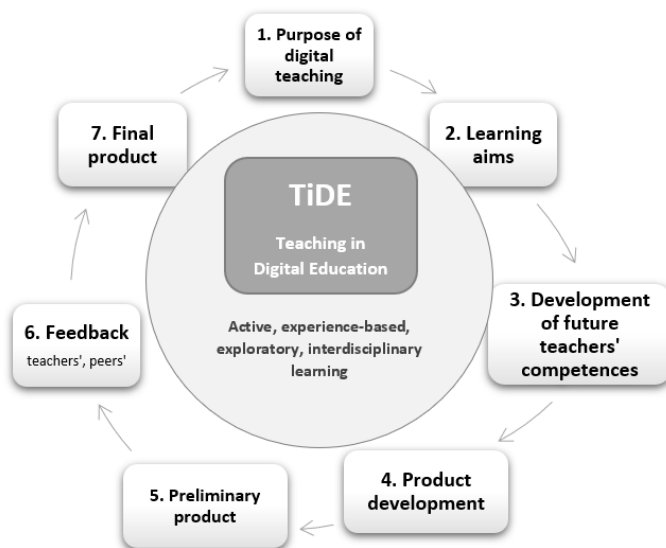


Figure 1: The phases of the TiDE (Teaching in Digital Education) model

Methodology

To evaluate the TiDE model, we carried out a qualitative evaluation study based on experience-based, exploratory, and interdisciplinary learning in which we observed students developing plurilingual digital didactic materials for preschool children. The aims of the survey were twofold: first, we aimed to develop digital didactic materials (stop-motion videos) to promote plurilingualism and technology awareness among future preschool teachers and preschool children and second, we attempted to understand the benefits of using the TiDE model at the university level for future preschool teachers?

To this end, the following research questions were formulated:

Q1. What were the most significant challenges encountered in creating plurilingual digital didactic materials?

Q2. What benefits does the TiDE model offer to university-level training for preschool teachers in enhancing teaching practices and outcomes?

Participants and data collection

The study involved 62 participants, consisting of 2 professors and 60 Slovenian first-year students of preschool education at the University of Primorska. The activities were conducted over three weeks. First-year preschool education students were divided into 16 smaller groups. Each group created digital didactic materials (stop-motion videos) to promote plurilingualism and technology awareness among future preschool teachers and children.

For the evaluation, we used different methods: a) a questionnaire for teachers' and classmates' feedback on the preliminary and final product with various open-ended questions to gain a comprehensive understanding of their experiences and perspectives; b) a final questionnaire on the process of creating plurilingual digital didactic materials for preschool children; and c) the analysis of the final product by 2 professors (one for English as a foreign language and one for ICT). As Swart (2019) emphasises, the use of an open questionnaire with open-ended questions as an instrument for collecting qualitative data during observation is a suitable method for collecting qualitative data.

Feedback and video analysis were conducted based on the questions outlined in the model description (phase 6). The students' responses to the final questionnaire were recorded and are now presented in this article.

The students were presented with the following open-ended questions: *How effectively do digital didactic materials incorporate visuals, audio, and text to support comprehension and language acquisition, What were some of the biggest challenges in creating new digital didactic materials, What areas for improvement were suggested by peers and teachers?* and *Where do students see potential applications of the stop-motion videos in other curriculum areas?*

The phases of the research regarding the TiDe model

To understand the development and application of the TiDe model, the following phases were undertaken:

1. The *purpose* of developing plurilingual awareness with stop-motion videos: due to the lack of resources that facilitate the integration of home languages in preschool groups, these digital didactic materials are becoming increasingly

important to meet the diverse learning and teaching needs, especially in institutions with a high number of children and multilingualism.

2. *The learning aims.* The aims in the area of language were to develop students' plurilingual awareness and multiliteracy skills through the creation of stop-motion videos; in the area of technology, the aims were to develop relevant digital competences and create digital didactic materials by utilizing the principles of active, experiential and interdisciplinary learning.
3. *The development of the competences of future preschool teachers:* Future preschool teachers first explored the stop-motion app and created stop-motion videos with their objectives. In this way, they took responsibility for their learning process. They formed their own opinions about the functionality of the app and conducted their tests and explorations to understand how it works. In the English course, they learnt about the importance of raising plurilingual awareness in a multilingual and multicultural educational environment and about strategies that can be used to integrate students' language repertoire in educational contexts. Additionally, they also learnt about the role of visual literacy in the creation of digital didactic media.
4. *Product development:* Initially, the students were provided with plurilingual songs in English (audio files), which also included words in target languages such as Slovenian, Croatian, German, Italian, and French. The song for each country associated listeners/viewers with its cultural elements (sports with Slovenia, sea animals with Croatia, polka dance with Austria, pizza with Italy, and clothes with France). Then, they were tasked with a stop-motion video where they needed to incorporate visual elements. including the preparation of the background, characters, storyboard, and timeline for movements, as well as technical elements (fixed camera, lighting). They were requested to use only original work (e.g. drawings, puppets). Along the creation of the stop-motion video, the students were reminded to keep in mind that the product needed to be used for teaching purposes.
5. and 6. *The preliminary products and constructive feedback:*
After creating a simple stop-motion animation video classmates and teachers provided feedback on the integration and use of technical and audiovisual elements and the didactic presentation of content. This was an important phase as students learned from each other's work. Teachers' role was also to facilitate discussions to deepen understanding and encourage reflection on the learning experience.

7. Revision and the final version:

Students revised their first version of the stop-motion video created the final version by incorporating the suggestions and strategies discussed in the teacher-led discussions and prepared a final product.

Results

This section delves into students' perceptions, opinions, and reflections regarding their learning journey, specifically examining the activities, materials, and methods used. This is crucial for identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the process and guiding future pedagogical decisions. By analysing final questionnaire *responses*, we gained valuable insights into the creation of plurilingual digital didactic materials for preschool children, including student engagement, motivation, challenges faced, and suggestions for improvement.

Evaluation of the Integration of Visuals, Audio, and Text in Digital Didactic Materials for Enhanced Comprehension and Language Acquisition

Overall, the majority of students reported that it was easy to incorporate visuals, audio, and text because the time and context framework (the text and melody of the song) were already given by teachers. However, according to the feedback, the students were successful to different degrees. That is because, in some stop-motion videos, students did not manage to incorporate visuals that would effectively support comprehension of the words in a foreign language.

Namely, their focus was on presenting the context of the song (melody of polka dance) and not on comprehension of vocabulary (i.e. the lyrics of the song). One of the students emphasised that “it was difficult at first because we did not understand the meaning and significance of the song. We were focusing on the wrong elements, i.e. the prepared dance choreography, instead of representing the meaning with pictures of numbers (one, two, three) and so on. But when we received the professor’s feedback, we recognised the point and got back to work. We gladly accepted the criticism and improved the video, but this time we did not have as many problems.” Another student added: “First of all, we had to listen carefully to the lyrics, which were not written down. That caused us some problems in the first stop-motion video because in the song “Clothes” with French words we misunderstood the meaning of the word. We replaced the word “hat” with a picture of “hair” as if the girl had got a new hairstyle instead of a hat.” We had to improve the video

because the English teacher gave us some correction suggestions, but the final product turned out very well. We had almost no technical problems.”

Nonetheless, to some students, the task was very clear. One of them pointed out: “We wanted to present certain words to the children in a different language. The song lyrics were underpinned by designed gestures and the words of objects by pictures.”

Some of the biggest challenges in creating new digital didactic materials

The students had some problems with various technical elements when creating stop-motion videos. One of the students reported: “First we had to learn how to use the app to be able to work creatively later. In the beginning, we had problems with the unfixed camera, the shots themselves, the timing of the photos with the music, and the movement of the elements on the base. However, when we re-designed the video, we mostly only had to synchronise the photos with the music and the other elements no longer caused any problems. Some students had problems with the shadows and the movement of the background (blanket). One of the students commented: “Our camera was not set up well, so the picture flow was not smooth - we did not take enough pictures to post the actual shot.” One group had a similar problem but also found a solution: “One of the problems was also that it was difficult to fix the camera. We helped ourselves by putting our hands on a pile of books. The big change was that we took the photos with a timer in the first phase and photographed them manually in the second phase. This way the transitions were more accurate.”

Through the exploration process, the students realised that they needed to plan the process carefully, and one of the students confirmed, “We were successful because we made a good plan before the shoot. We only had concerns about the light as the shoot lasted more than 5 hours and the natural light was changing. Even before the problem could occur, we created artificial light to avoid any inconvenience.”

Areas for improvement

The enhancement of visual literacy was crucial for students to effectively integrate visuals, audio, and text to support comprehension. They utilized visual representations to convey the meanings of song backgrounds, symbols, gestures, and cultural elements, aiming to enhance their ability to interpret and communicate visually. This approach enriched their overall comprehension and engagement with the material. For example, they visually presented translations like “Idemo na more”

(in English: "Let us go to the sea") in Croatian, "Merci" (in English: "Thank you") in French, "Per favore" (in English: "Please") in Italian, and "Eins, zwei, drei" (in English: "One, two, three") in German. They also adapted an image to accurately depict pizza Margherita and used visual aids, such as maps and flags, to explain abstract concepts like "Slovenia." This method facilitated a deeper understanding and effective communication of cultural and linguistic nuances through visual literacy.

Concerning the technical improvements, two challenges were posed. The first example referred to too many elements which hindered the understanding of the intended word. Therefore, "We had to enlarge the picture of each word separately – a hat, a dress, and a scarf. In the second example, students had to change a very colourful (distracting) background as it was difficult to recognize the pictures which represented the intended vocabulary.

Student Perspectives on the Application of Stop-Motion Videos Across Different Curriculum Areas

Students mentioned the following areas: language (e.g. creating a story without sound – for storytelling), social sciences (e.g. developing plurilingualism), maths (geometric solids and shapes (e.g. drawing a house, numbers, and rhythm, counting fruit, teddy bears), science (human/animal/plant development, e.g. butterfly, bean, tulips and other flowers), movement, art (e.g. creating sculptures and their movements), music (teaching piano playing).

Discussion

The results of this study provide critical insights into the effectiveness of the TiDE model in promoting plurilingualism and improving the digital competences of future preschool teachers. Through the qualitative evaluation of student-created stop-motion videos, we can assess both the key challenges in creating plurilingual digital didactic materials for preschool children and the benefits of the TiDE model for university preschool teacher education in terms of improving instructional practises and outcomes.

The process of creating stop motion videos initially faced technical challenges such as synchronizing images and sound, and ensuring smooth transitions, alongside conceptual difficulties in accurately representing song lyrics through visuals. These obstacles were effectively overcome through insightful feedback from teachers and peers, providing diverse perspectives, constructive criticism, validation, share

learning experiences, and opportunities for skill development and continuous improvement. This collaborative approach not only facilitated active learning and peer interaction but also contributed to significant enhancements in the final versions of the stop-motion videos. Researchers consistently emphasize that promoting discussion is a key advantage of student-generated stop-motion animations in collaborative settings (Loughran et al., 2012; Hoban and Nielsen, 2014; Jablonski et al., 2015; Mills et al., 2018), underscoring its role in enhancing both the educational process and creative outcomes.

Secondly, the students' evaluation of the process confirmed that the TiDE model offers several benefits for university training of preschool teachers, especially in improving teaching methods and outcomes. Our findings are consistent with those of Hurtado-Mazeyra et al. (2021), who also observed significant benefits from the integration of stop-motion videos in teacher training. Both studies suggest that such digital tools can enhance creative and digital skills, making it a valuable component of modern teacher education.

One major benefit creating stop motion videos is the integration of visual literacy and the development of new digital didactic materials that help students understand the importance of accurately representing linguistic and cultural elements in educational content. The selection and use of images significantly improve their communicative skills and enhance their creativity as they have to visualise, understand, and represent linguistic words, sentences, and abstract concepts.

The activities involved stimulating learners' interest, imagination, and creativity by preparing the background, characters, and storyboard, which is in line with research by Jira et al. (2022), Kahraman (2015), and Farrokhnia et al. (2020). The importance of visual literacy in education is widely recognised, with an increasing focus on developing learners' ability to interpret and communicate with images. This shift emphasises the need to equip future educators with the ability to use visual media effectively (Donaghy & Xerri, 2017), which is consistent with the aims of the TiDE model. By incorporating stop-motion videos or similar tools into their training, preschool teachers can better engage preschool children and enrich their learning experiences.

Another strength of the TiDE model is the applicability of stop-motion videos across various curriculum areas, including English, maths, science, social sciences, health sciences, arts, technology, and media literacy, as recognised by students and highlighted by the National Film Board of Canada (2018) and various studies (Deaton et al., 2013; Shepherd, et al., 2013; Hoban & Nielsen, 2014). This versatility

suggests that stop-motion videos can be a powerful tool to promote creativity and engagement in a variety of educational contexts and make learning more interactive and culturally inclusive. By creating plurilingual digital didactic materials, students have gained first-hand experience of the importance of promoting an inclusive learning environment and linguistic diversity in preschool children. For example, the inclusion of words and phrases in multiple languages helped students to appreciate, understand, and represent linguistic and cultural diversity.

In addition, according to the students' feedback, the process of creating digital didactic materials has significantly improved their technological knowledge and creative skills and fostered a practical understanding of how digital tools can support teaching. This aligns with the research conducted by Deaton et al. (2013). Although a stop-motion video was used in the learning process, other tools such as MS PowerPoint, video, and Animaker can also be chosen, each offering unique benefits and promoting different aspects of creativity and digital literacy. Each of these tools has a different focus and encourages creativity and the development of digital skills to different degrees and in different ways. If students are familiar with multiple options, they can choose the one that appeals to them the most, ensuring accessibility. By allowing students to choose tools, topics, and content they are passionate about, the learning process ensures a high level of engagement and enthusiasm. Recognizing the importance of active intellectual engagement, skilled teachers design activities that challenge students to be cognitively active and provide them with various options to select from. These opportunities help students develop their own understanding. This approach fosters a more personalized and motivating learning experience, ultimately enhancing the effectiveness of the educational process (Danielson, 2007). Supporting this method, a meta-analysis of 41 studies found a strong link between giving students choices and their intrinsic motivation, overall performance, and willingness to accept challenging tasks (Patall et al., 2008). Moreover, this student-centered approach promotes creativity and personal engagement in learning, advocating for its integration into teacher training. Emphasizing active engagement over passive listening, it underscores the importance of interactive, hands-on strategies to keep students academically invested. Teachers who foster critical thinking and problem-solving skills create environments that support excellence, connecting classroom learning with practical real-world applications for students (Rea, 2015). These findings are supported by

research in science education, highlighting that methods where students collaboratively create animations promote learning through their emphasis on being student-centered, active, and cooperative (Orraryd, 2021).

The results of the study indicate the significant value of feedback in refining and enhancing media for language learning. This feedback enhances the quality of didactic materials and guides future teachers in effectively creating and integrating digital resources into their teaching practice, consistent with Dechakoopt and Yindeesook's (2018) emphasis on instructors enhancing their skills in developing and implementing innovative learning strategies in the classroom.

Conclusion

For future teachers, the use of digital didactic tools and materials is becoming increasingly important to meet diverse learning and teaching needs, especially when faced with challenges such as high student numbers and multilingualism. The TiDE model demonstrates substantial potential in fostering plurilingual awareness and technological proficiency among future preschool teachers. The findings of this study suggest that the model is effective in helping students create appropriate, accurate, and engaging didactic digital materials. Additionally, the feedback process involving teachers and peers is crucial in the development of these digital didactic materials, as it boosts students' confidence and motivation and leads to continuous improvement of their teaching methods. Furthermore, the model promotes essential skills such as collaboration, communication, and critical thinking as well as engages students to critically select and create digital didactic materials that are adapted to the interests and needs of the children.

Although the digital didactic materials have been designed to be inclusive and accessible with minimal support, there is still room for improvement as suggested through the obtained feedback that emphasised the importance of ensuring that the visual and audio elements are clear and support understanding. To achieve this, multiple display options can be incorporated such as alternative text for images, subtitles for audio content, and transcripts for videos. In addition, different opportunities for action and expression can be utilized such as allowing users to interact with the materials through different methods, such as touch, speech, or keyboard navigation. Finally, the motivation and engagement of a greater number of learners can be maintained if we offer multiple ways of engagement, such as interactive elements, personalised content, and adjustable difficulty levels. Future

preschool teachers should also consider using such materials in digital corners in the kindergarten that can be used again and again by the children themselves.

Despite the strengths, the study has its limitations, including the small and homogeneous group of participants, which could affect the generalisability of the results. A larger and more diverse sample would improve the understanding of the effectiveness of the TiDE model in different contexts. Furthermore, replicating the study in different courses by various educators would provide insight into its broader applicability. Additionally, the study did not examine the long-term effects of the TiDE model on future preschool teachers' practise and student learning outcomes, which prevents insights into its sustained effectiveness over time.

Overall, the design and implementation of stop-motion video served as an engaging and transformative learning tool, offering both learners and educators opportunities for enjoyment, stimulation, and skill development. This comprehensive approach not only fostered active learning and collaboration but also promoted the development of linguistic, digital, and pedagogical skills.

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ANALYSING FIRST GRADE TEACHERS' STRATEGIES FOR ENHANCING ENGLISH READING PROFICIENCY IN MULTILINGUAL CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENTS IN NAMIBIA

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Abstract/Izvleček

The study aims to analyse how primary school teachers of Grade 1 develop reading skills in multilingual classroom settings in Namibia. A case study approach was adopted to collect data through interviews and classroom observations. The findings reveal that teachers do not model a structured or systematic approach to scaffold learners during reading lessons. They rather rely on the translation method to foster learners' understanding of reading texts in multilingual contexts and rarely use differentiated activities. This calls for new more learner-centred approaches towards developing reading which would allow for more pronounced learners' perspectives of reading in multilingual contexts.

Keywords:
developing reading
competence, didactic
approaches, multilingual
environment,
translanguaging.

Analiza strategij učiteljev prvih razredov za razvijanje bralne pismenosti v angleščini v večjezičnih razredih v Namibiji

Namen raziskave je analizirati, kako učitelji prvih razredov osnovne šole razvijajo bralno pismenost v večjezičnih okoljih v Namibiji. Uporabili smo pristop študije primera, zbiranje podatkov pa je potekalo s pomočjo intervjujev in opazovanjem pouka. Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da učitelji za razvijanje bralnih zmožnosti ne uporabljajo strukturiranega ali sistematičnega pristopa za podporo učencem pri branju, zanašajo se predvsem na metodo prevajanja in redko uporabljajo diferenciranih dejavnosti. Raziskava kaže na potrebo po novih pristopih k usposabljanju učiteljev, ki pri razvijanju bralnih zmožnosti v ospredje postavljajo na učenca osredotočeno poučevanje in s tem več poudarka na perspektive učencev pri branju v večjezičnih kontekstih.

Ključne besede:
razvijanje bralne
kompetence, didaktični
pristopi, večjezično
okolje, medjezikovno
preklapljanje.

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Introduction

The migration of citizens from one region to another has become a common phenomenon, especially for economic and social purposes. Namibia, with its different indigenous language communities, is no exception to this worldwide trend. According to the country's language policy (Ministry of Basic Education, Sports, and Culture 2003, p. 4), the language of instruction in grades 1-3 should be the predominant local language. As a result, children struggle to read in their native language and in English (Uwezo, 2016). This situation is attributed to the fact that the linguistic backgrounds of teachers are different from the learners' mother tongue. Furthermore, teachers lack professional knowledge of teaching and learning strategies in multilingual contexts. With the constant movement of people and related classroom dilemmas, the "native speaker" objective of the language policy provision has become redundant within the multilingual context of Namibia.

Most citizens of southern Namibia speak the traditional indigenous languages of the region, which are Khoekhoegowab and Afrikaans. English becomes the medium of instruction from grade 4 onward (Ministry of Basic Education, Art, and Culture, 2016). However, schools are given the possibility to apply for permission from the Ministry of Education to introduce English earlier when parents request English as the medium of instruction in the lower primary cycle (MoBSC, 2003).

Takanishi and Le Menestrel (2017, p. 24) assert that "language, like learning in other domains, is a cultural phenomenon, comprising many interacting influences at the individual, interpersonal, and institutional level". The linguistic background (e.g., Khoekhoegowab, Afrikaans, Oshiwambo, Herero, Rukwangali, and other dialects) influences learners' reading comprehension of English texts in Junior Primary classrooms and puts a strain on both the learner and teacher. Acquiring English language competence involves several aspects, such as expanding vocabulary and reading comprehension. Phonological Awareness (PA) refers to the ability to identify and manipulate phonological segments in spoken words, and Rapid Automatized Naming (RAN) denotes the ability to name serial displays of letters, digits, pictured objects, or colours as quickly as possible (Landerl et al., 2019). Due to limited access to pre-primary education (before Grade 1) and the lack of trained pre-primary teachers, learning to read in Namibia is becoming a significant challenge for the learners. This is especially true when learners from indigenous language communities are taught by teachers whose native language is not English.

When learners from diverse linguistic backgrounds gain access to schools in the //Karas region, they learn to read in the predominant languages which are Afrikaans, Khoekhoegowab, or English. The main purpose of this study is therefore to analyse how first grade teachers develop English reading competencies in a multilingual classroom setting.

Language as mediation

Reading is one of the language skills that plays a vital role in language teaching and learning. Vygotsky's (1978) and Bakhtin's (1981) theories point out the reciprocal relationships that are fostered through mediation, the use of cultural artifacts, signs and symbols, and mediating tools such as scaffolding strategies for language learning. These aspects play an important role in ESL, bilingualism, multilingualism, and the assessment of reading. Learning to read can begin from the letter level, word level, or text level. Each starting point has produced approaches to teaching reading that can be used in the foreign language classroom (Suganda, 2016). Both Vygotsky's (1978) and Bakhtin's (1981) theories address perspectives of language as a mediating tool in the discourse of language. Similar to his contemporary Bakhtin (1981), Vygotsky (1978) considers all language, spoken and written, as dialogical rather than monological. According to Morrison et al., (2020), to improve children's development, teachers and others need to provide high quality experiences for all learners. Therefore, English teachers need to have good language skills to provide the main language input for children who may have limited exposure to language outside the classroom. Teachers' ought to possess good interaction skills to use activity-based interactive methods that are most suitable for young learners. Further, teachers need knowledge of English and didactic approaches to provide feedback and rich knowledge of the culture in general to get children interested in learning. Both Vygotsky (1978) and Bakhtin (1981) believe that dialogue between teacher and learner is very important, as it helps children develop new concepts to think their way to higher level thinking. When learners only recite teachers' speech without having the choice to question or deviate from it, they are denied an opportunity to engage with the learning content at a higher cognitive level.

Acquisition of English as a Second Language (ESL)

In a second language teaching environment, learners should be taught how to use what they already know and understand about language and the world. Second language acquisition is defined as the process of learning a language other than one's

native language either consciously or unconsciously in a controlled or uncontrolled environment to achieve a given level of skills (Deng & Zou, 2016). Developing literacy and teaching reading in a multilingual classroom setting requires planning and concerted teaching efforts to ensure learners' attainment of proficiency. A few variables may affect L2 acquisition success. ESL learners are expected to participate in activities that will help them increase their competency in various language skills. When assigning receptive work, teachers must determine whether learners can read fluently (Collentine, 2016). Furthermore, Gupta (2019) offers suggestions on principles and practices for teaching ESL to young learners. These include making the classroom a friendly place to learn, developing background knowledge and vocabulary to provide an interesting contribution while frequently presenting opportunities for discussion and interaction, and using a variety of teaching methods as well as carrying out ongoing evaluation and assessment. Teachers who engage their learners based on their "funds of knowledge" through instruction by drawing on learners' and community resources have proved to be more successful (Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005).

Reading in multilingual settings

Hopewell and Escamilla (2014) acknowledge that bilingual individuals' competence in more than one language allows them to uniquely approach reading from the "totality of what is known and understood across languages" (p. 73). According to Winskel (2010), learning to read in any language is a process of matching the visual symbols or orthography on the page to the sound system or phonology of the spoken language. When learning how to read, the child has to learn to "crack the code" of how a particular language maps onto its orthography. An important concept which offers insights into reading in multilingual settings is 'translanguaging' which has been seen as both a pedagogy and an act of teaching and learning. Baker (2011) defines translanguaging as the process of "making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages (p. 288).", while García and Wei (2014) see the concept as "moving across languages and registers of speech to make meaning" (p.653).

Translanguaging is critical in teaching English language learners within the multilingual context of Namibia in which English language skills are developed while using the pupils' native languages. Namrullah and Nasrullah (2020) affirm that with translanguaging bilinguals have a single integrated linguistic repertoire from which they strategically draw appropriate features to communicate effectively.

Furthermore, translanguaging is accurately adapted to facilitate inference-making strategies in all communicative modes using the learners' mother tongue and English during a reading lesson. According to Vaish and Subhan (2015), translanguaging is not so much an outcome of proficiency but more an attempt at optimal meaning making.

Method

The article presents the results of a qualitative case study. According to Yin (2009), “the purpose of qualitative case studies is not merely to organize data, but to try to identify and gain analytic insight into the dimensions and dynamics of the phenomena being studied. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clear (Yin, 2009). Furthermore, Yin (2009) indicates that “case studies are preferred when “how” and “why” questions are posed” (p. 2). The main research questions are:

1. How do Grade 1 teachers teach English text reading within a multilingual classroom context?
2. What are the teachers' perceptions of the challenges when teaching reading to young learners in multilingual settings?

This study engages a bounded case of four schools that cater for pre-primary to grade 7 learners. Ethical Clearance was obtained from the University of Pretoria, EC 16/08/01. The Ministry of Education in the //Karas region permitted to conduct the study in schools. The researcher also obtained consent from the principals of participating schools and explained the purpose of the study to both principals and grade 1 teachers.

Participants

A sample of (n=10) teachers from four schools was observed during reading lessons in a Grade 1 classroom. This study used a non-probability or purposive sampling method (Patton, 2002) to select the participants. Purposeful sampling allows the investigator to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam, 2009). The selected participants were therefore Grade 1 primary school teachers who agreed to have their reading lessons observed.

All the ten Grade 1 teachers who participated in the study were female, three had three years of teaching experience, five taught for more than 10 years, and two were close to retirement age and taught for more than 30 years. The majority of teachers, seven (7) studied at the University of Namibia, two at the Institute of Open Learning (IOL), and two obtained their teaching certificates before the country became independent. Seven (7) teachers specialised in Afrikaans, one (1) in Khoekhoegowab, and two (2) in English.

Data collection tools

Data were gathered through interviews and an observation checklist. The interview protocol was designed to prompt teachers to reflect on their prior experiences of learning during teacher preparation, assessment, and challenges within a multilingual teaching environment. An observation checklist was derived from previous work on reading (Strauss, 2017) to collect data during reading lessons. A Lickert scale (5 strongly disagree, 4- disagree, 3- neutral, 2- agree, and 1- strongly agree) was used to rate statements related to various aspects of teaching reading in multilingual settings. The interview questionnaire comprised the following questions: Questions (Q) 1-3 derived biographic information about teachers, Q 4 dealt with strategies to enact reading, Q 5-6, strategies used to expand vocabulary, Q 7-8 analysed teachers' training to assess reading, and their current reading assessment approaches, Q 9 solicited views on the teacher training curriculum and language within multilingual contexts, and Q10-11 prompted teachers' feedback on the content of their training in teaching reading.

Data analysis

Interview data were analysed using a thematic approach. The independent variables of the descriptive data included a) gender b) language of instruction, c) years of experience, and d) educational institution. The themes identified from the qualitative data were: (1) strategies to enact reading, (2) strategies to expand vocabulary, (3) assessment of reading, (4) mediating native language when teaching English reading, and (5) in-service training.

Results of the study

Observation results

This section first presents the results of the observations, followed by the teachers' responses in the interviews.

Table 1: Teaching reading *Means and standard deviations of 7 checklist items*

Statement	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
1. The teacher reads the text first before engaging learners	10	3.7000	1.49443
2. The teacher establishes baseline information, pitch, intonation, etc.	10	4.0000	.94281
3. Formal lessons set aside for reading on the timetable.	10	3.1000	1.85293
4. Learners retell the story in a logical order.	10	5.0000	.00000 ^a
5. Reading texts at the individual reader or Grade 1 level.	10	4.5000	1.08012
6. Assessment captures individual reading.	10	4.4000	1.07497

Table 1 shows the highest and lowest scores rated during classroom observations. In Item 3, "Formal lessons set aside for reading on timetable," the difference between the mean and standard deviation is (1.2470) and in Item 1, "The teacher reads the text first before engaging learners," the difference is (2.2056). The lowest ranking, Item 4, "Learners retell the story in a logical order," had the highest mean of 5.0 (SD =0.000) followed by Item 5, "Reading texts at the individual reader or Grade1 level," 4.5 (SD=1.0812) and Item 6, "Assessment captures individual reading," 4.4 (SD=1.0749). These rankings were triangulated with the interview data.

Strategies to teach reading

In the interviews, the teachers were asked which strategies they used to teach English reading in multilingual settings. An analysis of their responses revealed two major categories: strategies to enact individual reading in a multilingual setting and strategies to expand vocabulary.

(1) Strategies to enact individual reading in a multilingual setting

The teachers were asked what strategies they use to enact English teaching within multilingual settings. Two teachers pointed out that they use translation strategies and mentioned a picture reading strategy to foster meaning-making. Another teacher reported using the phonics approach to literacy development, first introducing sounds and letters in Afrikaans and then in English.

- *I translate from Afrikaans to English.* [T1]

- *Learners understand better when I translate.* [T2]
- *For English reading, I use pictures.* [T4]
- *I start with alphabet knowledge, and single sounds. I do the same letters first in Afrikaans and then in English.* [T3]

(2) Strategies to develop vocabulary

The analysis of the participants' responses showed that they use a variety of strategies to develop vocabulary in English, such as using word games or different vocabulary tasks. In addition, two teachers mentioned developing vocabulary by using the sight-words approach. The teachers' responses also show that they were aware of the importance of context ('the theme of the week') and the positive effect of participation ('I allow learners to pick a book').

- *I use word games and let learners fill in blanks or match the right word within a sentence.* [T9]
- *Reading vocabulary is based on the reading text of the day.* [T4]
- *I teach sight words according to the theme of the week.* [T8]
- *I let learners fill in blanks or match the right word within a sentence.* [T6]
- *I allow learners to pick a book to improve individual reading skills. With every topic, I start with new words and sight words. In that way, learners expand their vocabulary.* [T8]
- *Sometimes I let the learners watch a video. I chose the topic based on the stories. For example, animals. Then I take out specific words in English or Afrikaans to expand vocabulary.* [T3]

Mediating native language when teaching English reading

An important aspect of teaching reading in multilingual settings is the mediation of their mother tongue/native language and English. One of the strategies mentioned was the use of the learners' mother tongue which was possible when the teacher knew the language. Alternatively, teachers report asking other teachers who speak the pupil's languages for help by using translation. It is also clear from their responses that they sometimes have to use different languages to be able to communicate with the learners. One of the teachers mentioned using visual scaffolds in the form of pictures shown using a projector.

- *I use their mother tongue or ask teachers who can speak their languages to translate.* [T6]
- *I can speak Khoekhoegowab. Therefore, I teach a few words at a time. Say the word in Khoekhoegowab, then Afrikaans, and then English. This is very difficult. One can only translate to English when there are many more language varieties.* [T5]

- *I use pictures with the letter names. The projector in my class is of great help to show the words in English. [T2]*

Training for teaching reading

The participating teachers all reported to have taken the Jolly Phonics training offered by the Ministry of Education Arts and Culture in 2022. They expressed the belief that teachers, especially novice teachers, should take part in in-service training. One of the participants also pointed to the necessity of parental involvement in support of reading development at home.

- *All Junior Primary teachers must get in-service training. [T4]*
- *When learners move up to the next grade, the teachers confuse them again after we have worked hard to get them on a specific level. Awareness must be raised so that parents can support their children to read at home. Learners do not have the support at home to improve their literacy. [T7]*

Discussion of the findings

The data presented in this study offers some valuable insights into the strategies of teaching reading and the teachers' strategies of navigating between languages in the multilingual settings of Namibia. Following the question, how do grade 1 teachers teach English text reading within a multilingual classroom context, the main findings of the interviews and observations are presented. The results of lesson observations show that participating teachers used a whole-class didactic approach without engaging learners in key reading processes. Without real cognitive involvement, reading for meaning is hindered, unrewarding reading experiences multiply, and practice is avoided or merely tolerated (Cunningham & Stanovich, 1997). Teachers have not modelled reading, and limited baseline information, such as pitch, intonation, and assessment of reading was done during classroom practice. The results of the study also indicate the strategies used by teachers to teach reading and expanding vocabulary to promote reading proficiency. Making meaning from text reading is a constant consideration for teachers in multilingual contexts. Some teachers translate from Afrikaans to English, or Khoekogowab to Afrikaans, and then to English for learners to make meaning of reading text. For the participating teachers, finding common ground with the learners during text reading may be the key consideration. Other participating teachers use pictures or recap alphabet

knowledge as teaching strategies to enact reading. According to Scarborough (2001), there is an established association between oral vocabulary and word reading such that children with larger oral vocabularies also tend to be better readers.

In a comparative study, Strauss and Bipath (2020) reveal that whilst writing and reading words one by one or using flashcards to unveil new vocabulary, learners had the opportunity to match and read these words. Therefore, reading to young learners has some benefits including supporting the acquisition of new vocabulary and expanding sight word growth. The results show that teachers used word games, sight word drilling, filling blanks within a sentence, and listening to stories as strategies to teach vocabulary. The results suggest that teachers were not trained in assessing reading. While the participating teachers generally realised the importance of assessment, they were not able to describe how assessment data may assist in improving reading proficiency. Without an assessment of reading, teachers may be unable to provide learning support or differentiate reading teaching. Using suitable and appropriate assessment strategies, specific reading challenges can be identified and apt teaching and learning approaches can be used to assist teachers diagnose learners' problems to design more effective teaching strategies. Morrison, Woika and Breffni (2020) indicate that formative assessment guides teachers' decision making about future instruction and provide feedback to learners to improve their performance. Concerning training in teaching reading, all the teachers reported having participated in in-service training to teach English phonics in Grade 1. As Garcia & Weiss, (2019) emphasise, educator quality can be improved through effective professional learning. Teachers also found it challenging to enhance reading without parents' support at home. In multilingual classrooms, learners are at different levels of reading proficiency. Strauss and Bipath (2020) recommended intervention measures to improve children's emergent language and literacy development within preschool and Grade 1 classrooms. Parents who participated in the study (*ibid.*) liked reading. However, little evidence that they did read to children was reported.

Conclusion

The study attempted to identify Grade 1 teachers' didactic approaches to developing English literacy and reading skills in multilingual classroom environments. The results suggest that teachers use a variety of strategies to teach reading and mediation

between different languages, often resorting to translation. It has also been observed that the participants were not trained in reading assessment procedures. In addition, it has been argued that home reading interventions may positively impact children's reading. Therefore, this study calls for exploring how teachers can be trained to develop effective reading and reading assessment strategies in multilingual contexts.

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A CASE OF EARLY INTENTIONAL BILINGUALISM: A CLOSE EXAMINATION OF CONTEXT AND PRACTICES

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Abstract/Izvleček

Intentional bilingualism is becoming increasingly popular in EFL countries, where many second-language speakers of English raise their children as a bilingual, with English alongside the local language. This article explores a case of intentional bilingualism spanning the first four years of a child, Ipek, who lives in Türkiye and has been exposed to Turkish and English since birth. As part of a longitudinal qualitative study, field and reflective notes were analysed to outline the key elements of Ipek's context, including the participants, tools, methods and techniques. The insights and experiences gained in the study may contribute to developing effective strategies for developing intentional bilingualism.

Keywords:
intentional bilingualism;
Child bilingualism;
Family language policy;
EFL; Turkish as L1.

Ključne besede:
namerna dvojezičnost,
zgodnja dvojezičnost,
strategije družinskih
jezikov, angleščina kot
tuj jezik, turščina kot
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Primer zgodnje namerne dvojezičnosti: analiza konteksta in strategij

Namerna dvojezičnost postaja vse bolj priljubljena v državah, v katerih mnogi starši, ki jim je angleščina drugi jezik, svoje otroke vzgajajo dvojezično, t.j. v jeziku okolja in angleščini. Prispevek obravnava primer namerne dvojezičnosti, ki zajema prva štiri leta deklice Ipek, ki živi v Turčiji in je bila od rojstva izpostavljena turščini in angleščini. V okviru longitudinalne kvalitativne raziskave so bili analizirani terenski in reflektivni zapiski, ki osvetljujejo ključne elemente konteksta, v katerem je Ipek izpostavljena dvojezičnosti, vključno z udeleženci, orodji, metodami in tehnikami. Izsledki in izkušnje, pridobljene dem raziskavo, lahko prispevajo k razvoju učinkovitih strategij za razvijanje namerne dvojezičnosti.

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Review of the Literature

Intentional Bilingualism

In broad terms, bilingualism is defined as the ability to possess and use two languages (Grosjean, 2010; Wei, 2020). Today, many children around the world are raised with exposure to two or more languages. When a second language (L2) is introduced after the child has acquired the first language (L1), this is called sequential bilingualism (Meisel, 2008). Children are also raised bilingually from birth, for diverse reasons, and this type of bilingualism is known as simultaneous bilingualism (Bermudez, 2019; David, 2013; De Houwer, 2009; Pettit, 2015). In simultaneous bilingualism, a child's main language sources are parents and/or the community and take various forms. For instance, a child may acquire two different languages in a multilingual household where the parents are L1 speakers of those languages. In another case, a child may learn one language from parents speaking the minority language and another language from the broader community representing the majority language. There is a less common form of childhood bilingualism where parents communicate with their child in a language other than their own, and this language is not the local or community language either. For example, Japanese parents raising their child as an English-Japanese bilingual in Japan exemplify this scenario. This particular case is referred to as intentional bilingualism (Štefanik, 1997), sometimes mono-cultural family bilingualism (Szramek-Karcz, 2014). Additionally, terms such as artificial bilingualism (Baker, 2010; Döpke, 1992; Saunders, 1990), home immersion (Saunders, 1990), and cultivated or elite bilingualism (Valdés & Figueroa, 1994) are also employed in the literature. Given the representation of the case, in this paper, "intentional bilingualism" will be used. Intentional bilingualism as a new trend is specifically evident among parents who are not native-speakers of but are fluent in English, living in monolingual countries where English is the most preferred foreign language due to its lingua franca status. Most of the time, the parent is a fluent English speaker, who feels a certain responsibility to impart his/her L2 skills to the child. Alongside L1, these parents choose to help their child in acquiring another language, specifically English, for the child's future academic and personal well-being in a globalized world. Other reasons may include inadequate English language instruction in public schools and high costs associated with private schools that provide extensive English language hours.

Parents thus develop English-friendly home environments and implement appropriate family language policies for their own situation. In this endeavor, they engage in various activities to naturally expose their child to the new language. The type and nature of home bilingualism practices are influenced by family language policy (FLP), which relates to the language beliefs held and how languages are managed within the family (King & Fogle, 2006; Liang et al., 2022; Spolsky, 2009). Curdt-Christiansen (2009) describes FLP as the family's deliberate decision to apply a specific language and literacy plan within the household.

Parents who decide to raise bilingual children have various methods and strategies to choose from. In intentional bilingualism, L1 refers to the community language, while L2 refers to the target language provided additionally at home. One communication strategy used by families is the One Person One Language (OPOL) method (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Grosjean, 2010; Romanowski, 2018; Smith-Christmas, 2016), where one parent addresses the child in one language while the other parent uses another language. Alternatively, parents may employ the Time and Place (T&P) strategy (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Pearson, 2008; Romanowski, 2018), interacting in L2 only at specific times and/or places. A subcategory of this strategy is One Language One Environment (OLOE) (Piller, 2001; Seo, 2019). Another method is the Minority Language at Home (ML@H) (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Romanowski, 2018), where both parents speak the L2 only at home. This could also take the form of Minority Language Immersion, where parents use the L2 everywhere until the child adequately acquires it. Lastly, parents may use both their L1 and L2 interchangeably while communicating with their child, known as the Mixed Language Policy (MLP) (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Grosjean, 2010; Romanowski, 2018).

Compared to research on other types of bilingualism, fewer studies have been conducted on intentional bilingualism. Although not a new phenomenon, research has documented that many parents in EFL countries have only recently begun to apply intentional bilingualism and share their experiences related to it. The following review presents findings from these studies.

Research on Intentional Bilingualism

As one of the earliest reviews, Saunders (1990) presented case studies of intentional bilingual families. One case involved Past and his wife, who were English speakers but spoke Spanish to their daughter during a specific time of the day.

Another case was Facey, an English speaker in Australia, and her husband, who spoke German to their two children, resulting in both children becoming bilingual due to the parents' efforts and the bilingual environment created at home. Saunders (1990), who was English dominant and highly proficient in German, raised his three children in Australia as bilinguals using the OPOL method, with the father speaking only German and the mother speaking only English.

In a project conducted in Poland, Szramek-Karcz (2016) explored 48 families that practiced intentional bilingualism to reveal parents' views, factors influencing successful bilingualism, and the outcomes. The project also followed longitudinally an Austrian family and found that intentional bilingualism was not affected by factors such as the child's and parents' temperament or gender, political preferences, religious beliefs, or researchers' opinions. While some parents received negative feedback from their environment, many participants were motivated to adopt intentional bilingualism after encountering another family that had successfully implemented it.

For evaluating the effectiveness of early bilingual education in Poland, Romanowski (2018) interviewed 22 families to understand their reasons, rewards, and difficulties in using an L2 with their children. It did not lead to confusion and was successful, however, each family's circumstances were unique, and family-based factors influenced the timing and strategy for communication in the L2. The families predominantly used OPOL and MLP, followed by T&P, and ML@H, respectively. The researcher also highlighted critical times during home bilingualism: the first occurs when parents or the child face resistance, the second arises when a second child is born, and the third occurs when the child enters a monolingual school. Additionally, Romanowski (2018) warned parents about potential dangers of early intentional bilingualism, like parents' imperfect competence in the L2, difficulties in finding appropriate words, the child's rejection of L2, and hostility from the environment.

In an overview of a Slovak child's bilingual development due to regular exposure to English and L1 by his mother, Vozníková (2021) presents an experimental context where linguistic development was influenced by the degree of contact with the two languages. In the same context, Hurajová (2022) conducted a case study and noted that despite prejudices, it was a common practice among Slovakian parents to raise English-speaking children.

The same interest in Spain is reported by Álvarez-Sotomayor & Hidalgo-Clérico (2022), who studied parents' perceptions of raising Spanish and English bilingual children. Analyses of interviews before and during the intentional bilingualism process showed that parents perceived the journey as adventurous, with rewards and challenges. Similarly, Utrera & de Diezmas (2023) carried out a study to investigate the most dominant language strategies and practices used in Spanish families implementing Spanish-English intentional bilingualism. They interviewed 17 parents who raised 32 children between the ages of 4 and 18. The families used ML@H, T&P, and OPOL, with the support of bilingual siblings and practices such as storytelling or apps.

Inspecting intentional bilingualism in Brazil, de Oliveira (2022) conducted a study surveying 24 families, most of whom chose English alongside Portuguese. Parents were asked about their practices and views regarding raising their children bilingual. Despite fears and challenges that families faced, the study revealed positive aspects of intentional bilingualism. Parents reported using various methods such as storytelling, nursery rhymes, games, cartoons, and online platforms like YouTube and Netflix as frequently used tools in their bilingual upbringing. The researcher notes that negative opinions from society vanished once they observed the child's L2 competence.

Recently, intentional bilingualism in English has gained popularity in other countries with non-Indo-European languages such as Korean and Turkish. Seo (2019) investigated the bilingual parenting path of a family raising their seven- and five-year-old children in Korea with an "English at home, Korean outside" (OLOE) method since birth. This qualitative case study delved into how the positive language learning experiences and language ideologies of the parents positively influenced their efforts in raising their bilingual child. The study also highlighted socio-cultural and familial factors that contributed to this pursuit, although challenges such as differing levels of English proficiency among parents and societal misconceptions were reported. In another study by Seo (2021), mothers' experiences during bilingual parenting were examined through an analysis of blogs posted in an online community. The study addressed questions about the extent of parental involvement in their child's English education, the challenges faced, and coping strategies. Results indicated that mothers aspired to achieve intentional bilingualism despite their limited English proficiency and educational expertise.

They relied on their network for information on bilingual child rearing, seeking advice on improving their own language proficiency, handling resistance from their children towards English, and selecting appropriate tools and techniques.

Pursuing difficulties, Seo (2022) discussed main challenges of bilingual parenting in a monolingual context, noting that these become more pronounced as the child grew older: inadequate English proficiency, societal misconceptions and differing perspectives among spouses, especially when both are actively involved in the process. She suggests that successful intentional bilingual parenting necessitates familial cooperation, a language-friendly home environment, and ongoing parental self-reflection. In the Turkish context, Turhal (2020) documented his successful experience in raising his daughter as a Turkish-English bilingual. He authored a book titled *Bebeğimize İngilizce Öğretin (Teach Your Baby English)* to share his family's bilingualism journey and conducted interviews with three other parents. One of the parents had two daughters raised with English and Turkish interchangeably from an early age. Another parent, an English teacher, used English in daily life with her daughters starting from when her eldest daughter was 1 year and 6 months old, and emphasizing the importance of books in developing their English competence. The third parent, also an English teacher, used English with his son while the mother spoke only Turkish, leading to his dominant language becoming English. In the same context, Demirci and Güven (2020) evaluated the communication abilities and vocabulary proficiency of a Turkish-English bilingual boy in both languages. The child primarily received exposure to English from his father and Turkish from his mother and the community. Güven (2021), in his book *Anne bu Cat değil mi? (Mom, isn't this a Cat?)* shares his experience of initially using Turkish for communication in the family and gradually transitioning to using English fully with the OPOL method. The child continued to receive Turkish from his mother and the community. However, when the father presented Turkish after the age of 3, the child rejected speaking it with his father and preferred using only English. Akgül et al. (2019) documented parents raising their children bilingually while living in their hometown resort to audio-visual means like TV shows and family activities like conversing. Most parents reported not experiencing disadvantages, although some mentioned resistance from children towards the L2, a lack of importance on the L1, and challenges with the country's education system. Recently, Karagöz & Erdemir (2022) interviewed eight English teacher parents in Türkiye about raising a bilingual child, along with the practices they employed.

Most parents utilized materials designed for very young learners, while some used homemade products. Parents did not adhere to a certain bilingual parenting method but acted intuitively, focusing on enhancing their children's oral skills as well as vocabulary knowledge. Disadvantages mentioned by families included language delays, societal prejudices, and discouragement from family members.

Studies described above demonstrated various difficulties encountered in intentional bilingualism. However, they also showcased successful outcomes, parental contentment, and community appreciation as a result of this difficult endeavor, which indicates that intentional bilingualism is a worthwhile journey for the stakeholders, making it a new trend among families in monolingual countries.

However, as a research area, there is a noticeable gap in the literature regarding intentional bilingualism compared to other types of bilingualism. More documentation is needed to explore different aspects of intentional bilingualism. Most of the studies summarized above focus on views reported by families, while fewer studies provide a lengthy analysis of the actual process. Therefore, there is a need for studies that depict the exhausting process of intentional bilingualism comprehensively across various family types and languages.

At the same time, existing studies indicate varying family beliefs and practices. There is a pressing need for more research on early intentional bilingualism, to gain a better understanding of the experiences and processes involved. Álvarez-Sotomayor & Hidalgo-Clérico (2022) note that knowledge on this issue is found in anecdotal books or social network posts, emphasizing the necessity for analytic treatment. De Oliveira (2022) adds that “a longitudinal study that could accompany these children and assess their bilingual development over the years, their linguistic competence and potential influences in their language production would immensely contribute to the field.” (p. 276). Such longitudinal studies can provide valuable insights into the long-term effects of intentional bilingualism, helping researchers and parents make informed decisions.

To our understanding, intentional bilingualism typically occurs in monolingual countries. In such contexts, the additional linguistic environments created by families for their children are particularly crucial and require careful study. Therefore, one of the initial steps in studying intentional bilingualism is to investigate these contexts. This article aims to address the aforementioned needs by presenting details of a case of successful early intentional bilingualism.

Specifically, the article will describe in detail the language environment created for one child, Ipek, and the bilingual practices that were employed.

Methodology

The Participant

Ipek, the focal child, was born and raised in Türkiye by her two Turkish-speaking parents. She can be labeled as an English-Turkish simultaneous bilingual since she was exposed to both languages from infancy. Her mother, an English teacher and the first author of the article, chose Ipek for analysis based on convenient sampling. However, Ipek's case is unique because English was neither the mother's nor the father's L1. Ipek grew up hearing both languages mainly from her mother, while being exposed to Turkish primarily from her father and other people in the community.

A longitudinal descriptive case study was conducted to describe Ipek's bilingual exposure and communicative abilities during her first four years. Although the study primarily focused on her bilingual development rather than her emotional, social or cognitive development, recordings and regular face-to-face interactions indicated that her overall development in these areas was in line with her peers. Ipek rapidly and consistently became proficient in Turkish and English. By the end of the data collection period, at age four, she could effectively communicate in both languages, although her Turkish proficiency was naturally more dominant due to living in Türkiye. Nonetheless, she demonstrated the ability to comprehend complex English sentences and engage in successful English conversations, which the researchers took as indicators of her fluency and competence in the English language.

Data Collection

Longitudinal case studies are useful for providing an in-depth understanding of a case over a long time, giving a detailed idea of the process (Creswell, 2014; Stake, 1995). The data presented in this paper is derived from the longitudinal qualitative case study and focuses specifically on Ipek's exposure to the languages. Details regarding her bilingual development, including the various phases of her comprehension and production in both languages, will be shared elsewhere. This paper focuses on the language environment created for the child and the bilingual activities provided to her, mainly by her mother.

Mom's approach emphasized incidental learning through daily interactions, such as conversations during breakfast preparation or shopping, expecting bilingualism to occur naturally rather than implementing specialized activities to teach the target language. This methodology resulted in naturalistic data, which involves gathering information from participants in their authentic environments without influencing their behavior (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Schostak, 2023).

Naturalistic data were collected over four years through recordings, field notes, and reflective diary entries by the first author on a monthly basis from Ipek's birth until she was 4 years and 3 months old (4;3). The complete data set comprises 41 video recordings, six audio recordings, and 66 fieldnote entries. Video and audio recordings captured naturalistic daily activities, while field notes included observations and specific utterances by Ipek.

Data Analysis

The data were first analysed with linguistic aims, focusing on areas such as the degree and nature of Ipek's comprehension and production in each language, her use of formulaic phrases, translanguaging and metalinguistic comments. Secondly, the data were analysed for the types of tasks, activities, materials, interlocutors, languages and situations that Ipek engaged in. The degree and nature of her exposure to and use of each language during different periods of her life were scrutinized. For the latter purpose, which is the focus of this paper, the data underwent qualitative analysis through reading, organization into categories and forming tables, with supporting information such as dates, ages, frequencies and additional details. For the coding process, the researcher used Notepad++ to streamline the counting and categorizing of the data.

To enhance trustworthiness, the second author, who specializes in language acquisition, served as an interrater. Initially, both researchers coded each data extract separately. Then they met regularly, both in person and online, to discuss and finalize the categories of analysis for each data instance. This collaborative process aimed to establish research credibility and utilized peer debriefing, also known as investigator triangulation.

Despite the qualitative nature of the study, percentages were included for clarity and comprehensibility, indicating the extent of exposure to and usage of each language. Consequently, the bilingual context in which Ipek spent her first four years and her progress in both languages were outlined and presented in the next section.

Findings on Characteristics of Ipek's Language Context

Interlocutors

Many participants from the close environment were involved in Ipek's bilingual development and contributed in various ways. These people and their roles in Ipek's life have been summarized below. For ethical purposes, pseudonyms were used.

Ipek's Mother/The Researcher, Mom

Mom had a dual role of being Ipek's primary caregiver and English-language provider. Mom, who is also the researcher and the first author of this paper, was in her mid-thirties and teacher of English with 12 years of experience. She comes from a monolingual Turkish-speaking family and started learning English at age 11 in a state school. She graduated from an English Language Teaching program of a state university in Türkiye and has not been to an English-speaking country but did work at private language schools with L1 English speakers. As an advanced-level English user, she made the decision to raise Ipek bilingually from birth. For this, she spoke Turkish when in the company of monolingual Turkish speakers and English exclusively when alone with Ipek because she did not want her to feel isolated in Turkish-speaking environments. Until nearly two years, Ipek's mother was her only source of exposure to English.

Ipek's Father, Dad

- Ipek's father was in his mid-forties. He is a history teacher at a university and grew up in a monolingual Turkish-speaking family, attending state schools. Dad speaks English at a C1 level according to the Common European Framework. He appreciated and supported Mom's efforts to raise their daughter bilingually. During the first three years of Ipek's life, Dad spoke to her only in Turkish. However, after Ipek turned three, he also started reading English books to her and having short conversations in English.

Ipek's Nanny, Sevgi

- Sevgi was hired as the nanny when Ipek was 1;3 and spoke Turkish with her. While her mother worked, Ipek was taken to Sevgi's house five days a week. Although Sevgi had no formal childcare education, she contributed to Ipek's Turkish language development through songs, nursery rhymes, and stories. Sevgi continued to work with the family when needed, even after Ipek started kindergarten.

Nanny's Daughter, Nehir

- The nanny's daughter, Nehir, was 17 years old when she worked with Ipek's family. Although Nehir was away at high school during the day, she spent time with Ipek during summer and semester holidays. Nehir became a role model for Ipek and was like an elder sister to her. When Nehir started studying at the university, she had more time to meet and communicate with Ipek, mainly in Turkish but sometimes also in English (e.g., chats during mealtimes and reading English books). Nehir had a B2 level of English proficiency.

English Tutor, Amaya

- Just before her third birthday, the family decided to hire a private tutor, Amaya, who was an L1 English speaker from the USA and lived in the same building. Amaya came to Ipek's home a few times a week for about an hour, during which they played games, read books, or chatted. Ipek's mother monitored the sessions from an adjacent room but did not interrupt them. In total, they spent ten sessions together in 45 days. Amaya often stayed longer after the session to chat with Ipek's mother, which further increased Ipek's exposure to English. This was Ipek's first exposure to an L1 English speaker in real life, and her mother noted it as an important period because it was the first time Ipek heard her mother speak English to someone else. The sessions had to end when the family moved to City B, and Amaya moved abroad.

The Second Nanny, Yasemin

- The family hired Yasemin as a live-in nanny for Ipek when she was almost four years old, after her kindergarten closed down for the summer. Yasemin, who was Dad's cousin and a preschool teacher trainee, spent about eight hours a day with Ipek and spoke only Turkish with her. They spent time reading books, doing activities planned by Yasemin, and playing inside and outside the house.

Kindergarten English Teacher, Ebru

- At age 4, Ipek attended a kindergarten where the main language of instruction was Turkish, so she spoke Turkish all day with her friends and the teacher. However, they had an English teacher named Ebru who taught them English for two to three hours per week. During these classes, they played games, sang songs, and did art activities in English.

The General Picture

Upon deciding to raise her daughter as a bilingual, Mom adopted a method where she let her daughter get exposed to English via already occurring routine home activities for a minimum of a few hours a day. Her goal was to make their English sessions not only productive but also enjoyable and captivating. She created for Ipek a bilingual environment where she was exposed to both languages regularly and consistently through activities and materials such as oral interactions and storybooks, all of which helped her comprehension and production skills. Day by day, Ipek was able to comprehend more input and produce more output in both languages. This progress was identified by the researchers through data analyses and verbal reports of Ipek's interlocutors. Mom had developed a general language policy (i.e., raising her with two languages), but no strict language plan to follow. When data were analyzed, it was seen that the linguistic atmosphere was influenced by the circumstances and people in Ipek's life (See Table 1).

Ipek has been raised in a household consisting of her parents and her brother, who was added to the family when she was two-and-a-half years. Mom and Dad always used Turkish to communicate with each other. Dad was working during the day, therefore, Ipek spent her first 14 months hearing mostly English from her mother, except for family visits, where Turkish was used. After that, the family hired a Turkish nanny as the mother went back to work, which decreased Ipek's English exposure. After a period of 16 months (when Ipek was 2:6) her mother took maternal leave when Ipek's baby brother joined the family.

As outlined in Table 1, the amount of time Ipek was exposed to English and Turkish showed variation. The source of English was mainly her mother, and she was almost never equally exposed to both languages. The amount of language she heard changed depending on many factors such as family visits or working schedule of parents. Some months she was heavily exposed to English, especially when she spent most of her time with her mother, whereas other months, she heard Turkish much more. However, Ipek's English production started to decrease at age 3:7, due to attending kindergarten for seven to eight hours daily. Living in Türkiye, her dominant language has always been Turkish, and the fact that she began to spend time at school left less room for English.

Table 1: Ipek's Exposure to and Use of the Two Languages

Years: Months	Ipek's Exposure		Ipek's Production		Explanation
	to Turkish	to English	of Turkish	of English	
0:0 – 0:2	100% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	-	-	-	As a newborn, Ipek lived with her parents in City A and spent most of her time hearing Turkish from close family members.
0:2 – 0:6	20% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	80% Source: Mom	-	-	Ipek and Mom moved to City B, where Dad works. Mom was with Ipek all day due to maternal leave. Ipek's primary interaction was with Mom.
0:6 – 0:7	100% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	-	-	-	Ipek visited her grandparents with her parents during the semester break and was exposed exclusively to Turkish.
0:7 – 0:9	20% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	80% Source: Mom	-	-	Ipek and her parents travelled back to City B. Dad was working and Ipek typically spent time with Mom, who showed Ipek children's books, discussed the pictures in English, and sang English children's songs accompanied by gestures to clarify meaning.
0:9 – 1:0	60% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	40% Source: Mom	100% To: Mom, Dad Grandparents	-	Ipek and her family travelled back to City A for the summer holiday, during which Dad was also at home. This increased Ipek's exposure to Turkish. She began to say a few Turkish words such as "anne, kedi [mom, cat]", and showed comprehension of both languages through her actions or sounds. Mom continued reading picture storybooks, asking questions, and singing songs.
1:0 – 1:2	20% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	80% Source: Mom	90% To: Mom, Dad Grandparents	10% To: Mom	Ipek's Dad returned to work in City B while Ipek remained in City A with Mom, primarily hearing English. Dad visited them a few times a month. Ipek's usage of Turkish words increased. She also started forming two-word sentences like "Kedi gel. [Come cat]". Mom continued using children's books.
1:2 – 1:9	30% Source: Mom, Dad, Community, Sevgi, Nehir	70% Source: Mom, Nehir	80% To: Mom, Dad, Sevgi, Grandparents Nehir	20% To: Mom	During Mom's six-hour workdays, Ipek was looked after by the Turkish-speaking nanny and her daughter, while Dad was in City B for work. Ipek began forming basic Turkish sentences, such as "Ben temizlik yapıyorum. [I'm cleaning.]" She also understood basic instructions in English and started producing English utterances like "Ball, book, mommy." Mom continued using children's books and songs.

1:9 – 2:0	60% Source: Mom, Dad, Community, Sevgi, Nehir	40% Source: Mom, Nehir	70% To: Mom, Dad, Sevgi, Grandparents Nehir	30% To: Mom	Ipek spent her days with her Turkish-speaking nanny, and evenings with Mom and Dad, during Dad's summer holiday. This reduced Ipek's exposure to English. Mom continued to use children's books and songs.
2:0 – 2:6	60% Source: Mom, Dad, Community, Sevgi, Nehir	40% Source: Mom, Nehir	70% To: Mom, Dad, Sevgi, Grandparents Nehir	30% To: Mom	Ipek was looked after by the Turkish-speaking nanny while Mom worked eight hours a day, and Dad returned to City B. Although Ipek did not speak much English, her comprehension was improving, since she heard English from Mom in the evenings. Her Turkish production increased, and she could engage in daily conversations in it. Mom continued to use children's books and songs.
2:6 – 2:9	20% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	80% Source: Mom	70% To: Mom, Dad, Grandparents	30% To: Mom	Ipek's brother was born, and Mom went on maternal leave. The family moved to City B where Dad lived. Ipek primarily heard English from Mom. They started watching cartoons together for about 30-40 minutes daily. Children's books and songs were used by Mom.
2:9 – 2:11	50% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	50% Source: Mom	60% To: Mom, Dad, Grandparents	40% To: Mom	Ipek returned to City A with her parents for the summer holiday, during which Mom started working half-day. While Mom was at work, Ipek and her brother stayed with Sevgi, having exposure to some English from Nehir. In the afternoons and evenings, Ipek was at home with Mom and Dad. This period marked a rapid increase in her English production and self-confidence. Mom continued using children's books and songs.
2:11 – 3:1	30% Source: Mom, Dad, Community, Sevgi, Nehir	70% Source: Mom, Dad, Amaya, Nehir	55% To: Mom, Dad, Sevgi, Grandparents Nehir	45% To: Mom, Dad, Amaya, Nehir	Ipek began spending 40-50 minutes per session, three days a week, speaking only in English with her private tutor. They played games and read books together. This increased Ipek's eagerness to engage in English dialogues and initiate conversations in English. She also started addressing Dad in English. Children's books and songs continued to be used as English input.
3:1 – 3:2	30% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	70% Source: Mom, Dad	60% To: Mom, Dad, Grandparents	40% To: Mom, Dad	Ipek relocated to City B with her family. Mom was on maternal leave, and Dad worked during the day. Ipek mainly heard English from Mom and could engage in daily conversations in English with a few sentences (compared one English sentence and then switching to Turkish).

3:2 – 3:7	40% Source: Mom, Dad, Community	60% Source: Mom, Dad	60% To: Mom, Dad, Grandparents	40% To: Mom, Dad	Ipek began attending kindergarten half-day in City B, where she was exposed to Turkish at school for four hours a day. Since this kindergarten did not offer English classes, her exposure decreased slightly. Mom continued to communicate in English, also using songs and books.
3:7 – 3:10	60% Source: Mom, Dad, Community, Kindergarten teachers, Classmates	40% Source: Mom, Dad	65% To: Mom, Dad, Grandparents Kindergarten teachers, Friends	35% To: Mom, Dad	Ipek returned to City A and started attending kindergarten for eight hours a day with three English hours per week. Additionally, English songs and books were used by Mom at home.
3:10 – 4:0	60% Source: Mom, Dad, Yasemin, Community	40% Source: Mom, Dad	70% To: Mom, Dad, Grandparents Yasemin	30% To: Mom, Dad	Ipek stopped attending kindergarten during the summer holiday, and the family had a new live-in nanny. Turkish was the dominant language at home used by parents. Mom was working, but continued to communicate with Ipek in English when they were alone, reading and singing to her in English.
4:0 – 4:3	70% Source: Mom, Dad, Community, Kindergarten teachers, Classmates	30% Source: Mom, Ebru	90% To: Mom, Dad, Grandparents Kindergarten teacher, Classmates	10% To: Mom, Dad, Ebru	Ipek enrolled in a new kindergarten that offered English classes for six hours a week. Her new school conducted Turkish activities, so Ipek primarily communicated with her teacher and friends in Turkish. This preference resulted in a decrease in her English production.

Language Exposure through Daily Routines

Mom preferred to use English during their conversations with Ipek. When she was cooking or cleaning, Ipek accompanied her. With her expertise in education and teaching EFL, Mom used English in simplified and comprehensible ways, applying features of speech suitable for children to explain her actions. She consistently adjusted her language to match Ipek's age and cognitive level. Mom introduced new words in concrete and meaningful contexts, using objects, pictures, and real-life experiences to reinforce new vocabulary and phrases in both languages. When necessary, she recast Ipek's incomplete or erroneous utterances. Initially Ipek responded with gestures and sounds, followed by basic Turkish words, and soon after by simple English words. Gradually, she incorporated more English words and phrases into her speech. During Mom-child alone time interactions, if Ipek initiated in Turkish, Mom usually responded in English to provide exposure and encourage her to speak in English. Additionally, Mom did her best to engage Ipek in the activity she was doing, encouraging her to be as interactive as possible. For instance, picking and folding laundry was a fun chore for Ipek between ages 1:0 and 2:0, during which she heard Mom use various English structures and basic words. A sample dialogue is provided below:

Mom: Whose t-shirt is it? [takes a t-shirt from the pile]

Ipek: Dad.

Mom: Yes, it belongs to Daddy. Do you know what color this is?

Ipek: Green

Mom: No, it's blue. Do you know what else is blue?

Ipek: Sea

Language Exposure through Games

Mom and Ipek played lots of games during the day. During the first year, they mainly played games that do not require toys such as peek-a-boo, where Mom covered her face with her hands and suddenly revealed herself, announcing "peek-a-boo". There were also times when they played the "airplane" game, where Ipek pretended to be an airplane on Mom's legs when Mom was lying on the floor. The older Ipek got, the more verbal the games became. For example, when Ipek was 1:6 their favorite game was "Where are you?" Mom scattered plush toys such as a teddy and giraffe on the floor and covered each of them with small pieces of cloth.

Then she would start looking for a specific one by loudly saying “Teddy, teddy! Where are you, teddy? I can’t see you anywhere.” Then she would uncover one of the plush toys and say “Oh, you’re not teddy. You are the giraffe. Do you know where teddy is? We can’t find him anywhere. Have you seen teddy? No? Okay, then. We’ll keep looking.” In a way, Mom was modeling a question-answer dialogue on her own, later to include Ipek. Ipek was only watching her at the beginning, later laughing at Mom’s exaggerated actions and talk, and finally she would uncover the toys, too. Over time, Mom and Ipek enjoyed playing various mind, board and card games suitable for her age. These games could be played in either language, but they were mostly conducted in English with Mom.

Language Exposure through Books

Ipek has always enjoyed childhood activities like handcrafts, playdough and drawing. However, she loved reading books. She has been exposed to books since she was a newborn and has seen both parents reading frequently. Ipek got accustomed to hearing Mom and Dad read books to her, selected by herself, for 20-30 minutes as part of the bedtime routine. From the age of four months onwards, she has had a collection of children’s books that were read and told to her. Mom compiled a selection of authentic children’s books that were age-appropriate, focusing on those that matched Ipek’s developmental stage and interests. For younger ages, she chose books with colorful pictures and simple stories, progressing to more complex ones as Ipek grew. She did not engage with text yet viewed books as an exciting and engaging way to explore new concepts and stories. She showed particular interest in books with vivid illustrations and relatable characters. She preferred stories in the language they were first introduced to her, often associating English reading time with Mom and Turkish reading time with Dad. She also enjoyed retelling stories from her favorite books with Mom’s help. For example, when she was three years old, she recurrently recounted “Ellie the Elephant”.

By the age of four, Ipek’s bookcase contained over 200 children’s books. These books were categorized as stories “read in English only” and “read in both languages”. Some were originally written in English, while others were written in Turkish but used by Mom for English as well. Since authentic English books were costly and hard to find, Mom typed and glued English translations next to the Turkish text in some books to create bilingual versions.

This allowed Ipek to access her favorite books in both languages. It is notable that there were no materials solely read in Turkish, as Mom sought to maximize every opportunity to expose Ipek to English.

Language Exposure through Songs

When Mom occasionally did not receive an immediate response from Ipek she found simple children's songs in English to be beneficial, and she often sang to Ipek using gestures to expose her to meaningful and natural language. Like most parents who sing to and with their children, Mom also aimed to help Ipek develop linguistic, motor, social and emotional skills. She also played these songs from a specific YouTube channel throughout the day, avoiding screen time while providing scaffolding for Ipek to comprehend. Mom had a diverse repertoire of English children's songs, stemming from her experience as a former young learner teacher. Ipek continued to listen to nursery rhymes and children's songs until she reached the age of 2:9, at which point she was allowed to watch the video clips as well. Mom also integrated nursery rhymes and children's songs into their daily routine to familiarize Ipek with various aspects of the target language, such as expressions, vocabulary, and pronunciation. She sang common children's songs suitable to her age, as well as songs that were relevant to each situation, such as waking up or taking a bath. For instance, while Ipek was brushing her teeth, Mom sang the song "Brush your teeth". Whenever Mom was getting Ipek ready to go out, she would sing the song "Put on your shoes". As a result, Ipek memorized the lyrics of several English and Turkish children's songs.

Language Exposure through Cartoons

In this paper, the term "screen time" refers to the duration during which Ipek watched cartoons or movies on electronic screens such as television or tablet. Ipek's screen time began after the age of 2:5, shortly after her brother was born, and was primarily centered around materials selected by Mom. Initially, Ipek's screen time in English involved watching video clips of songs she was already familiar with from listening during the day. Subsequently, Mom and Ipek watched videos featuring animals and cartoon characters together. Mom selected cartoons in either language based on age appropriateness, content appropriateness, Ipek's interest areas, language simplicity, and authenticity.

Ipek particularly enjoyed watching *Peppa Pig*, a British animated series for preschoolers, and became a big fan of the show. She identified with the “Big Sister” character and related to the relevant topics. Additionally, the clear pronunciation and supportive visuals helped her comprehend much of the content. Mom ensured that they always watched the series with English audio to expose Ipek to more English, as there were not many suitable audio-visual materials available to them.

Community Support

Parents who engage in intentional bilingualism may face discouragement due to negative comments from others regarding their choice to interact with their children in another language. It is noteworthy that Ipek’s mother never encountered such negativity, which might be attributed to the family’s commitment and Ipek’s contentment with the situation clearly observed from the outside. Instead, she received continuous encouragement and praise from individuals in her immediate environment, particularly from her husband, parents and parents-in-law, regarding her efforts in raising Ipek bilingually.

Furthermore, shortly before Ipek turned two, Mom joined the “Bilingual Children Türkiye” group on Facebook. This decision proved to be motivating as she connected with other Turkish parents, many of whom were also English language teachers, raising their children as Turkish-English bilinguals. Moreover, the group provided a supportive environment for parents of bilingual children in a monolingual society. It offered a platform for sharing experiences, seeking recommendations, and addressing specific problems and concerns, which was a valuable source of comfort for Mom. For example, members shared recommendations for bilingual books and educational tools, and parents discussed common challenges such as balancing the two languages at home, ensuring consistent exposure to English despite living in a predominantly Turkish-speaking environment, and dealing with children’s resistance to using any of the languages. They also addressed issues of finding suitable bilingual schools, strategies for maintaining children’s motivation to learn both languages, and handling criticism or lack of understanding from the community.

Discussion and Implications

The descriptive overview in this article illustrates how one family implemented and experienced intentional bilingualism to raise their child as a Turkish-English bilingual. Ipek developed into a simultaneous bilingual through exposure to both languages from infancy by her parents. The linguistic environment she grew up in was shaped by the circumstances and individuals in her life, all of whom contributed in various ways to her bilingual development. Although Mom, who was an English teacher, did not follow a predetermined plan or strategy, she consistently exposed Ipek to English and Turkish. While Turkish naturally existed in their environment, extra effort was dedicated to providing English. Ipek received English from her mother for a few hours every day during activities such as daily conversations, gestures that accompanied interactions, watching cartoons, reading storybooks, singing songs, and playing games. Due to everyday practical household issues, one language sometimes dominated over the other. However, considering the overall picture, both languages were offered in a balanced manner. This was evident throughout Ipek's life as she continually heard and used both Turkish and English during her first four years and beyond, albeit variations in the quantity and variety of exposure. This confirms the importance of maintaining consistent and ample use of both languages for genuine communicative purposes, even if the methods and levels of exposure vary (Grosjean, 2010). Ipek, the bilingual child, was not observed to experience any significant challenges. On the contrary, she seemed quite proud of her bilingual abilities and enjoyed demonstrating her skills to others. Her positive attitude towards languages, encouraged by Mom's support, contributed to Ipek's confidence and enthusiasm in becoming a bilingual. At the same time, her cognitive, social and emotional development progressed normally, without any concerns for the family. However, Mom faced challenges throughout this process. For example, she consistently communicated with her child in a foreign language while also maintaining Turkish at home. Living in an EFL country, she had limited access to authentic English materials, leading her to translate children's books and invest time and resources in finding English-medium materials, facilities and communication partners, such as hiring English-speaking babysitters and enrolling in a kindergarten with English lessons. These efforts required conscious planning and resourcefulness. Nevertheless, the most crucial role was that of Mom as the primary caregiver and provider of the non-native language.

In parallel with Seo's (2021) findings, it was primarily Mom's conscious efforts that played a pivotal role in this process. It was observed that Mom's strong motivation and determinism facilitated Ipek's acquisition of an L2 alongside her L1 in a monolingual context. This endeavor proved successful because Mom used every opportunity and made considerable efforts to create a rich language environment for Ipek.

Research-wise, it must be acknowledged that Mom's multiple roles in the study - as language provider, researcher, primary caregiver, and mother - might have influenced the collection, analysis and the presentation of data, with both advantages and disadvantages. This situation allowed for rich, naturalistic and convenient data collection, and deeper interpretation as an insider, but also carried potential biases. To mitigate these biases, extensive data was collected, an interrater was employed, and structured data analysis methods including transcription, coding, constant comparison and reflection, were utilized.

Mom made use of her English language teaching expertise to support Ipek in acquiring the new language as observed in several prior studies (Karagöz & Erdemir, 2022; Seo, 2019; Seo, 2021; Turhal, 2020). She ensured the entire family remained focused on Ipek's language acquisition process, prioritized meaning during their interactions, adhered to principles of natural child language acquisition, and emphasized genuine language use and enjoyment. In other words, her background as an English teacher enabled her to provide effective English input and output opportunities for Ipek. It is important to note that Mom always paid special attention to provide language content suitable for Ipek's level. Whatever Ipek could acquire about the languages was based on her understanding of the world, and her social, emotional, biological and cognitive development. Therefore, whether it was conversing, singing songs, playing games, watching series, or reading books, all activities were tailored to her abilities, needs and interests. Care providers without language teaching backgrounds may find it useful to adopt successful strategies mentioned in this article. Additionally, exploring how the situation unfolds in families where parents are not language professionals or have limited English proficiency would be valuable for further research.

In terms of communication strategy, Ipek's language environment was composed of the Mixed Language Policy practice, where there was free alternation between the two languages (Grosjean, 2010; Romanowski, 2018). MLP proved to be a suitable style for this case, and as a result, Ipek had varied meaningful bilingual experiences.

Future research could investigate the differential influence of various bilingual provision strategies on the development of intentional bilingualism.

In the present study Mom had a general goal to provide two languages for Ipek but did not create a fully structured syllabus for achieving this goal. Other parents who have this aim can prepare and plan more deliberately and follow a more structured plan as part of their family language policy before starting this adventure. Future research can explore the effects of varying routes to home bilingualism, diverse plans and practices, as well as different family structures, to understand if different outcomes are achieved.

Intentional bilingualism parenting is often acknowledged to involve various concerns of the wider community, confirmed by relevant literature (de Oliveira, 2022; Seo, 2021; Seo, 2022). Fortunately, these challenges did not appear in Ipek and her family's journey. Throughout this process, Mom received support, highlighting the significance of partner and societal cooperation. Both Ipek's immediate and extended family were supportive of Mom's decision to raise her as a bilingual child. Additionally, Mom found encouragement through social media platforms where she felt reassured knowing that she was not alone in her efforts. These platforms should be made more accessible to allow parents to exchange experiences and valuable information more easily. Research could explore the various effects of such online communities on parenting and language development.

Ipek was the first-born child in the family. Her younger brother, who grew up in the same linguistic context, also presents an interesting case to be studied, regarding his own bilingual development as well as its effects on Ipek's language development. Seo (2019) notes that "The effects of additional children were not systematically examined" (p. 230), highlighting the need to investigate how the presence of additional siblings affects bilingual children.

During her preschool years, Ipek was guided and had her language exposure controlled by her parents, leading to her successful bilingual development. It is worth noting that bilingual development can be negatively affected when children begin schooling in the majority language (Döpke, 1992). After age 4, Ipek attended kindergarten, where she was predominantly immersed in a Turkish speaking environment, resulting in a decrease in her English production. Further research is warranted to see how Ipek's situation evolves during her school years, in terms of the influence of schooling on family members' reactions, preferences, and practices as well as her bilingual development.

Many parents who desire early bilingualism for their children might be hesitant due to concerns about potential delays in language acquisition, fears of confusing the child, or worries about their own proficiency in the second language (Seo, 2022). Some parents may also lack access to adequate resources or support systems, making the process seem daunting. Additionally, societal or familial pressure to prioritize the community language over the second language can be a significant barrier. Documenting the contextual dimensions present in cases like Ipek's will provide guidance and serve as a valuable model for parents who wish to foster bilingualism. The insights and experiences will aid both parents and researchers in determining useful and appropriate strategies.

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