Multilingual Education in the Light of Diversity: Lessons Learned

Analytical report

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ABOUT THE NESET II

NESET II is an advisory network of experts working on the social dimension of education and training. The European Commission's Directorate-General for Education and Culture initiated the establishment of the network as the successor to NESSE (2007-2010) and NESET (2011-2014). The Public Policy and Management Institute (PPMI) is responsible for the administration of the NESET II network.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

While multilingualism and diversity have always been an integral part of Europe, they have also become important characteristics of many national education systems during the past two decades. The linguistic diversity of modern classrooms is shaped by 1) the presence of historical non-dominant language groups, which are being revitalised; 2) The growing mobility between countries which results in a variety of new languages and skills in the classrooms; and 3) changing educational and labour market demands that favour multilingual and multi-literate citizens.

Consequently, more and more young learners are growing up with several cultures and languages and may experience multiple transitions between different school systems and school languages. Raised in changing multilingual and multicultural environments, individuals may no longer identify themselves with one language and culture but rather with a range of languages and cultures acquired in different situations. In the context of these social transformations, multilingualism is becoming more a way of life than a problem to be solved.

The task of education stakeholders is to create school systems that bridge these various linguistic and cultural realities and support the mobility of the pupils across Europe. Schools need to provide an education that supports the development of learners' linguistic and cultural resources, while at the same time balancing these with social, cultural and political demands. The challenge at hand is therefore to offer a multilingual schooling system that supports the inclusion of all pupils in which they can develop their full potential linguistically, cognitively and emotionally.

In light of the above, this report reviews international research to reveal how national education systems can better support multilingualism in their schools. It tries to answer the following questions:

› How is multilingualism understood in different contexts and what are the main challenges and opportunities involved in promoting multilingualism in schools?

› What specific education policies and practices appear to be inclusive approaches promoting multilingualism and continuity of language learning?

› What is the role of different stakeholders in supporting multilingualism at individual and societal level?

› What key recommendations can be made that can serve as important (first) steps to improve present policies and ensure that they are linguistically and culturally sensitive?

One of the limitations of this review was a lack of empirical evidence (in particular longitudinal research) in Europe that looks into comprehensive multilingual approaches of teaching highly diverse student population in schools. That said, there are many innovative practices and inspiring approaches that recognise linguistic capital as a resource, both emerging and being trialled, which the authors document in this review. However, most research concerning effectiveness and comparison of different instructional models is based on empirical material from North America.

Key findings

› **Multilingualism is associated with cognitive, social, personal, academic and professional benefits.** Contrary to popular belief, there is no negative effect of bilingual education on language development; studies have even reported a positive effect when compared to monolingual education, and even also an improvement in learning school languages. Moreover, research evidence suggests that valuing the unique language and cultural background of each pupil promotes academic success by boosting self-confidence and self-esteem. Furthermore, multilingual learners are likely to have better

critical thinking and problem solving skills from having gained multiple perspectives, and have greater cultural awareness (see section 1.1).

> **Multilingualism needs to be supported**. When pupils move from one country to another, and therefore from one language to another, they develop different sets of knowledge in their different languages. When moving to a new school (language) environment, such pupils require support to successfully transfer their existing knowledge from one language to another. They also need support to learn how to successfully communicate and develop cognitively on different subjects through the medium of new languages. This requires an articulated language learning approach, which unfortunately is not yet in place in the majority of countries (see section 2.1).

> **Multilingual education is not yet a reality in most countries in Europe**. Although there is evidence on the benefits of multilingualism, very few European countries presently support multilingualism at school and thereby miss an opportunity to capitalise on the advantages it brings to the learning process. Clearly, in many countries multilingualism poses entirely new challenges to the educational system. Oftentimes, a greater resistance to an articulated multilingual policy is encountered in geographical areas where less diversity is present than in highly diverse urban environments (see section 2.2 and 3.2).

> **The level of policy support and recognition of linguistic diversity and its benefits influences** the way it is further operationalized into curricula and availability of support programmes for schools. Therefore, strategies, pedagogical concepts and organisational models for such language learning approaches are manifold depending on circumstances (e.g. demographic facts, professional qualification of staff), official language policies (assimilationist vs. pluralistic), and tacit attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity (see section 3.2).

> **Inclusive multilingualism curricula integrate the language dimension comprehensively** and go beyond a simple opposition between monolingual and bilingual educational models or mother tongue versus foreign language. The Multilingualism Curriculum by Krumm and Reich (2013), for instance, explicitly focuses on the development of linguistic awareness, the ability to reflect on one's own linguistic situation and to analyse others' situation, the knowledge about languages and their significance for people and groups, the linguistic knowledge necessary for the comparison of languages, a varied range of learning strategies, and self-confidence as far as the pupils' languages are concerned (see section 3.3).

> **Re-thinking teacher initial education and continuous professional development programmes is necessary to equip teachers with knowledge and competences to support multilingual education**. Teachers report that they are expected to rely on their own resources regarding multilingualism, and often report that they lack support and relevant training. Research shows that simply relying on the accumulation of experience does not help to improve the situation (see section 3.4).

> **Inclusive school culture and leadership is an important component of multilingual education**. Whole-school development is advantageous, if not necessary, to successfully implement a pluralistic approach to language learning. When implementing a whole school language curricula concept, a positive attitude towards all languages is a necessary precondition (see section 4.1).

> **Families and community are an important source of pedagogical experience and a part of the learning continuity**. Research demonstrates that, for multilingual education to be successful, parents' support is necessary, and consequently the way schools cooperate with the parents is crucial for success (see section 4.2).

> **There exist a number of inspiring pedagogical practices that can support multilingualism in schools.** Building on a general approach of linguistically and culturally responsive schooling, language portfolios, translanguaging and the opportunity to grow meta-linguistic competences, cooperative learning, dialogic reading, content and language integrated learning, as well as information and communication technologies, all contribute to positive results for language learners (see chapter 5).

> **There is a need to improve evidence base.** Without rigorous empirical research on the key elements of multilingual policies, it is challenging to give a straightforward answer on successful strategies in terms of academic achievement and social inclusion in order to inform effective policy making. The availability of a strong evidence base on this topic becomes even more important in light of the political sensitivity and ideological debates emerging around the concept of diversity in the wider society.

Key policy implications and recommendations

Our review recommends several steps, the implementation of which can help improve current education policies and ensure that they are culturally and linguistically sensitive. Building on the existing experience of (bi-/multi-)lingual teaching and learning strategies, combined with policy experimentation, is advised.

The main conclusions and recommendations of this report are:

For policy-makers at the EU and national level

> The profound societal change caused by new migration patterns and increased mobility of EU citizens has created a need to re-think the key competence framework for lifelong learning in the 21st century. In particular, the notions of communication in one's mother tongue, and communication in languages other than what is used in school, are increasingly becoming topics of discussion. There is an on-going revision process of the key competence framework in order to bring it in line with the economic and social transformations that have occurred in Europe for the past ten years.

Recommendations

There is a need to re-define key competences in relation to multilingualism at the EU level to reflect the changing European reality.

Multilingual competences need to be clearly operationalized and explained at the national level.

> Deficit-based views on linguistic diversity are prevailing among education policy-makers, and languages that are not included into the general curriculum are often seen as a barrier rather than as a resource. The analysis also shows that a favourable policy discourse and commitment of education stakeholders, starting from political authorities to community organisations, facilitate the implementation of multilingual programmes.

Recommendations

There is a need to **re-conceptualise linguistic and cultural diversity at a policy level**, and to change public perceptions so that a plurality of languages is valued as a resource rather than approached as a problem.

Therefore, there is a need to **rethink school systems in terms of 'multilingualism for all',** not just as part of a narrower agenda of a new migration and learning the language of instruction. Rather, a holistic approach is needed at all levels.

> Continuity is crucial for the academic language development of pupils in a multilingual environment. This means that language learning needs to be smooth and uninterrupted vertically - from early childhood up to entering the labour market - as well as horizontally - ensuring that in formal and non-formal education actors work together as partners to develop a comprehensive learning approach.

Recommendations

It is necessary to address inequalities within the system from the earliest stage, **starting with Early Childhood Education and Care** (ECEC), ensuring vertical continuity.

To ensure multilingual continuity, education policy-makers need to invest in curriculum development. **Learning outcomes in all subjects have to reflect the language dimension**; on the one hand, aiming at the academic language development, and on the other, building on the multilingual resources of the classroom.

Sustained political engagement needs to be ensured at the national level, it should not be subject to on-off initiatives, and should be coupled with effective partnerships including grass-root education stakeholders.

> There are very few comprehensive teacher preparation programmes that deal with linguistic diversity. As it stands, teachers who teach pupils of different linguistic backgrounds are expected to simply rely on their private engagement regarding multilingualism.

Recommendations

There is a priority to **re-examine teacher education** – from initial teacher education and teachers' continuing professional development – to **support all teachers in gaining linguistic awareness and acquiring strategies for supporting learners in super-diverse settings**. Teacher induction is critical in this respect, as is ensuring access to a suitably qualified pool of teacher educators and the diversification of the teacher workforce.

A **formal recognition of multilingual competencies within quality assurance systems would be very helpful**.

> There is, to date, little empirical evidence in Europe that looks into comprehensive multilingual approaches to teach highly diverse student population in schools.

Recommendations

EU-level mechanisms to support knowledge transfer between Member States should be maximised.

It is necessary to **ensure systematic evaluation and monitoring processes** of multilingual education policies and initiatives, to contribute to the evidence base and ensure the greatest benefit for all children and the wider society.

For school communities

> Implementing multilingual learning and teaching strategies requires the commitment and collaboration of all education stakeholders. Many of the existing initiatives can create a foundation for elaborating multilingual approaches and linguistically sensitive practices, provided that an enabling policy environment is created.

Recommendations

Even if multilingual strategies are not yet in place, improving school tolerance with regard to multilingualism can be a valuable asset in comparison to restrictive language policies. **Positive attitudes of teachers and school leaders regarding the languages of the pupils increase motivation and feeling of school belonging,** while language rejection may possibly affect pupils' wellbeing and academic results.

Non-dominant languages need to be included into school contexts, either through formal or non-formal learning.

> Parents and the wider community are an important part of the learning continuity and can therefore help support multilingual education.

Recommendations

Schools and teachers should build **partnerships with families and local communities** for effective multilingual teaching and learning strategies.

The **involvement of families and communities in the education** of children requires **interactive teaching strategies and active acknowledgment (and valuing) of cultural differences in and outside of the classroom**, in order to foster skills and transfer knowledge between the languages.

For practitioners

> Language teaching methodology has seen diverse singular, and even more pluralistic, approaches emerging over the past decades. It would be a wasted opportunity not to find ways to transfer and mainstream the new forms of flexible and inclusive learning provisions that have emerged in the process.

Recommendations

All teachers need to have a profound knowledge about language and language learning, diagnosis and support. This includes scaffolding on the individual micro-level of each student and on the macro-level of planning of instruction for the classroom.

The proactive and strategic use of learners' family languages and the use of cultural embedded tasks make it easier for pupils to access higher conceptual and cognitive tasks.

Teachers and pupils need to **monitor and evaluate the results of the factual language development** using language portfolios to keep track of the progress.

Pedagogical approaches such **as translanguaging and metacomprehension, cooperative learning, and content and language integrated learning**, are important tools that capitalise on linguistic diversity and should be integrated into teaching strategies.

Information and communication technologies can facilitate teaching in multilingual contexts substantially. Therefore, it is important to provide access to the necessary infrastructure in schools and ideally also at home.

RÉSUMÉ

Alors que le plurilinguisme et la diversité ont toujours fait partie intégrante de l'Europe, ils sont aussi devenus, au cours des deux dernières décennies, les caractéristiques fondamentales de nombreux systèmes éducatifs au niveau national. De nos jours, la diversité linguistique dans les classes est façonnée par : 1) la présence de groupes linguistiques historiques non dominants en cours de revitalisation ; 2) une mobilité croissante entre les pays qui permet l'émergence d' une variété de langues et compétences nouvelles dans les salles de classe ; et 3) une évolution des demandes du marché de l'éducation et du travail, évolution qui favorise les citoyens plurilingues et polyvalents.

Par conséquent, de plus en plus de jeunes apprenants grandissent au contact de plusieurs cultures et langues et peuvent connaître multiples passages entre les différents systèmes scolaires et langues d'enseignement. Élevés dans des environnements multilingues et multiculturels en mutation, ils ne peuvent plus s'identifier à une langue et une culture, mais plutôt à un éventail de langues et de cultures acquises dans des situations différentes. Dans le contexte de ces transformations sociales, le plurilinguisme devient plus un mode de vie qu'un problème à résoudre.

La mission des acteurs de l'éducation est de créer des systèmes scolaires qui rapprochent ces différentes réalités linguistiques et culturelles et soutiennent la mobilité des élèves partout en Europe. Les écoles doivent fournir une éducation au service du développement des ressources linguistiques et culturelles des apprenants, tout en les équilibrant avec les exigences sociales, culturelles et politiques. Le défi à relever est donc de proposer un système scolaire multilingue qui favorise l'inclusion de tous les élèves et au sein duquel ils puissent développer pleinement leur potentiel linguistique, cognitif et émotionnel.

À la lumière de ce qui précède, ce rapport passe en revue la recherche internationale effectuée dans ce domaine, afin de montrer comment les systèmes éducatifs nationaux peuvent intégrer le plurilinguisme dans leurs écoles de manière plus radicale. Il tente de répondre aux questions suivantes :

> Comment le multilinguisme est-il compris dans les différents contextes et quels sont les principaux défis et opportunités plurilingues dans les écoles ?

> Quelles politiques et pratiques éducatives spécifiques favorisent des approches inclusives qui soutiennent le plurilinguisme et un apprentissage des langues tout au long du parcours scolaire?

> Quel sont les rôles des différents acteurs dans le soutien du pluri- multilinguisme au niveau individuel et sociétal ?

> Quelles recommandations clés peuvent être faites pour servir de (premières) étapes importantes afin d'améliorer les politiques actuelles et garantir le développement d'approches linguistiquement et culturellement adaptées?

L'une des limites de cette étude a été le manque de données empiriques en Europe, en particulier de recherches longitudinales qui examinent les approches plurilingues globales dans l'enseignement à des populations scolaires extrêmement diverses. Cependant, les auteurs décrivent de nombreuses pratiques et approches inspirantes, tant émergeantes qu'en cours d'évaluation, qui prennent en compte le capital linguistique des apprenants en tant que ressource. Toutefois, force est de constater que la plupart des recherches portant sur l'efficacité à long terme et la comparaison des différents modèles pédagogiques reposent sur des données empiriques en provenance d'Amérique du Nord.

Principaux constats

> **Le plurilinguisme est associé à des avantages cognitifs, sociaux, personnels, scolaires et professionnels.** Contrairement à certaines idées reçues, l'éducation plurilingue n'a pas d'effet négatif

sur le développement du langage ; des études ont même fait état d'un effet positif par rapport à une éducation monolingue, par exemple, sur l'apprentissage de langues supplémentaires. De plus, les résultats des recherches suggèrent que la valorisation du bagage linguistique et culturel de chaque élève favorise la réussite scolaire en renforçant la confiance et l'estime de soi. Par ailleurs, les apprenants plurilingues sont susceptibles d'avoir de meilleures capacités de raisonnement critique et de résolution des problèmes en ayant acquis de multiples perspectives et une plus grande sensibilité culturelle (voir section 1.1).

> **Le plurilinguisme doit être soutenu**. Lorsque les élèves se déplacent d'un pays à l'autre, et donc d'une langue à l'autre, ils développent différents types de connaissances dans les différentes langues. Lorsqu'ils passent à un nouvel environnement scolaire (linguistique), ces élèves ont besoin d'un soutien pour transférer avec succès leurs connaissances d'une langue à l'autre. Ils ont également besoin d'un soutien pour apprendre à communiquer avec succès et se développer cognitivement sur différents sujets par le biais de nouvelles langues. Cela nécessite une approche articulée de l'apprentissage des langues qui, malheureusement, n'est pas encore en place dans la majorité des pays (voir section 2.1).

> **L'éducation plurilingue n'est pas encore une réalité dans la plupart des pays européens**. Bien qu'il existe des preuves sur les avantages du plurilinguisme, très peu de pays européens soutiennent activement le plurilinguisme à l'école manquant de ce fait, l'occasion de capitaliser sur les avantages que le plurilinguisme apporte au processus d'apprentissage. De toute évidence, dans de nombreux pays le plurilinguisme pose des défis totalement nouveaux au système éducatif. Il n'est pas rare que l'on rencontre une résistance plus grande à une politique plurilingue articulée dans les zones géographiques où la diversité est moins présente que dans les environnements urbains très diversifiés (voir section 2.2 et 3.2).

> **Le niveau de soutien des politiques ainsi que la reconnaissance de la diversité linguistique et de ses avantages influencent** la mise en œuvre consécutive de programmes plurilingues et de soutien apportés aux écoles. Par conséquent, les stratégies, les concepts pédagogiques et les modèles organisationnels de ces approches d'apprentissage des langues dépendent de circonstances telles que les faits démographiques, la qualification professionnelle du personnel, mais aussi des politiques linguistiques officielles (approches assimilationnistes par opposition aux approches pluralistes), et des attitudes tacites à l'égard de la diversité linguistique et culturelle (voir section 3.2).

> **Les programmes plurilingues inclusifs intègrent entièrement la dimension langagière** et vont au-delà d'une simple opposition entre les modèles éducatifs monolingues par opposition aux modèles bilingues ou bien encore aux modèles incluant la langue maternelle par opposition à l'enseignement des langues étrangères. Le Programme plurilingue de Krumm et Reich (2013), par exemple, se focalise explicitement sur le développement de la conscience linguistique, la capacité à réfléchir sur sa propre situation langagière conjointement à l'analyse des situations langagières d'autrui, des connaissances sur les langues et de leur signification pour les individus et les groupes, sur les connaissances linguistiques nécessaires à la comparaison des langues, un éventail varié de stratégies d'apprentissage, ainsi que sur l'insécurité des élèves par rapport à leur langues (voir section 3.3).

> **Repenser les programmes de formation initiale et de formation continue des enseignants est une étape nécessaire afin de doter les enseignants de connaissances et de compétences pour soutenir l'éducation plurilingue**. Les enseignants déclarent qu'ils sont censés compter sur leurs propres ressources en matière de plurilinguisme, tout en dénonçant un manque de soutien et de formation appropriés. Les recherches montrent que le simple fait de compter sur une accumulation des expériences ne contribue pas à l'amélioration de la situation (voir section 3.4).

> **La culture et le leadership inclusifs à l'école sont un élément important de l'éducation plurilingue**. Le développement de l'école dans son ensemble est avantageux, sinon nécessaire, pour une mise en œuvre réussie d'une approche pluraliste de l'enseignement/ apprentissage des langues. Lors de la

mise en œuvre du concept de programme des langues de l'école dans son ensemble, une attitude positive envers toutes les langues est la condition préalable nécessaire (voir section 4.1).

> **Les familles et la communauté sont une source importante d'expérience pédagogique et participent à la continuité de l'apprentissage**. Les recherches montrent qu'il faut soutenir les parents si l'on veut que l'éducation plurilingue réussisse. Par conséquent, la coopération entre les écoles et les familles est cruciale (voir section 4.2).

> **Il existe un certain nombre de pratiques pédagogiques inspirantes qui peuvent soutenir le plurilinguisme dans les écoles.** Fondés sur l'approche générale d'un enseignement réactif d'un point de vue linguistique et culturel, les portfolios des langues, les pratiques translangagières et l'opportunité d'accroître les compétences métalinguistiques, l'apprentissage coopératif, la lecture dialogique, les didactiques intégrées des langues et des programmes, ainsi que les technologies de l'information et de la communication, contribuent à des résultats positifs pour les apprenants en langues (voir chapitre 5).

> **Une base de connaissances plus solide est nécessaire.** Sans une recherche empirique rigoureuse sur les éléments clés des politiques plurilingues, il est difficile de donner une réponse simple sur les stratégies efficaces en termes de résultats scolaires et d'inclusion sociale pour l'élaboration de politiques influentes. La disponibilité d'une base solide de résultats de recherches sur ce sujet devient même plus importante à la lumière des débats idéologiques et politiques qui émergent autour du concept de diversité dans la société en général.

Principales implications et recommandations stratégiques

Notre étude recommande plusieurs étapes, dont la mise en œuvre peut contribuer à améliorer les politiques actuelles en matière d'éducation et garantir leur sensibilité culturelle et linguistique. Il est conseillé de s'appuyer sur l'expérience existante de l'enseignement (bi/pluri)lingue et des stratégies d'apprentissage, combinée à l'expérimentation de politiques.

Les principales conclusions et recommandations de ce rapport sont :

Pour les décideurs au niveau européen et national

> Le profond changement sociétal, provoqué par les nouveaux modèles de migration et une mobilité accrue des citoyens de l'Union Européenne, a créé un besoin de repenser le cadre des compétences clés pour l'apprentissage tout au long de la vie au XXIe siècle. En particulier, les sujets de débat se portent de plus en plus sur les notions de communication en langue maternelle et de communication dans les langues autres que celles de l'école. Un processus de révision continu du cadre des compétences clés a été mis en place afin d'aligner les concepts sur les transformations économiques et sociales en Europe de ces dix dernières années.

Recommandations
Il est nécessaire de redéfinir les compétences clés concernant le plurilinguisme au niveau de l'Union Européenne afin de refléter une réalité européenne en mutation.
Les compétences plurilingues doivent être clairement mises en œuvre et expliquées au niveau national.

> Les positions sur la diversité linguistique fondée sur le déficit prévalent parmi les décideurs des politiques éducatives, et les langues qui ne sont pas incluses dans le programme scolaire sont souvent considérées comme un obstacle plutôt que comme une ressource. L'analyse montre également qu'un discours politique favorable et un engagement des parties prenantes de l'éducation, à commencer par les autorités politiques et jusqu'aux organisations communautaires, facilitent la mise en œuvre de programmes plurilingues.

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> *Recommandations*
>
> Il est nécessaire de re**conceptualiser la diversité linguistique et culturelle au niveau politique,** et d'influer sur l'opinion publique afin que la pluralité des langues soit estimée comme une ressource et non perçue comme un problème.
>
> Par conséquent, il est nécessaire de **repenser les systèmes scolaires en termes de « plurilinguisme pour tous »,** au delà d'un agenda plus restreint au sujet des migrations nouvelles et de l'apprentissage de la langue d'enseignement. Une approche holistique est nécessaire à tous les niveaux.

> Le principe de continuité est essentiel pour le développement scolaire des langues des élèves dans un environnement multilingue. Cela signifie que l'apprentissage des langues doit être aisé et continu verticalement, c'est à dire de la petite enfance à l'entrée sur le marché du travail, et horizontalement en garantissant que les acteurs de l'enseignement scolaire, non-scolaire et extra-scolaire travaillent ensemble comme partenaires pour développer une approche d'apprentissage globale.

> *Recommandations*
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> Il est nécessaire de remédier aux inégalités au sein du système le plus tôt possible, **à commencer par l'éducation et accueil de la petite enfance** (ECEC), en assurant une continuité verticale.
>
> Pour assurer une continuité plurilingue, les décideurs des politiques éducatives doivent investir dans le développement de programmes**. Les résultats de l'apprentissage sur tous les sujets doivent refléter la dimension linguistique** ; d'une part, en visant le développement scolaire de la langue et, d'autre part, en s'appuyant sur les ressources plurilingues de la classe.
>
> **Un engagement politique soutenu doit être assuré au niveau national,** il ne devrait pas faire l'objet d'initiatives ponctuelles et devrait être associé à des partenariats efficaces, incluant les partenaires principaux de l'éducation.

> Il existe très peu de programmes de formation globaux des enseignants qui traitent de la diversité linguistique. À ce stade, les enseignants qui enseignent à des élèves d'origines linguistiques différentes doivent simplement compter sur leur engagement individuel en matière de plurilinguisme.

> *Recommandations*
>
> La priorité est de **réexaminer la formation des enseignants**, en commençant par la formation initiale et la formation professionnelle continue des enseignants, pour **aider tous les enseignants à acquérir une conscience linguistique ainsi que des stratégies de soutien des apprenants dans des contextes très diversifiés**. L'insertion des enseignants est essentielle à cet égard, tout comme l'accès à une réserve de formateurs dûment qualifiés et une diversification du personnel enseignant.
>
> Il faut encourager une **reconnaissance formelle des compétences plurilingues au moyen de systèmes de contrôle de qualité**.

> Il n'existe, à ce jour, que peu de données empiriques en Europe qui analysent des approches plurilingues globales pour l'enseignement à une population d'élèves très diversifiée.

> *Recommandations*
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> **Les mécanismes au niveau de l'Union Européenne pour soutenir le transfert des connaissances entre les États membres devraient être maximalisés**.
>
> Il est nécessaire de **garantir des processus d'évaluation et de suivis systématiques** des politiques et initiatives éducatives plurilingues, de contribuer à une base de données et d'assurer le plus grand bénéfice à tous les apprenants et à la société dans son ensemble.

Pour les milieux éducatifs

❯ La mise en œuvre de stratégies d'apprentissage et d'un enseignement plurilingues requiert l'engagement et la collaboration de toutes les parties prenantes de l'éducation. Les nombreuses initiatives existantes peuvent participer au fondement de l'élaboration d'approches et de pratiques plurilingues à condition qu'un environnement politique favorable soit créé.

> *Recommandations*
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> Même si les stratégies plurilingues ne sont pas encore en place, l'amélioration de la tolérance de l'école à l'égard du plurilinguisme peut être un atout précieux par rapport à des politiques linguistiques restrictives. **Les attitudes positives des enseignants et des chefs d'établissement concernant les langues des élèves augmentent la motivation et le sentiment d'appartenance à l'école,** tandis que le rejet d'une langue affecte le bien-être des élèves et, potentiellement, les résultats scolaires.
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> **Les langues non-dominantes doivent être incluses dans les contextes scolaires**, à travers un apprentissage scolaire et non-scolaire.

❯ Les parents et l'ensemble de la communauté constituent la clé de la continuité de l'apprentissage et ils sont donc des partenaires essentiels pour le développement d'une éducation plurilingue.

> *Recommandations*
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> Les écoles et les enseignants devraient construire des **partenariats avec les familles et les communautés locales** pour des stratégies efficaces d'enseignement et d'apprentissage plurilingues.
>
> L'**implication des familles et des populations locales dans l'éducation** des enfants nécessite **des stratégies d'enseignement interactives et une reconnaissance (et valorisation) active des différences culturelles à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la classe**, afin de favoriser les compétences et le transfert de connaissances entre les langues.

Pour les professionnels

❯ La méthodologie de l'enseignement des langues a vu émerger diverses démarches pédagogiques dont certaines à caractère plus pluralistes ces dernières décennies. Ne pas trouver les moyens de transférer et d'intégrer ces nouvelles formes de mesures pour un apprentissage flexible et inclusif ayant émergé au cours de ce processus, serait une opportunité manquée.

> *Recommandations*
>
> **Tous les enseignants doivent avoir une connaissance approfondie des langues et de leur apprentissage, ainsi que de la manière d'évaluer et de soutenir le répertoire langagier de chaque apprenant.** Cela inclut la mise en place de stratégies d'étayage aussi bien au niveau individuel qu'au niveau de la planification de l'enseignement.
>
> **L'usage proactif et stratégique des langues familiales des apprenants** et l'utilisation de tâches culturelles intégrées facilitent l'accès des élèves à des tâches conceptuelles et cognitives à un niveau plus élevé.
>
> Les enseignants et les élèves doivent **suivre et évaluer les résultats du développement réel des langues** en utilisant des portfolios langagiers qui permettent de suivre les progrès.
>
> Les approches pédagogiques, telles que **les pratiques translangagières et la métacompréhension, l'apprentissage coopératif, les modèles d'enseignement intégré et de stratégies immersives**, sont des outils importants qui capitalisent sur la diversité linguistique et devraient être intégrés dans les stratégies d'enseignement.
>
> **Les technologies de l'information et de la communication peuvent considérablement faciliter l'enseignement dans des contextes multilingues**. Par conséquent, il est important de proposer un accès aux infrastructures nécessaires dans les écoles mais aussi, idéalement, en dehors de l'école.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Mehrsprachigkeit und Diversität haben schon immer zu Europa gehört; den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten prägen diese Phänomene jedoch auch verstärkt die Bildungssysteme vieler Länder. Die sprachliche Vielfalt der Klassen hat mehrere Ursachen: 1) eine neue Dynamik in historisch nicht dominanten Sprachgruppen; 2) eine zunehmende internationale Mobilität, die neue Sprachen und andere Fähigkeiten in die Klassenzimmer bringt und 3) neue Anforderungen des Arbeitsmarkts, die mehrsprachige und multiliterale Bürger begünstigen.

In der Folge wachsen immer mehr Kinder mit mehreren Kulturen und Sprachen auf oder müssen den Übergang zwischen unterschiedlichen Schulsystemen und -sprachen bewältigen. Wer in wechselnder bzw. in mehrsprachiger und multikultureller Umgebung aufwächst, identifiziert sich häufig nicht ausschließlich nur mit einer Sprache und Kultur, sondern vielmehr mit unterschiedlichen Sprachen und Kulturen, die in ihrem jeweils eigenen Kontext erworben werden. Im Rahmen der oben beschriebenen gesellschaftlichen Transformationen wandelt sich auch die Mehrsprachigkeit von einem Problem, das gelöst werden muss, zu einem neuen Lebensstil.

Deshalb ist es die Aufgabe der Bildungsakteure, Schulsysteme zu schaffen, die Brücken zwischen den diversen sprachlichen und kulturellen Lebenswelten schlagen und die Mobilität von Schülern innerhalb Europas erleichtern. Schulen müssen eine Bildung anbieten, in der die Lernenden ihre sprachlichen und kulturellen Ressourcen voll nutzen und gleichzeitig an soziale, kulturelle und politische Anforderungen anpassen können. Die Herausforderung besteht also darin, ein mehrsprachiges Schulsystem anzubieten, dass die Eingliederung aller Schüler und gleichzeitig die volle Entfaltung ihres sprachlichen, kognitiven und emotionalen Potenzials ermöglicht.

Vor diesem Hintergrund fasst dieser Bericht den internationalen Forschungsstand zusammen, um die Frage zu beantworten, wie die Bildungssysteme der Mitgliedstaaten Mehrsprachigkeit in ihren Schulen besser fördern können. Dabei versucht der Bericht insbesondere die folgenden Fragen zu beantworten:

> Welches Verständnis von Mehrsprachigkeit gibt es in unterschiedlichen Kontexten und was sind die größten Hindernisse und Chancen bei der Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit in Schulen?

> Welche Ansätze der Bildungspolitik und -praxis fördern die Eingliederung aller Schüler, die Mehrsprachigkeit und die Kontinuität des Spracherwerbs?

> Welche Rolle spielen die einzelnen Akteure bei der Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit auf individueller und gesellschaftlicher Ebene?

> Welche wichtigen (ersten) Schritte können empfohlen werden, um die derzeitige Bildungspolitik zu verbessern und zu gewährleisten, dass sie sprachliche und kulturelle Besonderheiten berücksichtigt?

In Europa gibt es kaum empirische Forschungsprojekte (insbesondere Langzeitstudien), die mehrsprachige Ansätze zum Unterrichten von extrem diversen Schülerschaften in Schulen umfassend untersuchen. Aus diesem Grund liegen den meisten Forschungsarbeiten über die Wirksamkeit unterschiedlicher Unterrichtsmodelle empirische Daten aus Nordamerika zugrunde. Andererseits gibt es auch in Europa viele innovative Praktiken und inspirierende Ansätze, die sprachliches Kapital als Ressource nutzen. Den Autoren war es ein Anliegen, diese Praktiken und Ansätze, die sich teils gerade entwickeln und teils bereits erprobt sind, in diesem Bericht ebenfalls zu dokumentieren.

Wichtige Ergebnisse

> **Mehrsprachigkeit bringt kognitive, soziale, persönliche, akademische und berufliche Vorteile**. Anders als allgemein angenommen hat der zweisprachige Unterricht keine negativen Auswirkungen auf die sprachliche Entwicklung eines Schülers; Studien haben im Gegenteil einen positiven Effekt im Vergleich

zum einsprachigen Unterricht und Vorteile beim Erwerb der Schulsprache nachgewiesen. Die Forschungsdaten zeigen darüber hinaus, dass die Schüler an Selbstvertrauen und Selbstwert gewinnen und dadurch ihre Lernergebnisse verbessern, wenn im Unterricht die Sprache und der kulturelle Hintergrund jedes einzelnen Schülers gewürdigt werden. Mehrsprachige Lernende sind gewohnt, Dinge aus mehreren Blickwinkeln zu betrachten; deshalb sind sie besser im kritischen Denken und Problemlösen und sind sich kultureller Besonderheiten stärker bewusst (siehe Abschnitt 1.1).

> **Mehrsprachigkeit braucht Förderung**. Wenn Schüler das Land - und damit auch die Sprache - wechseln, entwickeln sie in jeder Sprache besondere Kenntnisse. Beim Wechsel in eine neue Schul- (Sprach-) umgebung, müssen diese Schüler besonders gefördert werden, damit sie ihre vorhandenen Kenntnisse von einer Sprache in die andere übertragen können. Nur so können sie lernen, in allen Fächern durch das Medium einer neuen Sprache erfolgreich zu kommunizieren und ihre Kenntnisse weiter zu entwickeln. Deshalb braucht es ein ausgebautes System zum Spracherwerb, das in den meisten Ländern leider noch fehlt (siehe Abschnitt 2.1).

> **In den meisten europäischen Ländern ist mehrsprachige Bildung noch nicht Wirklichkeit**. Obwohl der Nutzen der Mehrsprachigkeit wissenschaftlich belegt ist, fördern derzeit nur sehr wenige europäische Länder die Mehrsprachigkeit in ihren Schulen oder nutzen die Vorteile der Mehrsprachigkeit für den Lernprozess. In vielen Ländern stellt Mehrsprachigkeit das Bildungssystem vor völlig neue Herausforderungen. Meistens stößt eine Bildungspolitik, die Mehrsprachigkeit fördert, in Regionen mit geringer Diversität auf stärkeren Widerstand, als in städtische Gebieten mit großer Vielfalt (siehe Abschnitt 2.2 und 3.2).

> Ob Mehrsprachigkeit in Lehrplänen praktisch umgesetzt wird und Schulen Förderprogramme anbieten, **hängt auch davon ab, in welchem Maße die Politik sprachliche Vielfalt wertschätzt, fördert und ihren Nutzen anerkennt**. Daher werden Strategien, pädagogische Konzepte und Organisationsmodelle für die Sprachvermittlung auf vielfältige Weise durch die konkreten Umstände (z. B. Demographie, berufliche Qualifikation der Lehrkräfte), die offizielle Sprachenpolitik (auf Assimilation ausgerichtet oder pluralistisch) und unausgesprochene Haltungen gegenüber sprachlicher und kultureller Vielfalt beeinflusst (siehe Abschnitt 3.2).

> **Lehrpläne, die auf Eingliederung und Mehrsprachigkeit ausgerichtet sind, berücksichtigen die sprachliche Dimension in allen Fachbereichen** und gehen über die einfache Dichotomie von einsprachigen und zweisprachigen Unterrichtsmodellen oder Muttersprache und Fremdsprache hinaus. So beinhaltet beispielsweise der Lehrplan für Mehrsprachigkeit von Krumm und Reich (2013) die Entwicklung des Sprachbewusstseins, die Fähigkeit, die eigene sprachliche Situation in ein Verhältnis zu der anderer zu setzen, Wissen über Sprache und deren Bedeutung für Menschen und Gruppen, die für den Sprachvergleich notwendigen linguistischen Kenntnisse, ein breites Spektrum von Lernstrategien und Selbstvertrauen in Bezug auf die Sprache des Lernenden (siehe Abschnitt 3.3).

> **Die Ausbildung und laufende berufliche Weiterbildung von Lehrern muss so umgestaltet werden, dass sie ihnen die nötigen Kenntnisse und Qualifikationen für mehrsprachigen Unterricht vermittelt**. Viele Lehrer fühlen sich bei der Gestaltung von mehrsprachigem Unterricht allein gelassen; sie klagen über unzureichende Unterstützung und Weiterbildung. Die Forschung zeigt, dass sich die Situation nicht alleine aufgrund zunehmender Berufserfahrung verbessert (siehe Abschnitt 3.4).

> **Eine Schulkultur und Schulleitung, die auf Inklusion abzielen, sind wichtige Elemente der mehrsprachigen Bildung**. Die Entwicklung ganzheitlicher Schulmodelle ist vorteilhaft, oder sogar eine Voraussetzung, für die erfolgreiche Umsetzung pluralistischer Ansätze der Sprachvermittlung. Die Einführung eines fachübergreifenden Sprachvermittlungskonzepts kann nur gelingen, wenn alle Sprachen als gleichwertig anerkannt werden (siehe Abschnitt 4.1).

> **Familie und soziales Umfeld sind wichtige Ort der Lernerfahrung und bilden einen Teil der Lernkontinuität**. Die Forschung zeigt, dass mehrsprachige Bildung auf die Mitarbeit der Eltern angewiesen ist; deshalb ist die Art und Weise, wie Schulen mit den Eltern zusammenarbeiten, entscheidend (siehe Abschnitt 4.2).

❯ **Es gibt zahlreiche inspirierende pädagogische Modelle, die zeigen, wie Mehrsprachigkeit an Schulen erfolgreich umgesetzt werden kann.** So profitieren Sprachlernende unter anderem von einem insgesamt sprach- und kultursensiblen Unterricht, Sprachenportfolios, hybriden Unterrichtsformen (Tanslanguaging) und der Vermittlung metasprachlicher Fähigkeiten, kooperativen Lernformen, dialogischem Lesen, inhalts- und sprachbezogenem Lernen und von der Verwendung moderner Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien (siehe Kapitel 5).

❯ **Die Datenbasis muss erweitert werden.** Ohne eine umfassende empirische Forschung zu den wichtigsten Elementen von mehrsprachiger Bildung lässt sich nur schwer beurteilen, welche Strategien bei der Verbesserung der schulischen Leistungen bzw. der sozialen Eingliederung besonders erfolgreich sind. Das heißt, es fehlt die Datengrundlage für den politischen Entscheidungsprozess. Eine zuverlässige Datenbasis in diesem Bereich ist nicht zuletzt deshalb notwendig, weil das Konzept der kulturellen Vielfalt auch in der breiten Öffentlichkeit derzeit politisch sensibel und ideologisch heiß umstritten ist.

Wichtige politische Folgerungen und Empfehlungen

Unser Bericht empfiehlt zahlreiche Maßnahmen, die dazu beitragen können, die Bildungspolitik zu verbessern und für sprachliche und kulturelle Unterschiede zu sensibilisieren. Insbesondere wird empfohlen, auf den vorhandenen Erfahrungen mit (zwei- bzw. mehrsprachigen) Unterrichtsverfahren und Lernstrategien aufzubauen und sie durch Pilotprojekte weiter zu entwickeln.

Die wichtigsten Schlussfolgerungen und Empfehlungen dieses Berichts sind:

Für Politiker auf europäischer und nationaler Ebene

❯ Neue Migrationsmuster und die zunehmende Mobilität der Bürger Europas haben unsere Gesellschaften umfassend verändert. Dadurch müssen auch die Schlüsselqualifikationen für Lebenslanges Lernen im 21. Jahrhundert neu definiert werden. Insbesondere die Kommunikation in einer nicht-dominanten Familiensprache sowie in Sprachen, die nicht in der Schule unterrichtet werden, sind hier wichtige Themenbereiche. Die Schlüsselkompetenzen sollten laufend überarbeitet und an die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Veränderungsprozesse angepasst werden, die Europa im vergangenen Jahrzehnt erfahren hat.

> *Empfehlungen*
>
> **Schlüsselkompetenzen in Bezug auf Mehrsprachigkeit müssen auf europäischer Ebene neu definiert** und an die europäische Wirklichkeit angepasst werden.
>
> Auf nationaler Ebene **müssen Sprachkompetenzen deutlicher operationalisiert und beschrieben** werden.

❯ Bildungspolitiker haben sprachliche Vielfalt viel zu lange als Defizit aufgefasst und Sprachen, die nicht in den allgemeinen Lehrplänen vorkommen, als Problem statt als Chance gesehen. Die Analyse zeigt, dass ein politischer Diskurs sowie das Engagement von Bildungsakteuren, , in dem Vielfalt wertgeschätzt wird, die Umsetzung von Programmen zur Förderung von Mehrsprachigkeit erleichtern. Dies betrifft politische Entscheidungsträger auf höchster Ebene ebenso wie kommunale Organisationen.

> *Empfehlungen*
>
> Es ist wichtig, **sprachliche und kulturelle Vielfalt auf politischer Ebene neu zu denken** und im gesellschaftlichen Diskurs darauf hinzuwirken, dass Sprachenvielfalt als Ressource gesehen wird und nicht als Problem.
>
> Deshalb **sollten unsere Schulsysteme hin zu einer „Mehrsprachigkeit für alle" reformiert werden**, die nicht nur in sehr begrenzter Weise darauf abzielt, neuen Migranten die Unterrichtssprache zu vermitteln. Stattdessen brauchen wir ganzheitliche Ansätze auf allen Ebenen.

❯ Für den akademischen Spracherwerb von Schülern in einem mehrsprachigen Umfeld ist Kontinuität entscheidend. Das bedeutet, dass Sprachvermittlung sowohl vertikal - von der frühen Kindheit bis zum Eintritt in den Arbeitsmarkt - als auch horizontal reibungslos und ohne Unterbrechungen erfolgen sollte, wofür Akteure der formalen und informellen Bildung bei der Entwicklung eines umfassenden pädagogischen Konzepts als Partner zusammenarbeiten müssten.

> *Empfehlungen*
>
> Um die vertikale Kontinuität zu gewährleisten, müssen Benachteiligungen im System behoben werden, bereits beginnend mit **der frühkindlichen Betreuung, Bildung und Erziehung** (FBBE).
>
> Um diese Kontinuität der Mehrsprachigkeit zu ermöglichen, muss die Bildungspolitik in die Weiterentwicklung der Lehrpläne investieren. **Die Lernergebnisse in allen Fächern müssen die sprachliche Dimension widerspiegeln**; damit zum einen die Kenntnisse der Unterrichtssprache verbessert und zum anderen die mehrsprachigen Ressourcen der Klasse genutzt werden.
>
> **Ein langfristiges politisches Engagement auf nationaler Ebene ist notwendig,** das unabhängig von kurzfristigen Initiativen besteht und mit wirksamen Partnerschaften zwischen den Bildungsakteuren auf allen Ebenen verbunden ist.

❯ Es gibt kaum umfassende Lehramtsstudiengänge, die pädagogische Konzepte mit Bezug zu sprachlicher Vielfalt vermitteln. Derzeit müssen sich Lehrer, die Schüler mit unterschiedlichem sprachlichen Hintergrund unterrichten, vielerorts auf ihre privaten Ressourcen verlassen.

> *Empfehlungen*
>
> **Eine Überprüfung der Lehrerausbildung**– vom Lehramtsstudium bis zur laufenden beruflichen Weiterbildung – ist wichtig, damit **alle Lehrer ein Bewusstsein für Sprache und Strategien zur Förderung von Lernenden in sprachlich vielfältigen Klassen entwickeln können**. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die Einführung in den Lehrerberuf wichtig, weil sie gewährleistet, dass ausreichend qualifizierte Lehrkräfte zur Verfügung stehen und der Lehrkörper vielfältiger wird.
>
> Eine **formelle Anerkennung mehrsprachiger Kompetenzen in Qualitätsmanagementsystemen wäre sehr nützlich**.

❯ In Europa liegen derzeit kaum empirische Daten über umfassende mehrsprachige Ansätze für das Unterrichten einer diversen Schülerschaft vor.

> *Empfehlungen*
>
> **Die Mechanismen auf EU-Ebene zur Förderung des Wissensaustauschs zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten sollten verbessert werden**.
>
> Wir brauchen **systematische Verfahren der Evaluation und Datenerfassung** über politische Initiativen im Bereich der mehrsprachigen Bildung, mit denen eine Faktengrundlage aufgebaut und deren optimaler Nutzen für alle Kinder und die Gesellschaft als Ganzer gewährleistet werden kann.

Für Schulen

❯ Die Umsetzung von Lern- und Unterrichtsstrategien erfordert das Engagement und die Zusammenarbeit aller Interessengruppen im Bildungsbereich. Ein günstiges politisches Umfeld vorausgesetzt, bilden viele der bereits bestehenden Initiativen eine gute Grundlage für die Entwicklung von mehrsprachigen Ansätzen und pädagogischen Praktiken, die auf sprachliche Vielfalt eingehen.

> *Empfehlungen*
>
> Auch wenn Strategien für Mehrsprachigkeit noch fehlen, lässt sich schon vieles verbessern, wenn die Schule Mehrsprachigkeit toleranter begegnet und keine restriktive Sprachpolitik verfolgt. **Eine positive Einstellung von Lehrer und Schulleitung gegenüber den Sprachen der Schüler verbessert deren Motivation und**

Zugehörigkeitsgefühl; die Ablehnung ihrer Sprache wirkt sich dagegen negativ auf das Wohlbefinden und die akademische Leistung der Schüler aus.

Nicht dominante Sprachen müssen in den Schulalltag integriert werden, entweder durch formalen Unterricht oder informelle Lernmöglichkeiten.

> Eltern und soziales Umfeld sind wichtige Elemente der Lernkontinuität und können einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur mehrsprachigen Bildung leisten.

Empfehlungen

Schulen und Lehrer sollte **Partnerschaften mit Familien und lokalen Gemeinschaften** aufbauen, die mehrsprachige Unterrichts- und Lernstrategien unterstützen können.

Die **Beteiligung von Familien und Gemeinschaften an der Bildung** von Kindern **erfordern interaktive Unterrichtsstrategien und die aktive Anerkennung (und Wertschätzung) kultureller Unterschiede innerhalb und außerhalb des Klassenzimmers**, die den Austausch von Fähigkeiten und Kenntnissen zwischen den Sprachen ermöglichen.

Für Lehrkräfte

> In den letzten Jahrzehnten wurden viele neue und auch pluralistischere Ansätze und Methoden der Sprachvermittlung entwickelt. Es wäre eine Verschwendung, die dabei entstandenen neuen flexiblen und auf Inklusion abzielenden pädagogischen Konzepte nicht zu übertragen und breitflächig umzusetzen.

Empfehlungen

Alle Lehrer sollten über umfassende Kenntnisse zu dem Themen Sprache, Spracherwerb, Diagnose und Förderung verfügen. Dazu gehört ein Gerüst von Fördermaßnahmen auf Mikroebene für einzelne Schüler und auf Makroebene bei der Unterrichtsvorbereitung für die gesamte Klasse.

Die proaktive und strategische Nutzung der Alltagssprache der Schüler und kulturell eingebettete Aufgaben erleichtern den Schülern den Zugang zu komplexeren begrifflichen und kognitiven Aufgaben.

Lehrer und Schüler sollten **die Ergebnisse der tatsächlichen Sprachentwicklung erfassen und bewerten**, am besten mit Hilfe von Sprachenportfolios, in denen Fortschritte verzeichnet werden.

Pädagogische Ansätze, wie **Translanguaging und der Aufbau des Meta-Sprachwissens, kooperatives Lernen und inhalts- und sprachvermitteltes Lernen**, sind wichtige Instrumente, um sprachliche Vielfalt zu nutzen, und sollten daher in die eigene Unterrichtsstrategie integriert werden.

Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien können den Unterricht in mehrsprachigen Klassen wesentlich erleichtern. Deshalb ist es wichtig, dass die nötige Infrastruktur in der Schule und im Idealfall auch zu Hause bereit steht.

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Changing patterns of migration

While multilingualism has always been an integral part of Europe, it can be argued that only since the beginning of the 21st century has it also become an important hallmark of many national education systems. Over the past decade, the mobility of individuals in Europe has increased at a higher pace, leading to more diversity within countries (European Union, 2012). Consequently, schools are increasingly enriched by the entrance of learners with diverse language skills. At the same time, a growing proportion of pupils are required to communicate in multiple languages, since their home languages are not congruent with the languages used in their schools. Together, these phenomena of increased mobility and diversity are progressively altering the context of linguistic and cultural experiences of young learners in the European school systems (Blommaert, 2010).

The characteristics of the influx of newly arrived pupils in our school systems differ in several ways from our previous experiences. The current rate of arrivals of migrants and refugees is unprecedented, and their countries of origin are much more varied than they were twenty years ago. Inherent to these altered circumstances are important changes to the social background, and a more prominent role of complicating factors such as traumatic experiences. Young learners are increasingly confronted with several cultures and habits, experience multiple transitions between different school systems and school languages, and are liable to develop unequal competences in diverse languages. These experiences are likely to influence the concept of identity too; raised in changing multilingual and multicultural environments, individuals may no longer identify with one language and culture, but rather with a range of languages and cultures acquired in different situations. This may be particularly pertinent for refugee children, many of whom have known a trajectory of multiple stays in different countries before arriving at their present destination. This also suggests multilingualism being more a way of life than a problem to be solved (see for instance UNESCO, 2003; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Busch, 2012).

Political and economic motivations are not the sole reasons for hyper-mobility. Students have also become more mobile following the success of the Erasmus grant program and similar exchange schemes. Coming from their own personal community of language and practice, they create new links with other international students and their language practices may be far from the traditional second language acquisition trajectory (Anquetil and Molinié, 2011, Della Chiesa et al., 2012).

The children of people moving for professional reasons, or the children of multi-national couples, are another example. For this population, European and international schools provide multilingual and multicultural education that allow them to move across Europe (Vez, 2009), thereby guaranteeing the education continuity that the school system should provide. Yet, the number of such schools is largely insufficient to meet the demand, and education in these schools or programs is often expensive, thereby excluding a certain number of pupils.

These examples illustrate an easily overlooked aspect of multilingual education and one of the reasons why multilingualism is officially promoted by the European Union: the more countries embrace the multilingual approach in education, the more mobility between different countries is facilitated. However, in practice multilingual programs are typically easily accessible to children of expatriates, whereas access to these systems may be limited for other multilingual learners. The challenge for education systems is to adapt to these complex realities and provide a quality education which takes into consideration learners' needs, while at the same time balancing these social, cultural and political demands. While uniform solutions may be both administratively and managerially simpler, they disregard the risks involved both in terms of learning achievement and loss of linguistic and cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2003).

At the very least, these new patterns of migration, as well as educational and workplace goals for multilingual and multiliterate citizens, can be expected to impact the individual language biographies - also called individual repertoires - of the learners (Achugar and Carpenter, 2012). In an effort to address these societal changes, the European Commission published in 2002 recommendations in favour of learning three languages per individual (i.e. mother tongue and in addition two foreign languages, which are not further specified).[1] The first reference to developing proficiency in three European[2] languages, however, goes back to 1995, when the European Commission released a White Paper on teaching and learning[3]. Even earlier, the Council of Europe's (CoE) European Cultural Convention (1954) encouraged states to support the study of each other's' languages, history and civilization. In 1992, the CoE issued the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages to promote and safeguard linguistic diversity and the language rights of European societies (see Chapter 3 for more details).

Opportunities and challenges

Regardless of the motivation, the different groups of learners mentioned above all have the potential to develop important assets like metacognitive and metalinguistic awareness. According to the literature, this awareness is most likely to emerge when students are schooled in a system that supports multilingualism (O´Laoire, 2005; Le Pichon et al., 2009). This positive effect of bilingual education on metacognitive awareness is usually attributed to an emphasis on language-explicit instruction (Kim et al., 2015; see also chapter 3 of this report). According to Cummins, positive transfer of knowledge and skills across languages is enhanced by explicitly bridging the languages, such as often occurs in bilingual education (Cummins, 1991). Importantly, and contrary to popular belief, there is no negative effect of bilingual education on language development, and some studies even report a positive effect in contrast to monolingual education (see Bialystok, 2016; Valentino and Reardon 2014), and an increase in "academic engagement and achievement in the L2" (Cummins, 2013, p. 302).

Moreover, research findings suggest that valuing the unique linguistic and cultural background of each child promotes academic success by boosting self-confidence and self-esteem (see for instance Sierens and van Avermaet, 2013; Extra and Yagmur, 2012). In addition, the more intensive and coherent the support for individual multilingualism is throughout the whole school career, the greater the academic benefits for children (Ball, 2011). Failing to value or even devaluing pupils' culture and language, however, can have a negative impact on their overall achievement and motivation (see for instance Benson and Elorza, 2015). Evidence suggests, therefore, that treating linguistic and cultural diversity of pupils as a resource rather than as a deficit, and adopting a multilingual habitus in educational policy and practice, can also be a valuable approach to promote communicative competence and foster academic performance (Benson, 2013).

One particularly challenging aspect of multilingualism in education is that it inherently implicates an unbalanced set of competences in different languages (Grosjean, 1989). When pupils move from one place to another, or from one language to another, they develop different sets of knowledge in their different languages. When moving to a new school (language) environment, such pupils require support to successfully transfer their existing knowledge from one language to another. They also need support to learn how to successfully communicate – actively and passively – and develop their cognitive competences in different subjects through new languages. This requires articulated language teaching and learning approaches, which unfortunately are not yet in place in a majority of countries.

Additionally, it seems that by and large, teachers who teach pupils of different linguistic backgrounds are expected to simply rely on their own resources regarding multilingualism. However, the implicit assumption that teachers have sufficient expertise to address the individual multilingualism of the pupils is not based on reality. Unsurprisingly, teachers often complain about a lack of support and relevant training

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[1] See: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/strategic-framework/index_en.htm.
[2] 'European' was removed in later documents.
[3] See: http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf.

(Cummins et al., 2005). Furthermore, TALIS 2013 reveals that teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting is among the top five areas in which teachers report the highest need for professional development to tackle current deficits (OECD, 2014). In any case, the recent inflow of refugees has created a sudden wakeup call in many parts of Europe (and beyond); countries like the Netherlands (which abrogated its support to mother tongue education in 2004) have begun to realize that their school systems are heavily oriented to monolingual pupils and are gradually becoming aware that there is a real need for professionalization of teachers (Sierens and van Avermaet, 2013; Le Pichon, 2012).

Building on existing experience

In some European countries with more than one officially recognised language, such as Luxembourg or Switzerland, educational multilingualism is not new, yet in many other countries the issue poses entirely new challenges to their educational system, and indeed to society. Not surprisingly then, judging from the results of large-scale assessments, European countries differ greatly with regard to their capacities to deal with the increasing multilingual demands in the educational context. The greatest resistance to an articulated multilingual policy is encountered in geographical areas with less linguistic and cultural diversity. Overall, the political challenge is formidable, and more research is required to provide evidence-based recommendations that can help education policy-makers in finding ways to address the challenges and opportunities that multilingualism brings to the education systems across Europe and beyond (European Commission, 2015; NESSE, 2008).

In countries that have historically been characterized by large-scale immigration, the presence of multilingual pupils in the classroom is the norm rather than the exception. As a consequence, their education systems have had a chance to experiment with different strategies and select those most effective when it comes to adapting to multilingual classrooms (e.g. in some provinces of Canada or in Israel, cf. OECD, 2013, p. 79). Similarly in Europe, in some countries multilingualism has historically been more present than in others. Such countries are more likely to have integrated bi- or even trilingual education in their systems, and to have learned that such strategies can be effective, in particular in contexts where non-dominant groups are concentrated geographically (for instance, Ireland, Luxembourg, Austria, the Spanish Basque country or the Frisian region in the Netherlands). In these places, the curricula were reformed already from the 1980s onwards, implementing bi- or multilingual education to include the use of community/heritage languages (O´Laoire, 2005, p. 103). Interestingly, these revised curricula often also addressed the teachers' challenges of working with learners with a variety of proficiencies in these heritage languages.

But even in contexts where multilingualism is the norm, classrooms with highly diverse learners are still seen as a challenge that is not always adequately addressed, as illustrated by the fact that languages are often too strictly separated or that performance tests are taken exclusively in the dominant language (Breton-Carbonneau et al., 2012).

What is needed

The profound societal change caused by new migration patterns has created a need to re-think the key competence framework for lifelong learning in the 21st century[4] and language teaching approaches in schools. In particular, the notions of communication in one's mother tongue(s), language(s) of schooling, additional ("foreign") languages and communication in languages other than those used in school, are increasingly becoming topics of discussion. The present competence framework, aimed at increasing active citizenship, seems to be somewhat biased; this is illustrated by its use of concepts that reflect a monolingual approach of education. Concepts such as 'mother tongue', 'bilingualism', 'foreign language learning', or 'second language acquisition', all implicitly refer to a fixed order of acquisition of languages, a hierarchy of values and usages, and consequently they are monolingually-biased (May, 2013, Auer, 2007;

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[4] See e.g., https://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/school/competences_en.htm.

Gogolin, 1997). Such concepts refer to well-defined geographical spaces, yet it is precisely these spaces that are being transformed by increased mobility and a growing diversity. The study of linguistic landscapes shows that borders between the languages are porous (Zarate et al., 2011). Previously confined spaces of language and culture are transitioning towards this amalgam of languages and cultures. This major change requires greater involvement in terms of mediation and intercultural understanding, and calls for 'a reflexive turn' (Byrd–Clark and Dervin, 2014:1) to identify the most successful multilingual strategies geared towards the inclusion of all pupils. Subsequently, in order to improve education in increasingly diverse contexts, effective strategies and resources are needed in schools across Europe. Policies promoting multilingual approaches are needed, but these require a fundamental change of perspective.

This new perspective should include a profound reflection on educational and workplace goals for multilingual, multiliterate citizens in each country and throughout Europe. It should also address the question of how socially non-dominant languages fit into the equation. Revised curricula should target the problem of discrimination based on different (language) backgrounds. Interestingly, in some countries with historic minorities multilingual strategies have been implemented in order to raise more value and respect for learners' heritage /community languages and cultures, some of which are in processes of revitalization. In this perspective, it is important to note that the multilingual policy of the European Commission has been interpreted by most educational systems as an incentive to introduce the formal learning of languages through traditional language courses. Given the current situation, this policy should be rethought of in terms of a *multilingual habitus* (as discussed by Benson and Elorza, 2015), where each language of an individual's language biography is equally praised and valued.

To sum up, the emergence of new forms of language biographies, spurred by the altered patterns of migration and changing educational and workplace goals, challenges traditional approaches to language learning and teaching. The ambition to achieve a system of education that provides "multilingualism for all" and which is authentically sensitive of the individual learners' repertoire should not be viewed as a problem to solve or a deficit to overcome. Rather, striving for such educational improvement should also be considered as a unique opportunity for our countries to cultivate multilingual, multiliterate citizens. The challenge at hand may not be the multilingualism of pupils but rather the rigidity of the school systems and their inability to welcome all pupils. Based on the available evidence, multilingual education may be the best strategy towards a cohesive and inclusive education for all pupils, including those with dynamic multilingual backgrounds.

1.2. Aims and research questions

This report reviews relevant European and international research in order to reveal how European education systems can better promote multilingualism in schools. The report highlights research and implementation gaps in multilingual policies, and points out promising initiatives and approaches that have demonstrated their value across time and geographical boundaries. This evidence can serve as a useful starting point for developing effective approaches towards linguistically responsive teaching which builds on all the languages present in the classrooms.

More specifically, the report aims to answer the following questions:

> How is multilingualism understood in different contexts and what are the main challenges and opportunities involved in promoting multilingualism in schools?

> What specific education policies and practices appear to be inclusive approaches promoting multilingualism and continuity of language learning?

> What are the roles of different actors in language policy development and implementation, from education policy makers, schools and teachers, to children, families and communities? How do different stakeholders need to be prepared to ensure effective language development of all learners?

> What key recommendations can be made that can serve as important (first) steps to improve present policies and ensure that they are linguistically and culturally sensitive?

1.3. Key terms and concepts

Continuity of language learning

The authors refer to the concept of *continuity* following the discussion of Gogolin et al (2011) on three dimensions of continuity of language learning: biographical continuity, thematic continuity and plurilingual continuity. *Biographical continuity* means not only that educational institutions should follow each other in a vertical perspective, for example from pre-primary to primary to secondary education, but also that there should be cooperation between different educational environments where a child participates in each particular phase. *Thematic continuity* implies coordinated and reflected exposure to academic language skills and knowledge across content areas and subjects, as well as the use of consistent materials and guidelines for language-sensitive content across and within disciplines. *Plurilingual continuity* ensures that students' plurilingual skills and competences are taken into account and used for the extension and consolidation of their linguistic repertoire.

Diversity

In the context of the current report, the concept of *diversity* is related to the increase of mobility of individuals in and outside Europe (European Union, 2012). This phenomenon has introduced a high degree of classroom heterogeneity not only in terms of linguistic and cultural background but also in terms of academic experience. In addition, it has decreased the previously existing stability of school populations, as more learners are increasingly inclined to move from one system to another within and across national borders. According to Vertovec (2007), some parts of Europe can now be characterized by *super-diversity*, which 'is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified migrants who have arrived over the last decade.' New patterns of diversity pose new challenges for both policy and research.

Dominant versus non-dominant languages

We have chosen to use the dichotomy of dominant versus non-dominant languages, following the discussion by Kosonen and Benson (2013), which well reflects the differential power relations between languages present in different contexts and is appropriate for the issues discussed in this report. In short, Benson and Kosonen define a dominant language as a language associated with variables such as high prestige, number of speakers or official status, while non-dominant languages refer to languages that are considered less prestigious and less (or not) used by the education system and government in a certain context. The authors also emphasize the dynamic nature of these concepts in different contexts, which needs to be taken into account when designing language teaching and learning approaches.

The distinction between dominant and non-dominant languages emphasizes the status differences between languages present in society and in school. It also helps to avoid the debatable and static nature of traditional concepts, such as mother tongue or second language. For instance, '*mother tongue*' is sometimes also referred to as first language(s), native language(s), family language(s), home language(s), father tongue and L1 by policy makers and researchers (Bloomfield, 1994; De Houwer, 2009). Similarly, second language acquisition refers to learning of an additional language, also referred to as second language, L2 or dominant language, with the assumption that this happens in a context in which the second language is widely spoken, which is not always the case (Benson and Kosonen, 2013; Gass and Selinker, 2001). Some researchers now point out that second language acquisition theories are monolingually biased, treating an L2 learner as a deficient speaker and implicitly referring to a fixed order of language acquisition and hierarchy of values (Auer, 2007; May, 2013; Gogolin, 1997). This underlying ideology means that education systems tend to function in only one or two languages, despite the fact that their societies are multilingual; this has been discussed for more than 20 years starting with Gogolin (1994) and up to Benson and Kosonen (2013), and is 'due in part to the long-standing fallacy that national unity is built around a

single language' (p. 2). To acknowledge the power dimension in the context of language learning, researchers tend to use terms such as 'additional language(s)' or dominant language when referring to learning languages of schooling (Dewaele, 2013).

Multilingualism

The term "*multilingualism*" (Clyne, 2007, p. 301), like the term "bilingualism," is an umbrella term that may refer to the existence of more than one language with regard to:

> language use (not further specified),
> language competence of an individual,
> language situation of a geographical space.

To avoid confusion, in the current report the term is usually modified by a contextual cue (e.g. multilingual *strategies*, multilingual *programmes* or *individual* multilingualism). Every societal situation in which more than one language is present – regardless of the level – can be referred to as multilingual. Similarly, the concept of *repertoire* refers to all languages or language competences that a person has integrated during his or her lifetime. Importantly, the degree to which these languages are developed is not relevant to the concept. The implication of this is that in many instances both terms – multilingualism and linguistic repertoire – can imply a dynamic set of competences in one's use of different languages. This is particularly relevant in a context of globalization, mobility and diversity.

Multilingual education

We use the term '*multilingual education*' in this report in accordance to the definition given by Bialystok to the concept of 'bilingual education' (Bialystok, 2016: 2). It refers to 'any school program in which more than one language is used in the curriculum to teach non-language academic subject matter or in which the language of schooling does not match the language of the home or community. The reasons for incorporating the languages, the specific languages chosen, the structure of the program, and the relation between the school languages and the community, vary widely and influence educational outcomes' (Bialystok, 2016:2). García (2009) similarly defines bi- multilingual education as the use of two or more languages in the instruction and assessment of learners, on the condition that the languages are used as a medium of instruction and not simply taught as an additional language. The reason why we favour the term "multilingual" is that we wish to include the various multilingual strategies that are currently developed and implemented in schools with monolingual *and* multilingual programmes to support the schooling of multilingual pupils.

1.4. Methods and scope

The focus of this report is on multilingual education strategies in primary and secondary schools for the purposes of inclusion and enrichment. However, where relevant, early childhood education and care and non-formal education approaches led by non-school actors (though in cooperation with formal education institutions) are also described.

The report seeks:

> to review different approaches that have potential to support inclusive multilingual education in schools;

> to understand their efficiency, the ultimate goal being to promote multilingual practices in schools, informed by evidence from European and international research.

The main source of information for this report is secondary data. The review draws on literature from a range of approaches including meta-analyses, quantitative and qualitative research. It seeks to interpret different kinds of research, while giving due weight to findings with a particularly strong evidence base. The review also indicates gaps in research evidence and existing data.

To identify relevant research for analysis, we applied both systematic and 'snowballing' search methods. The systematic search of the literature was carried out in the following databases:

EBSCO Educational Databases; BEI (British Education Index); ERIC via EBSCO; JSTOR; SAGe Journals; ScienceDirect; Teacher Reference Center (EBSCO); and ProQuest Web of Science.

We combined the search terms listed under each category 'Concept one (*diversity*) + concept two (*language teaching approaches*) + concept three (*population*)' on a systematic basis until all search terms and equivalent had been exhausted.

To complement the results of the systematic search, the 'snowballing' search method was used exploring relevant educational and learner data (OECD, TALIS, PISA, Eurydice) and work produced by European and international institutions and foundations (e.g., EC, CoE, MPG, MPI, Rutu Foundation, UNESCO) and networks and centres (e.g., SIRIUS network, European Centre for Modern Languages).

1.5. Research challenges

In the process of this review, we came across several challenges that defined the scope of this report.

There is, to date, little quantitative evidence in Europe that looks into comprehensive multilingual approaches to teaching highly diverse student populations in schools[5]. This is particularly true with regard to longitudinal, statistically valid research. Even though the existing literature (mostly non-European) provides a better understanding of 'what works' in supporting pupils to acquire multilingual skills, the growing linguistic complexity encountered in schools across Europe is radically undermining the usefulness of traditional concepts dominating most language policies, such as 'mother tongue', 'foreign languages', 'first and second language'. As a result, singular language teaching approaches (e.g., teaching the language of schooling or isolated mother tongue teaching) are no longer fit for purpose. However, there is a growing body of qualitative research focusing on multilingual comprehensive approaches in situations of linguistic diversity. In this report we reflect on the need to re-conceptualise language learning, and focus on approaches that go beyond the hierarchy of languages, and promote multilingualism and interaction of languages; however, we do not take a detailed look into traditional singular language teaching methods, even though they are still widespread in Europe. Therefore, this study is explorative in nature and does not aim to provide an exhaustive overview of all the possible language teaching strategies and policies practiced in Europe.

It is also evident that many innovative practices and approaches that recognise linguistic capital as a resource are emerging and being trialled at the moment, and due to their novelty, these have not been studied in-depth or analysed against different contexts. We bring these examples to the current review, while acknowledging that there are certain limitations in analysis of effectiveness of these approaches due to the lack of evidence.

Without rigorous empirical research on the key elements of multilingual policies, it is challenging to give a straightforward answer on what works and what does not work in terms of academic achievement and social inclusion in order to inform effective policy making. Building a stronger evidence base on this topic becomes even more important in light of the political sensitivity and ideological debates emerging around diversity in society.

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[5] See e.g., Reljić, G.,D. Dieter Ferring and R. Martin, 'A Meta-Analysis of the Effectiveness of Bilingual Programs in Europe', *Review of Educational Research*, 2015, 85 (1): 92–128.

CHAPTER 2. FROM BILINGUAL MODELS TO AN INTEGRATED MULTILINGUAL CURRICULUM

2.1. Looking back, looking forward

Basic requirements for optimal multilingual education

The increasing diversity of school classrooms has prompted both policy makers and researchers to re-evaluate the educational models that are currently in use, and in particular the teaching strategies – if any – are used, with respect to multilingualism. There are several countries where bilingual models have been in use for over 50 years, and consistent positive effects have been reported in numerous research studies. However, as became clear during the last decade, the benefit typically emerges after 5 to 7 years (Valentino and Reardon, 2014; Coelho, 2012:127). Consequently, studies which have focused on short-term effects of bilingual schooling, using mostly cross-sectional observations, have not been able to identify the advantages of bilingual models over others (Valentino and Reardon, 2014; Bialystok, 2016). Bilingual models are often based on the idea that children can become bilingual relatively quickly as long as they are motivated by a real need to communicate in the "target" language (Grosjean, 2010). The level of language development in a target language is dependent on several factors (Grosjean, 2010:172):

> the amount of input -in the languages to acquire;
> the type of input (oral/ written);
> the support provided by the family;
> the support provided by the school and the community;
> the attitudes towards languages and cultures included in the curriculum.

Bilingual education models for ethnic minorities across Europe were developed partly based on this knowledge. For instance, they strategically expand the amount of input in the languages to be acquired and reinforce the more effective types of input. In addition to the factors named above, they also assure support to families and communities of these target languages, and foster any possibility for positive changes in their attitudes towards these languages. In these bilingual education models, the dominant and non-dominant languages are both supported at school, which means that they are both actively used for teaching and learning. There are numerous examples throughout Europe of such models (for example geared towards the Basque language in the Spanish Basque country, or the Frisian language in the Northern province of the Netherlands). These models are highly successful in terms of revitalizing the linguistic and cultural community and boosting the endangered language of the region. Importantly, such models provide support in both/all languages, which ultimately allows a higher level of achievement in each.

These strategies require that teachers help pupils to develop the capacities to understand, interpret and reformulate academic knowledge in the school language(s). In 1981, Cummins coined terms for two different types of language development, "basic interpersonal communication skills" and "cognitive academic language proficiency" (Cummins, 1981). According to this theory, teachers need to understand the differences between the spoken language and its rules ("basic interpersonal communication skills"), which are usually the first skills developed in both home and school languages, and the academic language of the school ("cognitive academic language proficiency"), a more abstract set of skills which need to be cultivated so that pupils can think, read, write and learn all of the content of the curriculum. According to Cummins and his colleagues, the "basic interpersonal communication skills" are usually acquired in less than two years by language minority learners. However, they need at least five years to catch up with their peers in "cognitive academic language proficiency" (Cummins et al., 2005). The characteristics of written language are important for cognitive academic language proficiency, though the two types of language are not mutually exclusive. In bi/multilingual education, development of both types of language should ideally occur in both/all languages, which requires a systematic approach and time.

BOX 1. Multilingual curriculum in the Basque country

The integrated multilingual curriculum in the Basque Country is interesting in this context. Ruiz de Zarobe and Lasagabaster (2010) have shown that to efficiently develop both languages, the Content and Language Integrated Learning method needed to include at least seven hours per week taught in the languages to be learned. The Ikastola education system is implementing an integrated language curriculum that uses the non-dominant language (in this case Basque/Euskara) as the main language of teaching, while systematically teaching the dominant language (Spanish) and one or two other languages (Elorza and Muñoa, 2008).

Grosjean's five factors driving successful development in a novel linguistic environment, as cited earlier, provide a clear framework which can help to understand the current educational achievement gap observed between non-dominant language speakers with migrant backgrounds and dominant language speakers. The logical inference of the above could be that to benefit optimally from their bi- multilingualism (newly arrived) pupils need language support, including more and richer input in their family languages (oral and, if possible, written) and positive attitudes towards the family languages. If this can be accomplished, optimal transfer of knowledge is possible from the languages they know best to the new language(s).

The benefits of positive language transfer

In the 1980s, Cummins proposed a theory called the 'interdependence hypothesis'. In essence, he described how the proficiencies developed in one language are transferable to another, provided there is sufficient exposure to both languages and sufficient motivation to learn (Cummins, 1981). The fundamental principles of multilingual education are based on this theory: that the non-dominant languages form a *resource*, and not a *threat* to the learning of the school language. Interestingly, the majority of studies on multilingual strategies in non-dominant language contexts also call attention to the positive side effects of multilingualism such as improved executive functioning or delay of onset of dementia (for a review Perani and Abutalebi, 2015), thereby providing another argument for a shift from monolingual (and monocultural) education to a more inclusive approach with regard to the linguistic (and cultural) diversity (see Almaguer, 2013).

These studies suggest that a multilingual approach in multilingual classrooms is associated with:

> Better involvement of the learners' communities in the school;
> Inclusion of prior home and community experiences in the classroom;
> The development of metacognitive skills.

In 2006, the US National Literacy Panel for Language Minority Children and Youth edited a large-scale report on non-dominant language learners (August and Shanahan, 2006, as reported in Alidou and Glanz, 2015). It cites evidence in support of positive linguistic transfer, in particular with regard to literacy skills. The concept of positive linguistic transfer is based on two findings:

> Language learners instructed in both their languages performed better, on average, on measures of literacy skills in the school language than their bilingual peers instructed only in the school language;
> Prior literacy in the non-dominant language is associated with higher level of literacy in the school language (August, Shanahan and Escamilla, 2009: 437).

These findings imply that pupils who are literate in at least one of their home languages may highly benefit from this literacy when they are taught literacy in the school language(s); in other words, when they develop *multi-literacy skills*. The results of this study should not be misinterpreted. It is possible for students to develop literacy in a new language even without written skills in their home language(s). However, when literacy in the first language is present, it can be used to the benefit of the pupil by boosting the transfer of previously acquired knowledge from one language to the other. This viewpoint is further endorsed by studies on vocabulary development (Ajayi, 2014), biliteracy (Sneddon, 2008) and mathematical skills (Setati et al., 2008; Le Pichon and Kambel, 2016) in multilingual settings.

These results also imply that multi-literacy skills should be actively taught and learned to promote high academic achievement. All these studies point to the fact that learners should develop literacy and thinking skills in their first language(s) along with the additional language(s) for as long as possible. This is what education systems promote unquestioningly for students who are speakers of dominant languages, but question when it comes to speakers of non-dominant languages.

2.2. Why an integrated multilingual education is a must

Migrant pupils reach lower levels of academic attainment

Across Europe and according to PISA, pupils with a migrant background generally reach lower academic levels than their non-migrant peers (OECD, 2015). US scholars have called this issue "the million-dollar question": How can we find more effective strategies to better support these pupils (Estrada, 2005: 321)? How can we reverse these patterns of underachievement related to migration status? Some have proposed that multilingual pedagogies in school are the key to social justice (Benson, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2009; Mohanty, 2009). In this regard, we acknowledge the contradiction between, on the one hand, the scientific evidence in support of the positive relationship between multilingualism and academic achievement, and on the other hand, the apparent reluctance to implement multilingual education for non-dominant language speakers. Undeniably, school plays a prominent role in the development of citizenship for migrants and pupils who speak non-dominant languages, since the classroom is often the sole place where they need to communicate in the dominant languages. During their migration trajectory, newly arrived children develop competencies in several languages, albeit in an unbalanced manner, depending on many factors such as, for instance, duration of stay in different locations and availability of schooling. Nevertheless, these competencies implicate that they should be considered multilingual, or at least potentially multilingual, upon arrival to the school.

When a multilingual child has to learn in a monolingual system, the situation is called subtractive (Lambert, 1974; Valenzuela, 1999; Menken and Kleyn, 2010). This approach may have negative effects; subtractive bilingualism leads to *linguistic insecurity* in children, which in turn increases the likelihood of negative experiences, ranging from insufficient language development to communication breakdowns. Subtractive schooling results in poor academic achievements, progressive loss of the home languages, and low self-esteem.

Evidence and resistance to full support of multilingual education

Research on third language acquisition has shown that the acquisition of a third language is a very different process than the learning of a second language: from a linguistic point of view, it may implicate more metacognitive awareness, including more metalinguistic awareness and awareness of communication. According to Moore (2006), multilingualism may be a very advantageous starting point in learning a new language, provided that:

> teachers make use of the interrelation of languages;

> they reflect upon those languages; and

> the languages are imbedded into the classroom routine.

Given the above, we propose that learners' multilingualism is likely to be an asset that deserves more attention, as it could be used more efficiently to improve teaching and learning. Indeed, in pre-existing dual immersion contexts, multilingual educational strategies have emerged over the past 20 years, and are increasingly moving away from the previous dogma of strict separation between languages. Different strategies have been developed, but shared in common is that they foster interactions between pupils while encouraging them to use their full language repertoire potential. Importantly, results corroborate the positive effect of stimulating such interplay between languages on the metalinguistic awareness of the pupils (Martin-Beltran, 2010), as well as on their social interactions (Mackey, 2007), without slowing down the development of any new languages they are learning (Bialystok, 2016).

The concept of literacy development, and more specifically the development of multilingual literacies, might be again of particular interest (see for instance Hornberger, 2002). As shown by diverse studies, literacy in a non-dominant language may reinforce family links by creating more connivance between parents and children, or even ensure stability in the connections with the family left in the country of origin. The current reality in most European contexts, however, follows a different path, which does not venture into multilingual horizons. This is more than an opportunity missed, as schooling in only a dominant language introduces a rupture with the family context (Grosjean, 2010: 170). Very soon after the beginning of schooling in a dominant language, children may show a preference for interactions in the school language. An important consequence is that maintenance of a non-dominant home language will depend on the value that is attributed by the school to the non-dominant language in question. A high-valued language is likely to have a better chance of being maintained than a low-valued language (Moore, 2006).

Research evidence is unambiguous on the advantages of multilingual education. How then is it possible that the implementation of a policy for developing multi-literacies in schools is met with such resistance? Discriminatory viewpoints may play a role when non-dominant languages are linked to migration backgrounds. The community of the dominant language and culture may be reluctant to implement strategies that focus on languages that are perceived as synonymous with poverty and low literacy. Additional obstacles may exist at the level of community and classroom (Hornberger, 2002). For instance, parents who are oriented towards social upward mobility may favour a dominant language, as it is viewed as a language of economic success. As long as non-dominant languages are associated with lower prestige, parents or even teachers can be expected to discourage their use. Teachers may view linguistic heterogeneity as hampering class interactions, fuelling the seemingly logical argument that there are simply too many languages. Both stances can be convincingly refuted as will be shown throughout this report.

2.3. How can multilingual strategies be implemented?

Throughout the 1990s, attention was given to the use of bilingual education models in the context of historic ethnic or linguistic minorities. The problem, however, was that most of them fell short in including all languages present in the classroom, creating a lack of support for the languages of new migrant populations. More recently, novel developments have responded to this critique to establish a model where the school provides for a more balanced multilingual teaching and learning environment, while at the same time supporting the students' identification with multilingualism (Purkharthofer and Mossakowski, 2011).

BOX 2. Dual-medium models in Slovene-German schools in Austria

One potentially effective example of inclusive multilingual education is the Slovene-German schools in Carinthia, Austria. These schools provide a bilingual teaching and learning environment, and also adapt to their students' multilingual realities and support their identification with multilingualism. In this approach, language policies and educational goals are negotiated by teachers, parents and students alike. The teaching and learning strategies build on pro-active language stimulation and allow students to make less use of the dominant language in group activities, fulfilling tasks in their non-dominant language(s) without the teacher's assistance, which allows them to be the main participants in the learning environment (Purkharthofer and Mossakowski, 2011).

As mentioned in the introduction, many schools find themselves compelled by the changing circumstances to broaden their existing ambition to support the learning process by including pupils speaking other languages than the school language(s). Most newly arrived pupils do not know the (dominant) language(s) of schooling upon arrival, but will have to join mainstream classrooms rapidly, meaning they will have to cope with dominant languages as mediums of instruction. In this respect, it is important to note that the concept of diversity can be taken narrowly to refer to this heterogeneity of the language repertoire of the pupils, but may also include the variability in levels of academic attainment and literacy achieved even in several non-dominant languages, i.e. the languages that the children bring with them. In fact, some new pupils may come with a complete school background while others may be totally illiterate upon their arrival, for instance, children arriving from countries at war.

In this highly variable context, teachers dealing with newly arrived pupils will have to divide their attention between helping them to develop the language(s) of schooling, while at the same time ensuring progress in academic subjects, all the while taking into account their different levels. The complexity of this task is often underestimated. As a consequence, it is not realistic to assume that teachers and education systems overall are currently adequately prepared to meet these challenges (see also Koch-Priewe and Krüger-Potratz, 2016; OECD, 2010b; Cummins et al., 2005).

Interlinguistic transfer is a time-consuming process. It can be facilitated by effective educational practices that call attention to the similarities and differences between languages. Interlinguistic transfer is multi-directional, but it is most efficient to begin with literacy in the pupils' strongest languages and then promote transfer to new languages (Swain et al., 1990). The Integrated Plurilingual model from the Spanish Basque Country focuses on the heritage language (Basque/Euskara, a non-dominant language) but uses the dominant language Spanish (which is many learners' strongest language) and adds two additional languages through appropriate methods (Benson and Elorza, 2015).

Interestingly, countries with a long-standing history of bilingual education have discovered the value of considering the multilingual repertoire of pupils as a positive asset for the education system. These countries have gradually modified their curricula in order to optimize the learning process of school subjects in the context of multilingualism, while at the same time encouraging successful learning of the languages of instruction (O´ Laoire, 2005). However, most of these "historical" bilingual education systems may not be as inclusive as they appear to be at first sight, since they usually do not consider the languages of newly arrived pupils. Interestingly, Vez argues that some European Schools, those that primarily provide education to children of the staff of European Institutions, capitalize on non-dominant languages since their pupils often do not possess the language of the majority where the school is situated (Vez, 2009, 9). But as noted above, these observations mainly pertain to schools serving a privileged group of expatriates. On the whole, therefore, the present reality of multilingual education in Europe is that it remains highly ideological and far from inclusive (Vez, 2009).

In summary, it appears that the most important challenge is not so much a lack of evidence-based strategies in highly diverse classrooms – although clearly more research is needed – but rather the availability of this knowledge and the need for a shift in attitudes of those who work with highly diverse classrooms on a daily basis, i.e. teachers, educators and policy-makers. The next chapters of this report will review the current conditions and barriers for implementing multilingual strategies both at the system level and at the school and community levels.

CHAPTER 3. STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS FOR SUPPORTING MULTILINGUALISM

This chapter will discuss the structural preconditions that enhance the academic success of multilingual children, and which encourage positive attitudes toward language learning, through holistic approaches. Based on research findings of the long-term advantages of pluralistic multilingual approaches, we will not discuss singular approaches that view the learning of a particular language as an isolated process added to what is otherwise considered mainstream monolingual schooling. Instead, we focus on pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures which use teaching / learning activities that involve more than one language or culture. The basic idea is that ensuring continuity and consistency in policy is a key factor for success in the development of languages in a multilingual environment. With multiple references to existing practices, this chapter will look at different aspects of maintaining the continuity of language learning and at specific elements needed to ensure consistency and continuity such as favourable policy environment, comprehensive curriculum design and, last but not least, teacher education.

3.1. Principle of continuity of language learning

According to international research, school success for multilingual children cannot come from separate classes where they learn the dominant language while everything else stays the same, especially when subject teaching is carried out with no consideration to the multilingual nature of the classroom (Gibbons, 2002; Schleppegrell, 2007; Prediger and Özdil, 2011; Ohm 2009, 2010; Köker et al., 2015). On the contrary, effective results can be expected only when applying a consistent approach throughout the classroom, school and system. In this regard, three dimensions of continuity of language learning should be looked at: biographical continuity, thematic continuity and plurilingual continuity (Gogolin et al., 2011:55-59).

Biographical continuity means not only that educational institutions should follow each other in a vertical perspective, for example from pre-primary to primary to secondary education, but also that there should be cooperation between different educational environments where a child participates in each particular phase (see Figure 1 below).

Thematic continuity implies coordinated and reflected exposure to academic language skills and knowledge across content areas and subjects, as well as usage of consistent materials and guidelines for language-sensitive content across and within disciplines.

Plurilingual continuity ensures that students' plurilingual skills and competences are taken into account and used for the extension and consolidation of their linguistic repertoire, as well as for the acquisition of the academic register[6].

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[6] FörMig Berlin (Hrsg.)(2009) Wege zur durchgängigen Sprachbildung. Ein Orientierungsrahmen für Schulen. p. 9.

FIGURE 1. Continuity of language learning
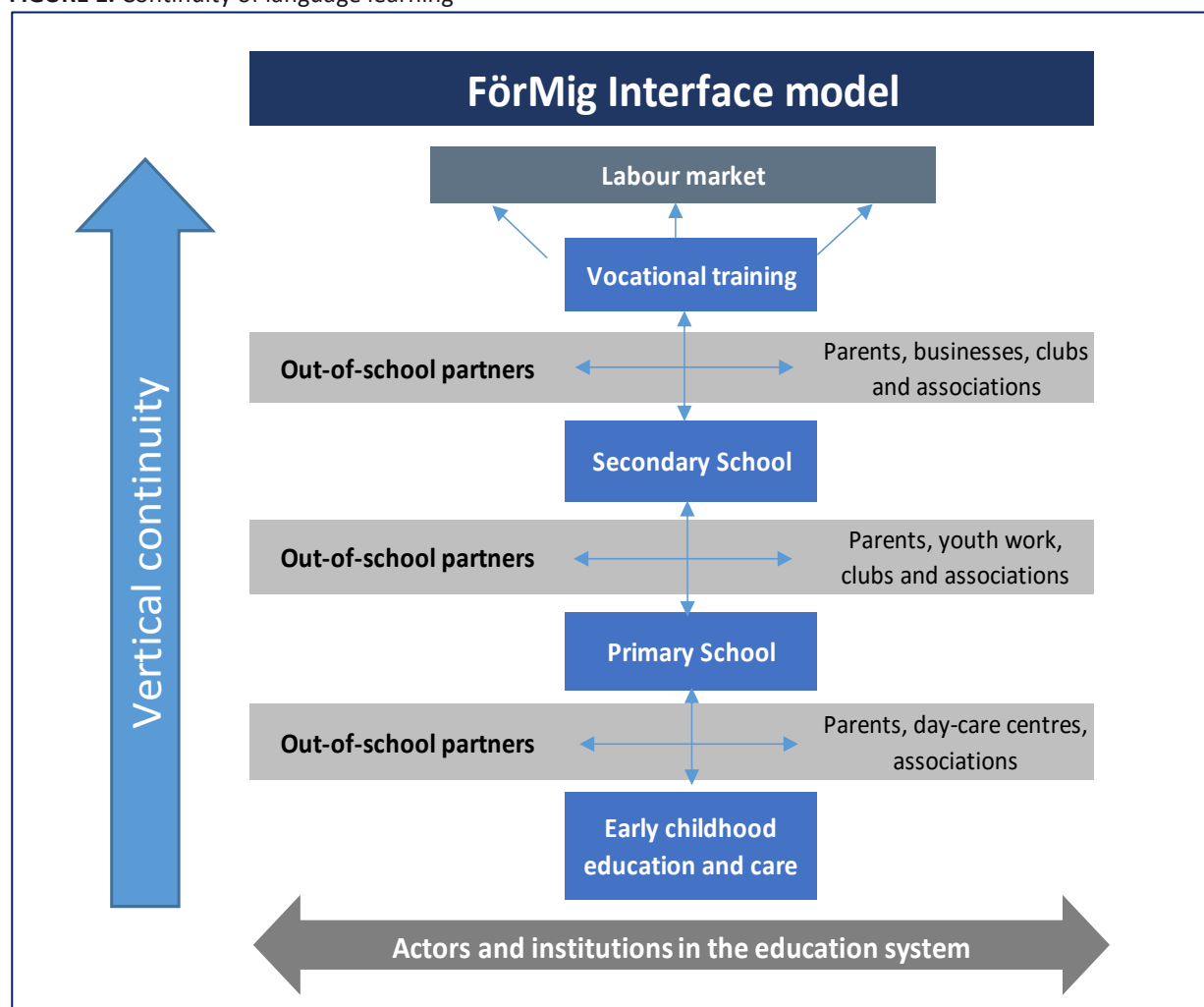
Source: FORMIG project, Institute for International and Intercultural Comparative Education Research at the University of Hamburg.

Continuity is not only important for multilingual children or language learning. As with most enabling factors for successful multilingualism on a more general level, continuity is a quality feature of a well-functioning education system, which is beneficial for all learners. In accordance with this concept, it is crucial to ensure the quality of each educational element on its own, but it is the sum of different elements and their inter-relationship that defines whether or not the educational context fosters children's development. The availability of many types of educational tracks and schools, along with different teaching styles, can be a major asset of an educational system as it provides flexibility, adaptability and opportunities for all. But it can also become a liability if it leads to fragmentation of learning processes, as has been shown for early tracking systems (European Commission, 2014a; Crul, Schneider, Lelie, 2012).

Vertical continuity - from birth to adulthood

Positive experiences of transition to school and between educational levels can be a critical factor for children's future success and development, while negative experiences can lead to lasting difficulties and problematic behaviour resulting in poor educational performance (Moss, 2013). Transitional challenges can be particularly acute between primary and secondary and between lower and upper secondary school programs. In language learning, the difficulty of transitioning from one level to another is often compounded by different approaches and materials.

The goal of vertical continuity is cumulative language development throughout the learner's biography, so that gains are not diminished or lost by a change of institutions or of responsible actors. Before we

look at the determinants of inter-institutional cooperation, we want to highlight instruments securing continuity in the language development of a child, such as language portfolios. Castellotti and Moore (2010) have suggested that to enhance pupils' awareness of their own competences in their first languages, a portfolio approach to the recognition of learning could be used. Such an approach would encourage pupils' reflection on and commitment to their learning process.

With the growing use of ICT and in response to rising mobility, new initiatives have been developed to create digital language portfolios[7], which foster opportunities for tracing the evolution of language proficiency and cultural competence. E-Portfolios function as an educational blueprint of learning opportunities in and beyond the classroom, and therefore create a unique opportunity for mapping the diversity of the linguistic repertoire of individuals and of whole classrooms, and demonstrate progress in students' linguistic development over school and work careers.

While the portfolio provides an instrument for language development continuity on the individual level of the learner and her/his teacher, or of the classroom, more is needed to secure continuity across institutions. On the level of institutions, it is therefore necessary to establish structures of cooperation, both vertically between those institutions which children leave and the subsequent ones where they enter, and horizontally, between the institutions children attend across the day or week.

BOX 3. Conditions for vertical continuity

In an evaluation of the vertical continuity dimension in FÖRMIG (Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2009: 20) the following conditions were identified as crucial:

a) The participation of the leaders of each institution through collaborative planning;
b) A formal start of cooperation with the identification of the responsible personnel in each institution;
c) A common ground/approach to the issue (of multilingualism and language learning) through capacity building/professional development;
d) The active engagement of education stakeholders in the education biography of the child;
e) Regular contact and joint training/further education of partners;
f) Further cooperation through participation on the level of the school community.

Vertical continuity, however, would be more challenging to establish in the case of highly mobile children, as this might require collaboration of institutions across national boundaries.

Horizontal continuity

Depending on a country's school culture (cf. Baumann, Schiffauer, Kastoryano, Vertovec, 2002), schools can be rather isolated structures with little to no cooperation with their neighbourhoods (e.g. France, Germany, Austria), or they can instead be centres of the neighbourhood (e.g. UK, Canada). As with other goals that potentially involve multiple actors, the most benefit comes when all actors in a given environment pull in the same direction. This aspect is true when looking at a classroom and its different teachers, the school and its administration and leadership, or regional education networks (see also Gogolin et al., 2011: 19).

BOX 4. Example of horizontal continuity

In the Washington State Comprehensive Literacy Plan in the U.S., there is a system-wide commitment to achieve literacy for all. It is stated that instruction and intervention are critical to a child's success and therefore have to be strengthened by leadership and systemwide commitment, involving teachers, school leaders and staff as well as family members, caregivers, early childhood practitioners, higher education faculty, district administrators, medical and health care providers, community members, policy

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[7] See e.g., http://eelp.gap.it/

> makers including the state education agency and people in professional development. As a comprehensive system, it starts at birth, broadens the definition of literacy and recognizes diversity to bridge and support cultural and linguistic differences, as well as different learning styles. (Washington Superintendent of Public Instruction, 2012:54).

In chapter 4 we will go into details concerning different actors outside school and within regional networks that can foster horizontal continuity of language learning.

3.2. Policy commitment and support

Language teaching and learning strategies are often inherent representations of different language ideologies, i.e. beliefs, visions and conceptions of the role(s) of certain language(s) held by different institutional and policy actors (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2011). Competing ideologies drive aspects of language policy in different, often conflicting, directions both at national and supranational levels (Romaine, 2013). The political context, and particularly the overall understanding of the role of education in the promotion of multilingualism for all and integration (or assimilation) of students with migrant and/or minority backgrounds in particular, influences the way languages are taught in schools. Policies on multiculturalism and multilingualism never operate in a political vacuum. They are always linked to shifting political and economic objectives (Ibid).

Policy developments at the EU level

The EU is home to 24 official and more than 60 indigenous regional languages, and a growing number of new languages is being brought by mobility and migration. While national governments determine the legal status of these languages and the extent to which they receive support, the European Commission maintains an open dialogue, encouraging linguistic diversity and promoting multilingualism.

One of the objectives of the Erasmus+ programme is promoting the learning of languages, capitalising on linguistic diversity in the EU, and protecting and encouraging the use of non-dominant languages[8]. Foreign language competence is one of the key competences for lifelong learning[9] that all citizens need to acquire in order to improve their educational and employment opportunities, in particular by making use of the right to freedom of movement in Europe. Within the framework of education and vocational training policy, therefore, the EU's objective is to teach at least two languages in addition to students' mother tongue/first language from a very early age[10]. This "Barcelona" target was agreed in 2002 by EU Heads of State and government. However, as mentioned above, the first reference to developing proficiency in three European[11] languages dates back to 1995, when the European Commission released a White Paper on teaching and learning[12].

In 2005 the European Commission adopted a new framework strategy for multilingualism[13], which complemented the 2003 action plan on 'Promoting language learning and linguistic diversity'[14] and set out three basic strands:

1) ensuring the citizens have access to EU legislation, procedures and information in their own languages;
2) underlining the major role that languages and multilingualism play in European economy;

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[8] See: https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/about_en.
[9] See Recommendation 2006/962/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:c11090.
[10] See the Conclusions of Barcelona European Council meeting, 15-16 March, 2002: http://aei.pitt.edu/43345/.
[11] 'European' was removed in later documents.
[12] See: http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf.
[13] COM(2005) 596 final. See http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0596:FIN:en:PDF.
[14] COM(2003) 449 final. See http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0449:FIN:EN:PDF.

3) encouraging more citizens to learn and speak more languages, in order to improve mutual un-
derstanding and communication.

In 2008 the Commission adopted a communication entitled 'Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a
shared commitment'[15], which laid down a framework for the EU's policy on multilingualism. The commu-
nication called for the mainstreaming of multilingualism throughout all relevant policy areas, to raise
awareness of the value and opportunities of the EU's linguistic diversity and encourage intercultural dia-
logue. This approach to multilingualism reached out to a new and steadily growing groups of learners
who, thus far, had only marginally been addressed in this context (school drop-outs, immigrants, students
with special learning needs, apprentices and adults). The 2012 Communication on Rethinking Education
and its Staff Working Document "Language competences for employability, mobility and growth", further
emphasized the importance of the development of language skills for modern economies and the em-
ployability of the European workforce[16].

Language competences are further promoted as one of the keys to building resilience and opening doors
to personal fulfilment, social inclusion, active citizenship and employment of EU citizens and residents in
the EC's New Skills Agenda[17]. With the growing numbers of migrants and refugees in Europe, language
teaching and learning is also one of the tools to facilitate their integration in European societies and foster
a sense of belonging, as well as to promote intercultural understanding and multilingual awareness. To
further facilitate language learning, innovative methods using ICT and the internet are explored.

The profound societal changes caused by globalisation, new migration patterns and other factors, have
created a need to re-think the Key Competence Framework for lifelong learning in the 21st century. In
particular, the notions of communication in one's mother tongue and communication in languages other
than those used in school are increasingly becoming topics of discussion. There is an on-going revision
process of the key competence framework in order to bring it in line with the economic and social trans-
formations that have occurred in Europe over the past ten years.

BOX 5. Examples of tools to promote multilingualism at the EU level

- Encouraged by the success of the European Year of Languages (2001), the EU and the Council of Europe
  decided to celebrate the **European Day of Languages**[18] every year on 26 September, with all sorts of events
  to promote language learning. Like the earlier European Year of Languages, this action is designed to raise
  awareness among citizens of the many languages spoken in Europe and to encourage them to learn lan-
  guages.
- The European Commission is awarding the **European Language Label**[19] to encourage new language teach-
  ing techniques (since 1998).
- The Council of Europe also provides a number of online tools to promote multilingualism, including the
  Common European Framework of Reference for Languages[20], which provides descriptors allowing for
  self-assessment. Other instruments include the **European Language Portfolio (ELP)**[21], policy guides, etc.
- The European Commission is working together with the Council of Europe and its **European Centre of
  Modern Languages**[22], whose main focus is innovation in language teaching. Resulting from project work
  are 'hands-on' training kits, guidelines and interactive websites, such as the *European Portfolio for Student
  Teachers of Languages* (EPOSTL) translated into 13 languages and taken up in many teacher education

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[15] COM(2008) 566 final. See http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:52008DC0566.

[16] 2012 Commission staff working document 'Language competences for employability, mobility and growth': http://eur-
lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52012SC0372.

[17] European Commission, A NEW SKILLS AGENDA FOR EUROPE: Working together to strengthen human capital, employability
and competitiveness, COM(2016) 381 final. See https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/1/2016/EN/1-2016-381-EN-F1-
1.PDF.

[18] See: http://edl.ecml.at/.

[19] See: http://ec.europa.eu/education/initiatives/language-label_en.

[20] See: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf.

[21] See: https://www.coe.int/en/web/portfolio.

[22] See: http://www.ecml.at/.

programmes in Europe (http://epostl.ecml.at) and the *Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages and Cultures* (CARAP) showing how to support the development of learners' plurilingual and intercultural competences in a school classroom (http://carap.ecml.at).

National level commitment

Although there is evidence that children learn best in and through their mother tongues, and the value of children's first languages as an important means of communication and an integral part of personal, cultural and social identity has been recognised by researchers, the Council of Europe and the EU, only a few European countries presently provide opportunities for children from non-dominant linguistic groups to study their home languages at school, or to use home languages in learning other subjects and languages. Often even these provisions are not comprehensive enough, and such teaching is considered secondary and unimportant, which can result in low quality (see e.g., Ganuza and Hedman, 2015).

Current education policy that focuses on diversity across European countries suggests two prevailing conceptions of linguistic diversity. One gives positive connotations to multiculturalism, multilingualism and inclusion, and the other is preoccupied with deficit-based 'disparity', in which diverse characteristics are associated with different outcomes and differential treatment (Zimenkova, 2011; EADSNE, 2010)

Some countries tend to emphasise linguistic diversity in their policy documents (Extra and Yagmur, 2012). Their education policies build on the necessity to ensure proficiency in the language of schooling; however, they often fail to acknowledge the linguistic background of pupils from migrant or minority backgrounds. As such, migrant/minority children are categorised as anyone whose mother tongue is different from the host language. Furthermore, Ziegler (2013, 17) highlights 'the gap between the politically advocated multilingualism on the one hand and the still poorly managed realities of plurilingual repertoires which often lead to a poorly monitored "English only" practice despite available linguistic resources'.

Nevertheless, in some countries there are growing initiatives of valuing the linguistic diversity of the student population. Meanwhile, there are different approaches to recognition of non-dominant languages. In some contexts, the first language is seen as a resource and foundation for learning additional languages (e.g. non-governmental translanguaging initiatives in France or the Netherlands); while in others, native languages are regarded as essential components in intercultural education (e.g. in Austria over 20 languages are taught in the framework of 'mother-tongue education'), and in some initiatives migrant languages are taught as foreign languages to German speaking pupils (e.g. in Germany). In recent years, Austrian education policy has been emphasizing the benefits of linguistic diversity, promoting plurilingualism of learners (e.g. with the establishment of the Federal Center for Interculturality, Migration and Multilingualism), and the design of multilingualism curricula in 2013 (Krumm and Reich 2013).

Similarly, the success of some multilingual models (e.g., the Slovene-German schools in Austria mentioned earlier), is facilitated by the commitment and active collaboration of education stakeholders, starting from political authorities to community organisations, parents and school actors (leaders, teachers and pupils) themselves. These preconditions manifest widely in policy discourse (e.g., acknowledgement of linguistic landscape), in the availability of adequate teaching and learning resources, as well as in accepted social practices which promote languages outside the educational domain and stimulate further possibilities for pupils' use of different languages. As a result, this contributes to putting learners' available linguistic resources at the centre of their development (Purkharthofer and Mossakowski, 2011).

Both research and practice demonstrate that the levels of policy support and recognition of linguistic diversity and its benefits influence the way multilingual education is further operationalized into curricula and the availability of support programmes for schools. Any strategies, pedagogical concepts and organisational models for such language learning approaches depend on local or national circumstances (e.g. demographic facts, professional qualification of staff), official language policies (assimilationist vs. pluralistic) and tacit attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity (Romaine, 2013).

3.3. Curriculum development

Inclusive quality education for democratic citizenship in modern knowledge societies requires that educational authorities address the language dimension in curriculum development and implementation across the whole curriculum. It also requires the continuous professional development of teachers. At the school level, attempts to establish a language-sensitive classroom culture ought to be supported by adequate resources and professional expertise (Romaine, 2013).

Curriculum planning must cover various aspects of schooling such as general aims, specific aims and competences, teaching content, approaches and activities, groupings, spatial-temporal dimensions, materials and resources, the role of the teachers, co-operation and assessment to ensure overall coherence (Council of Europe, 2010). In each of these aspects the question of language and multilingualism can be scrutinized. A basic aspect is the choice of languages for subject teaching. While in some contexts, such as regions with revitalized minority languages, bi- or trilingual communities are served with bi- or trilingual subject teaching (e.g., the Spanish Basque country; see Benson and Elorza, 2015) as the basis of a multilingual curriculum. In other contexts, such as super-diverse urban schools with dozens of languages spoken by the pupils, the choice of languages of schooling is a question of developing a wider network where different schools can have different emphases in terms of language combinations.

The new generation of multilingual curricula go beyond bilingual educational models, relating to all the students' language resources. They aim at a threefold concept of multilingual education with (1) a constructive language policy, (2) language awareness, and (3) functional multilingual learning (Sierens and Avermaet 2013). The Multilingualism Curriculum by Krumm and Reich (2013) was a first effort to spell out a fully inclusive approach in all the curricular prepositions from grade 1 to 12 in general and vocational education. In a comprehensive manner, the development of the following competences is supported:

- language awareness, the overall ability to reflect upon languages;
- the ability to reflect on one's own linguistic situation and also to analyse another's situation;
- knowledge about languages and their significance for people and groups;
- the linguistic knowledge necessary for comparative description of languages;
- a varied range of learning strategies and self-confidence as far as the pupils' languages are concerned (Krumm and Reich 2013:2).

BOX 6. Content of Multilingualism Curriculum by Krumm and Reich (2013)

Starting with years 1 and 2 at primary level, common objectives and methodological principles are described. This section is followed by the syllabus for the various sub-areas such as 'perceiving and managing multilingual situations', 'knowledge about languages' and 'acquisition of language learning strategies'. Each sub-area consists of the description of aims and content, and gives examples and suggestions to existing resources and finally explains the correspondences in the current curricula, exemplary for Austria. This structure is repeated for years 3 and 4 as well as years 5 and 6 enlarged by 'comparing languages' and 'analysis of social and cultural aspects of languages'. The subareas in years 7 and 8 are again expanded by 'multilingual situations'. This structure is then repeated for years 9 and 10 as well as years 11 and 12. A specific section is devoted to upper secondary level in vocational/technical education such as Commercial College.

Building on Krumm's work and the Council of Europe's REPA (Reference Framework for Plural Approaches to Languages and Cultures) the Multilingualism Curriculum of South Tyrol in Italy published in 2016 defines multilingualism competences as fourfold:

- SAVOIR - the knowledge about multilingualism;
- SAVOIR FAIRE - acting in multilingual environments;
- SAVOIR APPRENDRE - strategies of learning languages and transferring language knowledge;
- SAVOIR ETRE - perception and handling of linguistic diversity.

These competences are going to be developed step by step from primary to upper secondary school. The prerequisite for all concepts, curricula, methodologies and instruments developed for a multilingual classroom to be implemented is adequate teacher preparation. First and foremost, they must come into contact with the relevant knowledge on language development in a multilingual environment. According to TALIS 2013 data, the teachers surveyed identified five areas where they expressed the most need, and the fifth was teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015). In addition, only 13.3 % of teachers in lower secondary education declared that professional development activities in which they had participated covered teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting.

3.4. Teacher education

Performance in children's first languages is not generally linked to any national, regional or school-based curriculum, suggesting it to be less of a priority for education policy makers. Furthermore, many teachers tend to discourage the use of non-dominant languages in schools and recommend that families speak the dominant language at home (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015). Tochon (2009) further emphasises that children's first languages are often devalued and rejected in schools. For instance, during a study by the European Commission (2015), qualitative interviews of school principals and teachers showed that many of them believed the use of a child's first language (if different from the language of school) was harmful for their academic achievement. Similarly, the surveys conducted by the Meridium Project in six Member States demonstrated that there was little awareness of the usefulness and benefits of children's first languages among teachers and parents[23]. This suggests that, rather than being considered an asset, non-dominant languages continue to be seen as a barrier and a deficit across schools in Europe, and that, despite the learner-centered approach rhetoric appearing in policy papers, children's' linguistic repertoires are not given due attention. To change this perception, a new orientation towards multilingualism in teacher education is needed.

Many subject teachers, especially in urban contexts, are accustomed to pupils learning a dominant language of schooling while attending regular classes. Most teachers have taught in this situation for decades without feeling competent or responsible for the outcomes (e.g. in Germany; see Becker-Mrotzek, 2012). In Austria, for example, 45 % of multilingual pupils in 4th grade primary school (PIRLS 2012) have been taught by a classroom teacher who had no training in second language teaching (Salchegger, Herzog-Punzenberger and Filzmoser, 2015). In traditional settler countries, such as the United States, research shows that experience does not necessarily lead to greater proficiency (Robinson, 2005); this finding was substantiated in rural England, even when teachers felt that they were responsible (Murakami, 2008).

Across different socio-political contexts it seems to be a uniform finding that 'learning on the job' does not work well for teachers, at least not in the case of multilingual learners. Research shows that even pedagogically effective teacher-learner communication breaks down when teachers are unaware of the roles that language and culture play in classrooms. This is aggravated when political efforts to assimilate learners into new socio-cultural/political contexts take precedence over sound pedagogical practice, such as drawing on the linguistic and cultural repertoires that learners bring to the classroom (cf. Breton-Carbonneau et al., 2012). These findings underline once more the importance of preparing pre-service and in-service teachers for the linguistic and cultural diversity they are bound to encounter in their classrooms.

A number of research initiatives especially in Germany and the US have concentrated on the question of how to reconceptualize teaching in classrooms that do not fit the monolingual habitus of the nation-state. When responding to their super-diverse classrooms, teachers should not only be taught pedagogical *con-*

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[23] The Meridium (Multilingualism in Europe as a resource for immigration) Project, www.meridium.unistrapg.it.

tent knowledge (Shulman, 1986) but also "*pedagogical language knowledge,* a critical language aware-ness toward a functional view of academic language", as Galguera (2011:90) described it[24]. A way to be-come more precise is the systematization of the so-called German as a Second Language Competences (DaZ-Kompetenz). The necessary competences for teachers can be broken down into three dimensions (Köker et al., 2015, p. 181)[25]: (1) subject register; (2) multilingualism; and (3) didactics.

Knowledge about subject register (or linguistic varieties) means gaining an intimate understanding of morphology, lexical semantics, syntax and text linguistics in the realm of grammatical structures and vo-cabulary of the teacher's subject. Within the dimension of the subject register there are also semiotic systems to be clear about: orality versus literality, representation format, and linguistic references be-tween different formats. Within the second dimension of multilingualism, the focus is on processes of learning. Besides knowledge of second language teaching and learning, teachers need knowledge of mi-gration, linguistic diversity in schools and how to deal with heterogeneity. Within the third dimension of didactics, the focus is on teaching. Strategies for micro-scaffolding, macro-scaffolding, and dealing with mistakes, belong to the subdomain of diagnosis, whereas these elements also feature in the second sub-domain of support.

In this elaborate concept, teachers advance from the phase of novice to that of expert while they apply this specific knowledge, reflect upon it, and adapt to the situation in the classroom. Obviously, a subject teacher does not only become language-sensitive by applying some rules, but has to be sensitive to the situation or 'culture of the classroom' too, which most likely will be influenced by the 'culture of the school'. Knowing when to draw attention to aspects of language use requires sensitivity to the individual pupil and the classroom atmosphere, where, in one instance, it may be helpful, and in another, quite the opposite. In the end, what is most important is that aspects of language use are seen to support rather than dominate the understanding and learning of subject content, which must be at the forefront of the classroom activity (Beacco et al., 2015: 99).

BOX 7. The EUCIM-project

The EUCIM-project, a multilateral Comenius project, developed a European Core Curriculum for teacher education to improve learning opportunities of low-achieving multilingual students with a migrant background as well as those monolingual students who have limited access to the academic register at home. The supporting material provides information on the systemic functional linguistic basis for the inclusive academic language teaching ap-proach, relating language to social context, and touching on registers and genres in different curriculum subjects and activities. It also addresses methodological issues for inclusive academic language teaching, classroom strate-gies, and techniques such as reading/writing to learn, modelling, the genre-based curriculum cycle, and scaffolding. See www.eucim-te.eu.

While the specification of content in pedagogical language knowledge is progressing well, it seems that the organisational question of how to implement it in the school system is far from inconsequential. In initial teacher education the organizational tasks seem easier, as the syllabus prescribes which courses to attend. However, teacher educators are the key models in this phase and have to teach language sensi-tivity in their subject teaching. That requires redefining their role as teacher educators, especially in sub-jects other than languages. To support that change, curriculum development has to progress, adequate teaching and learning materials have to be provided, and learning outcomes have to be defined in a co-herent way. Ziegler (2013) emphasizes an imminent need for identifying the changing identities not only

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[24] cf. Carlson, Hammer, Ehmke, Rosenbrock, Köker, Koch-Priewe, Ohm, Otto, submitted

[25] Within the framework of the European Core Curriculum for Mainstreamed Second Language Teaching EUCIM-TE (Bran-denburger et al.. 2011) as well as within the German as a Second Language Module in Initial Teacher Education (DaZ-Modul im Lehramtsstudium) of the German Mercator Foundation (Baur et al. 2009), curricular content was in the fore-ground. Lately an initiative of the University of Bielefeld and the University Leuphana concentrated on teacher education. See http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/erziehungswissenschaft//ag4/projekte/dazkom.html.

of subject teachers but also of language teachers in multilingual realities, and highlights the necessity to create consistency throughout Europe in developing and professionalizing teachers of languages as agents of multilingualism.

Preparing existing teachers seems even more challenging and long-term, since in some countries or certain professional contexts (e.g. teachers of upper secondary schools in Austria) teachers are not obliged to participate in continuous professional development. However, in several countries different formats are being tested to mainstream language-sensitive subject teaching (Benholz and Siems, 2016). Besides conventional professional development, establishing a support system with literacy coaches for change-ready schools (e.g. Hamburg[26]) and encouraging schools and their staff to evaluate and further develop a language-sensitive culture of content teaching and learning are ways to get individual teachers on board even if they were not sensitive to the subject in the beginning (see also chapter 4).

Teacher education should adapt not only in terms of content but also in the way it is organized, the students it attracts and graduates, as well as the different roles it prepares for (Koch-Priewe and Krüger-Potratz, 2016). Student teachers often do not come into contact with multilingual classrooms until they start teaching by themselves. The placements where students can practice are often in privileged neighbourhoods and less diverse in linguistic and cultural terms. There is therefore a dual problem: first, the schools where they train do not resemble the actual heterogeneity of many urban situations, and second, the teachers that serve as role models are not proficient in "pedagogical language knowledge" or language-sensitive subject teaching (e.g. in Austria). Consequently, induction or mentorship programmes which have already integrated the multilingualism curriculum could constitute an effective tool to prepare teachers for diversity (Neumann and Casper-Hehne, 2016). However, starting small, a Finnish project demonstrated that even a six-week online course about second language acquisition helped to build student teachers' awareness of linguistically and culturally responsive teaching (Acquah, Commins, Niemi 2016).

A beneficial strategy could be networking and cooperation between teacher education institutions, as well as arranging placement schools with local communities, so that student teachers already come into contact with community organisations of migrant communities and gain some familiarity with cultural and linguistic heterogeneity. However, the first level of intervention is at the trainer level, i.e. the teacher educators. It can be said that the higher the positions in the hierarchy, the fewer formal obligations to further one's training. Therefore, the dynamic developments in the realm of multilingualism and teaching need to be integrated into the teaching of teacher educators in a timely manner. In most countries, quality assurance in this area is not in operation, and so these requirements are hard to control.

Another issue is the low level of diversity within the teaching profession. In many European countries fewer teachers are multilingual than is the case in the overall population and especially among school children (Bräu, Georgi, Karakasoglu, Rotter 2013). Therefore, it is paramount that gifted teenagers and adolescents, especially from language backgrounds with low status, are attracted to the teaching profession. They can play a valuable role within the teacher education institutions as well as in schools, as they exemplify success in the education system and authority among their communities (Donlevy, Meierkord, Rajania 2016). Further along the way the retention rate among particular groups of teacher students should be monitored. In cases where multilingual students (oftentimes with migration backgrounds) drop out more frequently, causes should be analysed and support systems installed. In Austria, for example, an instrument to support scientific literacy, especially for student teachers, was developed exactly for that reason (Knappik, 2013). Last but not least, in some countries there are also positions such as teaching assistants available that can specifically act as bridges for members of those groups, where higher education is not yet spread so widely and social upward mobility is a step-by-step process. Care would need to be taken that speakers of non-dominant languages do not remain in subordinate roles like teaching assistants, and that there are paths for them to become teaching professionals.

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[26] See: https://www.schulenfoerdern.de/schulportal/index.php?page=19.

However, to encourage systemic change, isolated measures and initiatives are not enough. Flores & Rosa (2015) argue that we need to start thinking about ways to empower teachers to move beyond pedagogies geared toward responding to students' purported linguistic deficiencies or "gaps" and to use linguistic diversity as a resource for the learning process of all children. The next chapters of this report look at whole-school development strategies and promising pedagogical approaches that can help education stakeholders embrace the benefits of linguistic and cultural diversity of our societies.

CHAPTER 4. ROLE OF DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS IN PROMOTING LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Implementing a successful multilingual policy across all subjects in a school is as much about creating a school culture as it is about employing particular teaching methodologies or following a syllabus. This includes developing positive attitudes of curiosity towards languages, a readiness to acquire specific knowledge and relevant terminology, an openness to diversity, and the involvement of all relevant stake-holders in the learning process. During the current review, we came across a number of whole-school development and stakeholder partnership initiatives aimed at teaching either dominant school languages or home languages in isolation. There were very limited examples targeting multilingual identity and pro-moting multilingual education. Nevertheless, many existing initiatives can create a foundation for elabo-rating multilingual approaches and linguistically sensitive practices, provided that an enabling policy en-vironment is created.

4.1. Whole-school development and leadership

As described in section 3.1, to improve the learning outcomes and wellbeing of students, it is crucial that everyone pulls in the same direction and develops a shared set of values with common goals. This process depends very much on leadership, which means sharing responsibility with others through community building. Therefore, whole-school development is advantageous if not necessary to successfully imple-ment a pluralistic approach to language learning, which can be seen as a profoundly new way for not only teaching and learning, but also for organizing the whole school-environment.

The PlurCur-project[27] suggests eight factors critical to successfully implementing whole school language curricula (see Figure below).

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[27] See: www.ecml.at/plurcur.

FIGURE 2. Success factors of whole-school language curricula
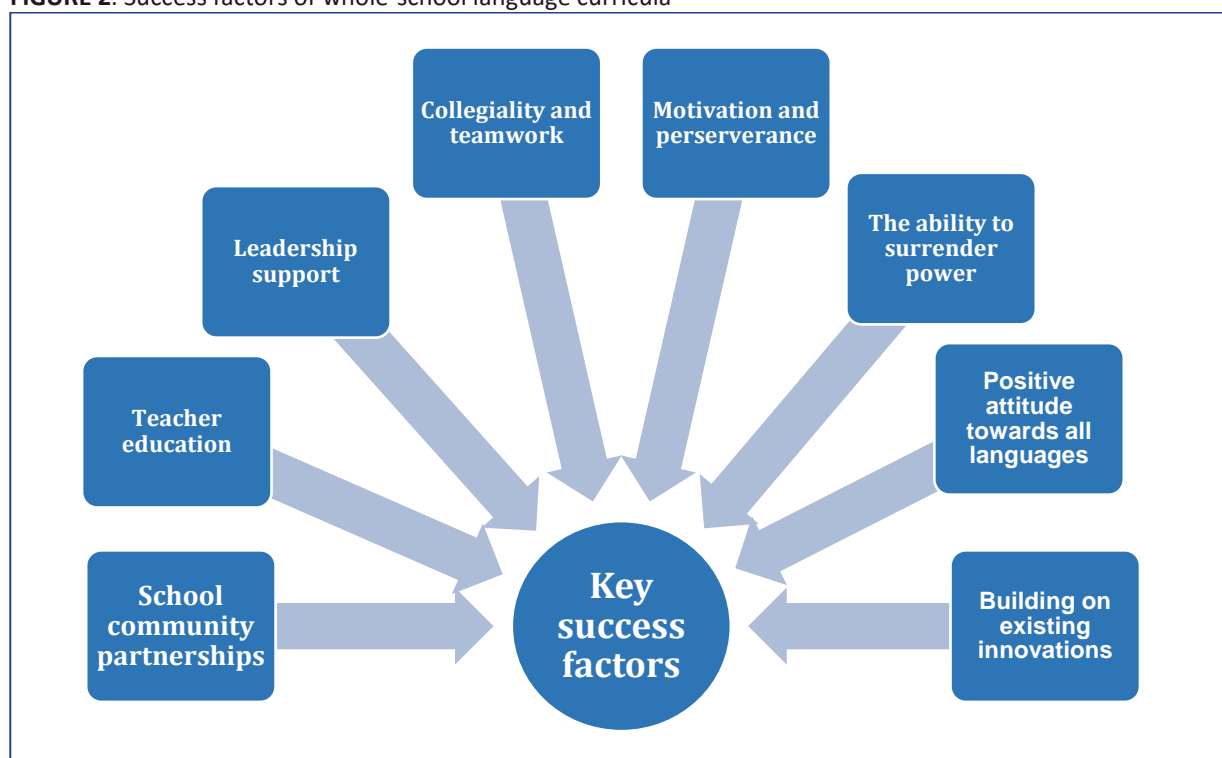
When implementing a whole-school language curricula concept, a positive attitude towards all languages is a necessary precondition. Seldom will all staff be interested, but at least all should be given a general introduction to the concept. The same is true for parents. Support from school heads and boards is just as important as the communication to the school community about the concept, and pupils have to be persuaded just the same as teachers and parents. Generally timing is an important factor: a profoundly new approach is more likely to be well received when there is a positive attitude towards innovation already, which builds on the principles of collegiality and teamwork. Last but not least, the ability to surrender power and handle their roles as authorities in a meaningful way, is particularly challenging for teachers in a context where they deal with languages they do not speak[28].

In a similar vein, the results of a research project on what matters most in closing the 'racial or ethnic' reading achievement gap (in San Francisco Bay Area schools K-8 in the U.S.) point to school-level policies and practices, with an emphasis on leadership (Oberman and Symonds, 2005). In the most successful schools, teachers not only used standardized test data more often (i.e. diagnostic data as part of a continuous improvement process), but they were also given time after the test to analyse, reflect and revise strategies together by the school leader. Even if this is not directly related to multilingualism, it is important to acknowledge that according to the survey findings, schools in which teachers were given structured time to discuss the complexities and impact of race/ethnicity on school, self and students, these schools were more successful in closing the gaps between dominant and non-dominant learners. The research clearly pointed to the importance of leaders (1) providing teachers with the time to reflect continuously on assessment data and revise instruction and curriculum together and (2) explicitly encouraging reflection on race/ethnicity and equity.

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[28] See: http://www.ecml.at/ECML-Programme/Programme2012-2015/PlurCur/Successfactors/tabid/1873/language/de-DE/Default.aspx.

In several European cities or regions, language advisors or literacy coaches have been introduced, either serving one school (e.g. as part of a teacher's duties) or serving a network or region. In Hamburg, Germany, teachers can attend a two-year course on supporting the language development of pupils as well as developing a language support concept for their school. This concept will be in line with the continuous language development concept (described in chapter 3.1) characterized by biographical, thematic and language/s continuity and build on diagnostic instruments. Parallel to implementing a well-integrated support structure, an evaluation is carried out[29].

4.2. Educational partnerships and local community networks

From the previous sections we have learnt about the importance of linguistically responsive schooling, when all children's languages are valued and when making connections between languages is encouraged in the classroom. Indeed, research points to the advantages of multilingual education such as positive impacts in achievement for non-dominant groups (Kosonen, 2005, Cummins, 2015, Gogolin et al., 2007) and increased participation of parents in children's learning process, which in turn establishes a relationship of mutual confidence and intercultural understanding between schools and families (Benson, 2002; Meier, 2012). Research further emphasizes that it is important for parents to keep using their family language(s) with their children, and for teachers to help children establish connections between the languages of their environment. It is easier for children to engage in the languages that are taught at school when their own languages are recognised and considered resources (García et al., 2012). We have seen that children's language development is a horizontal process, which requires the involvement of many actors; formal schooling is only one part of the learning equation. As García (2009, 2013) has pointed out, there are also non-formal out-of-school contexts such as NGOs and community-based organisations or religious groups that play a crucial role in children's language learning.

Family and community support

Some studies demonstrate that for multilingual education to be successful, **community and parents support are crucia**l (Collier and Thomas, 2004; Lindholm-Leary, 2005). Working with parents as partners facilitates not only language acquisition, but also the development of positive attitudes towards otherness, attitudes that are necessary for the harmonious development of individuals and society (Ball, 2011). Parents and wider family members are an important source of pedagogical experience and a part of the learning continuity.

Researchers emphasize the significance of parents' *and* educators' partnership in the development of multiliteracies. Additional languages need to be taught and learned in an age-appropriate manner, starting with oral comprehension and output, so that transfer from the stronger language can be facilitated. In a study conducted by Sneddon (2008), teachers were asked to actively support this approach by providing bilingual books to the pupils while the parents provided expertise to stimulate the transfer of reading skills from the school language to the family language. The result of this study was that the pupils achieved a higher level of literacy than their peers in the school language while developing fluent reading in their home language. Indeed, use of dual language books has proved to be particularly efficient in boosting literacy skills in bilingual children (Naqvi, 2013).

In London, Kenner and Ruby conducted a study in which they showed the advantages of bringing the cultural and linguistic knowledge of the pupils and their communities into the classroom, creating new spaces for multilingual learning. The creation of a new, so called 'syncretic curriculum', enabled more collaborative learning, a greater involvement of parents and communities in schools, more secured identities of the pupils, and more openness to intercultural communication in the teachers (Kenner and Ruby, 2012).

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[29] See: https://www.schulenfoerdern.de/schulportal/index.php?page=19.

BOX 8. Teacher-parent partnership for multilingualism in France

The European Centre for Modern Languages provides tools which help to clarify, develop and implement plurilingual, intercultural and inclusive whole school policies in different contexts. In the case studies of the 'Ensemble' project, the fundamental questions of continuity between home and school, giving value to all languages present and implementing changes in favour of linguistic diversity are dealt with, each in its particular regional context (Grima, 2007). In a pre-primary school in Alsace (France), for example, teachers involve a good number of parents, inviting them into school and getting them to contribute to the teaching process in an organized and meaningful way. Alongside the pupils, the teachers become learners of the different languages and cultures that exist in the community but are normally absent inside the school. The languages presented are, for example, Arabic, Turkish, Polish, Japanese and the local Alsatian language. As a result, the parents become more interested and involved in what happens inside their children's school (Young and Helot, 2007).

In the absence of multilingual education, there are a number of teacher-parent partnerships aimed at supporting children from non-dominant linguistic groups to learn the language of schooling. St. Clair and Jackson (2006) revealed that equipping multilingual families with abilities to develop their children's language skills in early childhood education leads to positive language outcomes for their children. According to their quasi-experimental study (based on parent self-selection), which examined the effects of a parent involvement training programme in kindergartens in the USA on children's English language skills, they found that by the end of first grade, children from families participating in the programme scored significantly higher on language measures (overall English ability, verbal reasoning, letter and word identification and writing) than children in the control group. However, it is important that such an approach does not work only in an assimilationist way, but also enables families to use their first languages in the process of teaching, increasing their value.

Ball (2011) argues that continued interaction between children and their family and community members to support children's language development should be in addition to ongoing formal instruction in their first languages to develop reading and writing skills. Similarly, practitioners consulted during the European Commission (2015) study believe that non-formal and informal learning opportunities can help children see the value of their first language skills, either in the absence of opportunities for formal learning or supplementing these. Such projects also provide additional opportunities for learning and enhance children's language skills and cultural identity (see examples in the box below).

BOX 9. Examples of non-formal education focusing on children's first languages

A large network of schools in Cologne (Germany) has developed a project to use pupils' first languages: the 'First Language Lesson Programme' (FLLP). Each year a group of schools have worked with an external organisation on a project that enables them to use and develop their mother tongues within the curriculum of other subjects. The FLLP in Cologne Museums project enabled pupils to become museum experts and then use their language skills as guides at a family day in the museum. This also introduced them and their parents to the museum. These projects are believed to provide children with learning opportunities outside the school curriculum, and enhance their self-confidence, cultural identity and mother tongue skills. It is also believed that this helps to change attitudes to non-dominant languages within schools and the wider community.

In Aubervilliers (Paris region), a Bangladeshi association supports language learning through cooking and dance workshops for children and their parents; and in Marseille, one artist created Flying Carpet Radio (Radio Tapis volant), which gathers migrant children with different mother tongues to participate in workshops where they create and play games based on different languages. The objective is to use multilingualism to promote the co-habitation of languages (European Commission, 2015).

Ball (2011) concludes that for informal non-dominant language learning to be successfully implemented, it is important to strengthen the professional capacity of teachers so that they can provide effective outreach to parents and community members and provide necessary support to children. She adds that parent education and community awareness-raising campaigns are needed to promote the value of non-dominant languages.

Mentoring

Another form of non-formal education that supports learning of multilingual pupils is **mentoring and peer support**. Crul and Schneider (2014) discuss a project that pairs students in higher education with young adults from the same backgrounds, where the elder students act as role models and coaches for the younger pupils, which is an effective approach to help children to progress in their learning. A recent quantitative study (Vos et al., 2013) about the effects of mentoring in the Netherlands demonstrated that a year of mentoring had a positive impact on children's soft skills like self-esteem, self-efficacy and social skills, along with cognitive and social network outcomes. According to the European Commission (2015), practitioners also believe that mentoring, coaching and out-of-school projects are effective in supplementing formal education (see, for example, the Young Role Models initiative from Germany in the box below).

BOX 10. Mentoring initiative in Germany

Junge Vorbilder (Young Role Models) in Hamburg targets pupils in grades 8 to 11 (lower secondary school) with a migrant background. Mentors are university students who come from migrant backgrounds and often share a similar cultural and linguistic background and school experience to their mentees. Mentoring is held at the homes of the mentees to help them get to know the family environment of the mentees and to build a good relationship with their parents. Mentoring consists of tutoring, social-emotional support, and educational and vocational orientation. In 2013, Junge Vorbilder had 50 mentor-mentee pairs. Additionally, since 2011 the project has offered group mentoring in the form of tutoring courses in several secondary schools in Hamburg.

Source: http://www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/junge-vorbilder/.

According to NESSE (2008) and Crul and Kraal (2004), the success of mentoring rests on the quality of training of mentors, the cooperation of schools, and the engagement of parents as well as children. Mentoring is culturally sensitive; the frequently perceived similarity between mentors and mentees demonstrates a clearly positive effect on the identification between both. They are able to use their mother tongues to communicate knowledge about the school and education system as well as help enhance the multilinguistic skills of pupils. Even though most mentoring initiatives aim to help children from non-dominant groups catch up with formal schooling and improve their academic achievement and sense of belonging, they also have great potential for promoting linguistic diversity and developing the multilingual habitus of school communities by including school teachers and other children, and by encouraging interaction between dominant and non-dominant languages in non-formal learning processes.

Regional Language Education Networks

An even more comprehensive approach builds on the idea of regional networks between what can be considered quite different partner organisations. Among the most common local partners are libraries, museums, theatres, the local press, community centres, youth clubs, early childhood support centres, psychological counselling, medical doctors, other professional programs and schools, parent initiatives, migrant initiatives, and adult education projects. In a strategic partnership, these institutions acknowledge literacy development as a common goal and subscribe to the fundamentals of the approach, such as valuing the linguistic resources of each child (Washington State Comprehensive Literacy Plan, 2014).

Several reviews (e.g. European Commission, 2013; NESSE, 2008) suggest that extra support to multilingual children outside the classroom makes a positive difference in their attainment and ambitions. Many countries have schemes to support learning that are provided by individuals, welfare organisations, different kinds of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and publicly employed social workers. For instance, the ECML Collaborative Community Approach to migrant education (EDUCOMIGRANT) project explored new ways to enhance young migrants' education by developing links between schools, the home, and local partners in education such as public libraries. New ways of teaching were explored by producing multimodal texts. Online resources as well as accompanying documents were developed in cooperation with libraries and other local partners. Moreover, the non-formal sector provides a source of expertise for alternative forms of assessment, championed in the context of youth work.

Many religious organisations plan and implement non-formal language instruction, especially where language is inherent to reading religious texts. In different global contexts, language learning can be a subversive act that threatens the government in power, and religious spaces may be one of few spots where those seeking to maintain the language can turn to. Thus, religious settings offer a space to engender bilingual practices that can translate into greater linguistic proficiency in distinct contexts (Bartlett and Bajaj, 2015).

BOX 11. Example of regional language education networks

One of the goals in the German FÖRMIG-program was the establishment of regional language education networks that could contribute to the accumulation of resources as well as facilitate the sustainability of effective innovative approaches. It was based on the principle of cooperation and networking, with structural support as one of the central aims of the program. Besides local cooperation partners, basic units (schools together with other committed pedagogical institutions) were looking for specific strategic partners to secure structural keystones, aiming at sustainability over a longer period of time such as the regional school administration. The participating schools were each in their own way developing creative strategies for implementing the concept of horizontal cooperation for continuous language education within a neighbourhood. In the end (2009), 155 basic units with 744 actors and 7,955 pupils and 1,924 parents had created networks with around 800 cooperating partners (Gogolin et al., 2011).

Experiences of successful and less successful regional language education networks in the German context suggest that the following elements need to be considered for implementation of regional networks (Gogolin et al., 2011, pp. 34-38):

> **Time resources**

As the implementation of the new approach in school takes additional time, it proved necessary for those teachers taking the lead to have additional units (paid working-hours) on a regular basis, usually around four hours per week.

> **Engagement of enthusiastic personal, team-building support from leaders**

Often to win the majority of a school's teaching force, a few enthusiastic individual teachers are a promising start, but team building and support from school leadership are indispensable for sustainability and success.

> **Clear organisational format**

Fixed teams with regular meetings, reciprocal classroom visits, and common training, have proven to be more successful than occasional meetings, which have to be well prepared with a defined program and geared towards a clear output to be effective. Grade-level teams were more successful than subject-based teams.

> **Realistic goals and transparent responsibilities**

Prepared templates where realistic goals are spelled out can be very helpful to avoid becoming too abstract or impossible to reach. The processes have to be incorporated into existing patterns and comprehensible with regular tasks and time, personal, and material resources. External support structures make successful implementation much more likely, such as local and regional coordinators and institutions[30]. In many instances it was crucial that a coordinating teacher's teaching responsibilities were reduced.[31]

> **Integration into programmatic work of the school and systematic institutional development**

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[30] The Federal Institute for Interculturality, Migration and Multilingualism in Austria is an example of an external structure to support networking between teacher education institutions within their thematic field www.bimm.at.
[31] To develop a language development concept at the school an established format was adapted where representatives of the subjects and the school-leader participated. In the case of North Rhine-Westphalia the format of regular subject-conferences was adapted to regular language/support conferences.

A new, pluralistic understanding of language development can be implemented much more successfully if it is connected to institutional development. An important process is to identify the commonality of different innovations in a school so that they can be realized as a basis for developmental activities. Otherwise, teachers report being overwhelmed by organisational and other demands stemming from multiple initiatives, which at times can be conceived as geared towards different goals.

To sum up, there is indicative research evidence that formal and informal learning led by trained staff and volunteers outside school enhances diverse children's interest in education, their language skills and their aspirations. This is done through a variety of measures: homework clubs, out-of-school activities, mentoring, coaching and advice, which usually supplement formal schooling. On a more advanced level, regional networks can be developed where different actors in a neighbourhood subscribe to the importance of multi-literacy development and share a specific approach that acknowledges the resources of every child with their different languages and cultural heritage.

CHAPTER 5. PEDAGOGICAL APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

In a super-diverse classroom the goal of any language programme (e.g. dual language, multilingual, additional language immersion, foreign language, etc.) should be supporting each child's individual multilingualism instead of teaching an additional language at the expense of suppressing others (Cervatiuc, 2013). As a precondition for successful multilingualism, the idea of 'near nativeness' has to be given up as the goal of learning a specific language. 'Near nativeness' inappropriately puts the focus on correctness rather than on meaning-making, and usually results in a deficit-oriented view and a restriction to only a few languages. Instead, shorter language programs should be offered, aimed towards the development of basic oral and written skills, as well as language learning strategies besides 'mastering' a dominant or official language of the country (Hufeisen and Neuner, 2004). Of course, academic proficiency in a dominant language is decisive for future success not only in educational institutions, but also on the labour market. It is therefore important to make clear that high academic achievement in a dominant language and multilingualism are not mutually exclusive, but reinforce each other. This argument is not new, but developing multilingual competences demands a high level of professionalization on the part of teachers and other school staff. Therefore, it is pressing that curricular and didactic propositions address the integration of multiple language learning in in teaching and learning.

In the absence of methods that recognise the unrealistic expectations of monolingual schooling or strategically teach multiple languages, there have been efforts over the past few decades to recognize and work with learners' languages and cultures in a pluralistic manner. The following approaches can be described as major developments over the past thirty years:[32]

> **Awakening to languages**: this approach was designed as a way of introducing schoolchildren to linguistic diversity (and the diversity of their own languages) at the beginning of school education. Initiated already in the 1980s in the United Kingdom the intention was to provide full recognition of the languages "brought" by the children with other first languages. As this approach does not exclude any languages represented in the classroom, it may seem to be the most extreme form of the pluralistic approach. Today it is also seen as a sub-category of the Language Awareness Approach.

> **Intercomprehension between related languages**: this approach is directed towards learning a language of a linguistic family where another one is already known. This was particularly popular with adult learners such as university students during the 1990s, but has been little developed in the school context.

> **Intercultural approach**: this approach recommends relying on phenomena from one or more world views as a basis for understanding others. It advocates strategies to promote reflection about contact situations involving persons with different cultural backgrounds.

> **Integrated didactic approach to different languages studied**: this approach is directed towards helping learners to establish links between a limited number of languages, which are taught within the school curriculum. It is resource-oriented following the principle of capitalizing on what is already known in order to access what is less known.

During the past five to ten years, further development of new approaches to teaching in super-diverse environments has been carried out. The following describes some of these.

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[32] See: http://carap.ecml.at/Keyconcepts/tabid/2681/language/en-GB/Default.aspx.

5.1. Culturally and linguistically responsive schooling

Rapidly growing diversity in European classrooms today reflects the need for *culturally and linguistically responsive schooling*. Gay (2010) defines *culturally responsive pedagogy* as 'the use of cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them'. It is about teaching students, using their own cultural and linguistic resources, to create a common academic, linguistic and cultural set of knowledge, habits and attitudes, i.e. a common space. In other words, culturally and linguistically responsive teaching validates and treats as an asset all languages and cultures of pupils through the use of responsive instructional strategies. This is particularly important when pupils come from non-dominant backgrounds, where one or more dominant languages must be taught and learned.

FIGURE 3. Culturally and linguistically responsive schooling
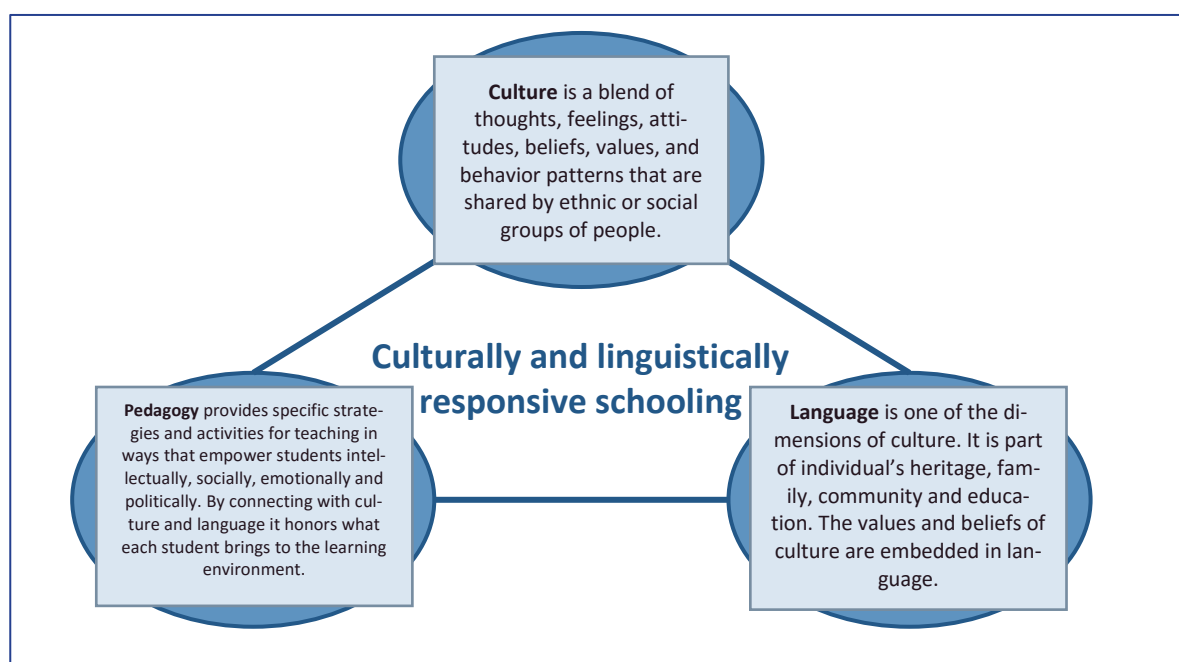
Source: Muhammad, A., Hollie, Sh., The Will to Lead, the Skill to Teach: Transforming Schools at Every Level, Solution Tree 2011.

The concept of responsive teaching is closely linked to the notion of 'inclusive education' and 'multilingualism'. Inclusive education addresses multilingualism from a linguistic, cultural, social, political, and educational perspective by making all learners equally part of the educational experience.

Newer approaches have tried to integrate what has been described above as distinct approaches with already overlapping areas. This is true for 'linguistically responsive teaching' (Lucas et al., 2008), 'language-sensitive subject teaching' (Leisen, 2013[33]) and the 'continuous inclusive language education' (Gogolin et al., 2011), which is the most comprehensive, detailed and systematic concept. Emanating from different regional contexts or focusing on different aspects these approaches share the largest part of the research base they relate to: principal values and process descriptions. While the teaching component is the primary activity in linguistically responsive schooling, taking a whole-school approach means including parents and their linguistic resources as well as the surrounding community.

As essential understandings of second (additional) language learning the following points summarize a common ground (Lucas et al., 2008):

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[33] http://www.sprachsensiblerfachunterricht.de/.

> Conversational language proficiency is fundamentally different from academic language proficiency.
> Pupils must have access to comprehensible input that is just beyond their content level of competence.
> Pupils must have opportunities to produce output for meaningful purposes.
> Social interaction in which language learners actively participate fosters the development of conversational and academic language proficiency.
> Second (additional) language learners with strong native language skills are more likely to achieve parity with monolingual peers than are those with weak first language skills.
> A safe, welcoming classroom environment that minimises anxiety about performing in the school language is essential to learn.
> Explicit attention to linguistic forms and function is crucial to academic language learning.

Looking at the level of didactics, the requirements have been summarized along five themes (for a complete review see Estrada, 2005, p.323):

1. Joint productive activity: Teachers and learners engage in collaborative tasks to facilitate learning.
2. Contextualization: Knowledge that the learners have fostered in other contexts (home, community, schools) is used to facilitate the scaffolding of new knowledge.
3. Cognitive complexity: Learners are sufficiently challenged in all learning areas in order to train complex thinking.
4. Instructional conversation: Discussions around well-defined themes are co-constructed between teachers and learners in order to reach a learning goal.
5. Language and literacy development across the curriculum: the language and literacy development in the instructional languages are developed throughout all teaching and learning activities.

With these clarifications at hand, it may be easier for teachers to implement language-sensitive subject teaching, as many have not had the chance to learn about such strategies in their initial education. To give teacher educators a clear picture of high-quality implementation of language-sensitive teaching, six quality criteria were formulated (Gogolin et al., 2011 FÖRMIG Material 3):

TABLE 1. Quality criteria for language-sensitive teaching

Quality criteria	Instructional processes
QC 1	Teachers plan and implement instruction considering different registers and explicitly connect everyday language and academic language, e.g. by micro- and macro-scaffolding.
QC 2	Teachers diagnose individual linguistic preconditions and developmental processes.
QC 3	Teachers provide material for learning different linguistic registers from vocabulary to specific content-related tasks.
QC 4	Pupils experience many opportunities to learn, activate and develop academic language competences.
QC 5	Teachers support pupils in their individual language development processes.
QC 6	Teachers and pupils monitor and evaluate the results of their actual language development.

Source: Gogolin et al., 2011 FÖRMIG Material 3).

As explained in Chapter 3, a whole-school approach is recommended with team-building activities across the subjects and with strong leadership, ideally in partnership with non-formal educational actors, first and foremost with learners' family members.

Instructional strategies that have proven effective in a range of contexts should be mentioned as well. Cooperative learning has proven effective for English Learners in the U.S. and is also used in innovative teaching approaches in European multilingual classrooms. In cooperative learning, teachers plan for students to work in small groups to help one another learn. Cooperative learning offers a wide variety of options depending on the goals of the activity. Cálderon et al. (2011, p. 113) identify the most effective to be those in which students work in mixed-ability groups of four, have regular opportunities to teach each other after the teacher has introduced a lesson, and are recognized based on the learning of all

members of the group. Rosiers et al. (2015) studied classroom practices in Flanders, where teachers created space for the languages spoken by primary school pupils. Teachers facilitated and stimulated peer interaction, viewed individual learning outcomes as more important than collectively organized interactional efforts, and let individual pupil characteristics be a starting point to manage and organize classroom activities. In the sense of functional multilingual learning, teachers turned the resources of the pupils into didactic capital.

Another instructional method that has proven effective in multilingual contexts is dialogic reading. As opposed to regular language classes, dialogic reading has received several positive findings in the US and has proven effective for preschool children with migration background in Germany (Ennemoser et al., 2013, 229-239). The interactional elements resemble natural parent-child-interaction, and also contain elements that are described as fundamental in language-sensitive subject teaching. While dialogic reading has often been used as a monolingual tool, it has been adapted to the concept of 'continuous language development' in Germany as well[34].

TABLE 2. Dialogic reading

Function	Measure/Technique
Stimulation of language production	W-Questions (why, when, where, how), open questions, sustained shared thinking, completion of sentences by child.
Modelling	Corrective repetition of child utterances/ repetition of one's own utterances; extension and reformulation; support.
Reinforcement/Motivation	Positive feedback and enhancement; orientation towards interests and experiences of the child; generate fun.

Source: Ennemoser et al. (2013).

5.2. Language portfolios

Language portfolios which document progress, and providing detailed information on specific learning processes in different languages, have already been mentioned in the context of the biographical continuity aspect in chapter 3. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages developed under the guidance of the Council of Europe's Language Policy Division is used widely in many countries and for many purposes related to language-learning, such as the development of language curricula, programmes of teaching and learning, textbooks, and assessment instruments. It consists of six levels of communicative proficiency defined in the five skills of listening, reading, spoken interaction, spoken production and writing[35]. The European Language Portfolio as an accompanying tool is designed to communicate to learners, teachers, schools, and other stakeholders the basis of the CEFR, which is respect for linguistic and cultural diversity, mutual understanding beyond national, institutional and social boundaries, the promotion of plurilingual and intercultural education and the development of the autonomy of the individual citizen. The ELP, consisting of three tools- a language passport, a language biography and a dossier - offers processes whereby individuals can develop and foster the ethos described.

BOX 12. European Language Portfolio

A language passport	A language biography	A dossier
Here the language learner can summarise his/her linguistic and cultural identity, language qualifications, experience of using different languages and contacts with different cultures.	The biography helps the learner to set learning targets, to record and reflect on language learning, and on intercultural experiences and regularly assess progress.	In this part of the European Language Portfolio the learner can keep samples of his/her work in the language(s) he/she has learnt or is learning

Source: http://elp.ecml.at/Understandingtheportfolio/Whatisaportfolio/tabid/2838/language/en-GB/Default.aspx.

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[34] See: http://www.foermig-berlin.de/materialien/Dialogisches_Vorlesen.pdf
[35] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf

The European Centre for Modern Languages, another subdivision of the Council of Europe, is one of the main contemporary hubs to support material and workshops for teachers and teacher trainers to apply the CEFR and the ELP in school environments[36].

BOX 13. Recognition of L1 and Lx skills through Language Portfolio approach

Netherlands: The European Language Portfolio in multilingual classrooms

Pupils in the Netherlands use the European Language Portfolio (ELP) to report their language learning activities undertaken outside the classroom (e.g., use of first/non-dominant languages, which are different from schooling language, or contacts with family or friends in foreign countries), and can self-assess their competences. The ELP allows children to obtain recognition of their first language skills, which are acquired through non-formal education. Evidence suggests that learners had positive attitudes towards it, because their language competences were recognised and positively valued and they could assess and record their progress. The study also showed that the ELP enables teachers to better understand their multilingual classrooms and appreciate the strength of pupils' language competences (European Commission, 2015).

Austria: Trilingual Language Portfolio KAJPATAJ

The trilingual language portfolio Kajpataj in Carinthia, a federal state in the southern part of Austria, was commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Education together with the regional education authority. It is an example where built on the constitutionally guaranteed right to minority language instruction in Slovene the historically existing bilingualism of German and Slovene was opened up to multilingualism by another language of the bordering region, Italian. The portfolio is conceptualized as an instrument for the pupils, one ring-binder for primary school and another for lower secondary, where they can document their language progress in German, Slovene and Italian over a period of eight years (BMUKK Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur, 2013).

Another tool similar to or as part of a language portfolio is the language portrait[37], a novel methodological approach to studying linguistic repertoires of students in school. This multimodal, biographical approach involves a close reading of the visual and verbal representation of linguistic experience and resources and has been applied to all age-groups, even including parents, to expand the instrument to serve as language portraits of a school (Busch, 2012). In the European Portfolio for pre-primary educators, which focuses on the plurilingual and intercultural dimension, the language portrait is a first step to start reflecting about one's own linguistic development (Goullier, Carrè-Karlinger, Orlova, Roussi, 2016).

5.3. Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) normally refers to a programme characterized by dual language immersion at primary and secondary education (see Dalton-Puffer, 2007). The main principle of CLIL is that both languages are not only used as vehicles for communication but also for transmitting curricular content. The content of the language is thus meaning-oriented in addition to being language-oriented (Muñoz and Navés, 2007). The pedagogical goal is therefore supported by the authenticity of the communicative situation. This content-integrated aspect is the main aspect that differentiates CLIL from other bilingual education programs, such as immersion, where education is oriented to teaching a country's other language or regional language, or submersion, related to linguistic and cultural integration of migrant children (European Commission, 2014, p. 3). CLIL capitalizes on one language that is already known and one language that is being learned. The pupils learn to communicate in daily conversations and academically in both languages. To do so, they learn the new language by focusing on the subject that is taught instead of focusing on the language itself. There is a double focus and gain: the content of the lesson and of the language. The ultimate goals are threefold:

> To foster multilingualism: to make pupils multilingual by supporting high levels of fluency for all pupils included in the programme as soon as possible. This is done by creating a situation in which the pupils are confronted with a natural need to communicate in these languages;

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[36] See: http://www.ecml.at/Thematicareas/Teachercompetences/tabid/1934/language/en-GB/Default.aspx.
[37] See: http://www.ecml.at/Portals/1/mtp4/pepelino/pepelino-EN-web.pdf.

> To promote cognitive development: to develop academically in the subject and in the target languages;

> To stimulate an intercultural attitude: to develop intercultural skills by actively introducing elements of the culture that is targeted (for instance, literature and/ or international exchanges).

These goals implicate a high level of quality input and an emphasis on productive skills instead of receptive skills, which represents a difference in approach compared to traditional foreign language learning classroom. Therefore, there are several didactic requirements:

> Anxiety that can be generated by having to communicate in an unknown language should be adequately addressed. To this end, the pupils need to be supported and encouraged to participate in interactions.

> Understanding of the content needs to be emphasized. Accordingly, the teachers need to take into account the developmental rate of the pupils in the target language. The language is simplified at the start to be understandable without too much effort.

These two requirements imply that, in theory, all teachers, including content teachers, have to develop linguistic awareness. Teachers need to be trained to encourage interaction in the target language, to put an emphasis on repetition, paraphrases and circumlocutions in the target language, excluding translation or translanguaging practices (see Section 5.5.).

While all CLIL programmes are based on these underlying principles, they are differently implemented. Methods are adapted to local curricula; for instance, history books may be translated into the target language from the national curriculum to reflect the history programs of the country in which the pupils reside. The amount of exposure to the new languages varies greatly between the countries: some start very early in the schooling of the pupils, some later and the extent to which the new language is implemented also greatly varies. However, research results report mainly positive outcomes such as:

> An enhanced spontaneous oral production (Admiraal et al. 2006; Lasagabaster, 2008; Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008);

> More fluency in the target languages than pupils in monolingual programs, but in comparison to native speakers of the same age, less grammatical correctness (Lyster, 2007).

Some studies point out an achievement gap. Sweden for instance, is the only country in Europe that reports results that are not advantageous in comparison with English Foreign Language programs. According to Sylven (2013), in Sweden results of the foreign language classroom in English are so good that CLIL programs would benefit the pupils more if the language of instruction was not English. Some researchers have also reported a gap in mathematical achievement, suggesting that teaching and learning of school subjects may be more related to languages than was previously thought (see for instance Tavares, 2015). These observations imply that comparisons between the different CLIL programs in Europe are almost impossible due to the complex social and political contexts in which these programs are carried out.

BOX 14. Pluriliteracies - European Center for Modern Languages

Pluriliteracies Teaching for Learning (PTL) shows how teachers and materials develop ways of fostering deep learning by paying attention to the development of students' subject specific literacies, as well as their conceptual understanding and automatization of subject-specific procedures, skills and strategies. By communicating about their evolving understanding in increasingly sophisticated ways, students internalize these understandings and ways of acting and thinking. PTL not only makes the links between content and language learning visible, but it also shows how teachers can create learning trajectories by taking students' current abilities as a starting point, and tracing their progress along the learning pathway.

Source: http://pluriliteracies.ecml.at/en-us/.

In most European countries, the two languages elected for CLIL programs are the environmental (dominant) language and English (Lasabagaster and Sierra, 2009). Interestingly, there are exceptions to this choice of languages, usually occurring in regions close to national borders regions. For instance, in France

and Germany, or countries with a high percentage of speakers of a particular non-dominant language such as Estonia or Latvia, the goal of the CLIL program may be to support the speakers of the minority language, such as Russian speakers in Estonia (Mehisto and Asser, 2007), and to enhance chances of successful access to higher education. Another example is Latvia, where CLIL is implemented to empower Latvian.

It is, in fact, of great interest to understand the reasons for implementing CLIL programs. These motivations are in most cases either political or economic. Success is likely to depend highly on the context in which CLIL programs are implemented and the amount of support the programs receive (Sylven, 2013; Mehisto and Asser, 2007). The cases of France and Germany are exemplary in this matter. In fact, CLIL was implemented there as early as the 1960s as part of the reconciliation process between France and Germany following World War II. The driving idea was that by becoming fluent in the language of the former enemy, reconciliation would be fostered, mediated by exchanges, cooperation and friendship. Thus, the first goal of the CLIL programs in those contexts was political. In countries like the Netherlands, the program was introduced more broadly in the 1990s to support honour students in becoming bilingual in the language of the country and in English. In France, a country where education is highly centralized, these programs, also called European classrooms, were dropped in 2016 for the reason that they would enhance social injustice by favouring those pupils who are already favoured; they were replaced by more intensive foreign language classes (Eduscol, 2016). Because in the Netherlands, a highly decentralized country, the program favoured already privileged students, the CLIL method was introduced to lower tracks in education (Denman et al., 2013). These two interventions point out the heart of the debate on CLIL education: how inclusive are these educational language policies?

Indeed, applying CLIL methodology in diverse classrooms can be advantageous for inclusion of non-dominant languages into curriculum targeting different types of learners. European Commission (2014) highlights that CLIL can diminish the effect of the sociocultural status of the learners on the linguistic literacy, as well as improve teachers' language sensitivity and awareness of multilingualism. However, further research is necessary to understand how CLIL methodology can be applied to non-dominant languages and foster inclusion and equity in language learning.

The challenges of CLIL programs are threefold:

> The teachers need to be recruited and trained to develop their competences to teach in the target languages, rather than being trained to teach one's own field of expertise;

> In order for pupils to achieve a high academic level in both languages, the programs need to be actively supported by the local stakeholders;

> The programs are nowadays challenged by the diversity of the pupil population. In order to reach high academic level for all pupils, the programs would need to rethink their strategies in order to better take into account the multilingualism of the new minorities and the pupils schooled in the lower streams of secondary education.

Even though CLIL programmes do not necessarily target non-dominant languages, it is still possible that if they are done well, they will result in an increase of metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness and offer the opportunity for learners to extend their linguistic skills.

5.4. ICT and language teaching

Due to the fast pace of technological change, innovative teaching approaches and strategies are being developed to successfully integrate new technologies into language teaching. In order to increase pupils' language competences, the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) is highly promoted in European classrooms. Some approaches using new technologies are web-based learning, computer-based learning, virtual education opportunities and digital collaboration (Magalkumar, 2012). Any process in which learners use ICT to improve foreign language skills can be called computer assisted language learning (CALL) (European Commission, 2014, p. 19).

Although there is a consensus among researchers that the use of ICT is useful for improving language learning, the field still lacks sound evidence (Golonka et al., 2014). According to some studies, pupils prefer using methods involving ICT over traditional methods, and ICT positively influences their engagement in the language learning process (Golonka et al., 2014). Positive attitudes towards the new language and related culture foster pupils' language acquisition. Considering that pupils can easily review difficult lessons and exercises in online learning, this may reduce anxiety that can occur in traditional classroom settings and generate positive attitudes towards language learning (Kongrith and Maddux, 2005).

In order to make language teaching and learning more effective, a wide range of CALL tools and methods are introduced in the classrooms. A European Commission report (2014a, p. 19) suggests the following tools.

BOX 15. Examples of CALL tools

CALL tools:

- Authentic foreign language material, such as video clips, flash-animations, web-quests, pod-casts, web-casts, and news etc.;
- Online environments where learners can communicate with foreign language speakers, through email, text-based computer-mediated communication (synchronous and asynchronous), social media, or voice/video conferencing;
- Language-learning tools (online apps or software), such as for phonetics, pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and clause analysis, which may include a text-to-speech function or speech recognition, and often includes interactive and guided exercises;
- Online proprietary virtual learning environments, which offer teacher-student and peer-to- peer communication;
- Game-based learning.
- E-twinning.

Source: European Commission (2014a).

Studies show that CALL tools, such as computer-assisted pronunciation training, in particular automatic speech recognition (ASR), chats (Golonka et al., 2014), digital game-based learning (Dourda et al., 2013), text-based computer mediated communication (CMC) (Alwi et al., 2012; Baturay et al., 2009; Mendelson, 2009) are beneficial for the development of a language proficiency. Electronic dictionaries are effective tools for students to speed their search for new words without interrupting the reading process (Golonka et al., 2014). CALL tools are also used to foster pupils' motivation to learn foreign languages, strengthen collaboration with classmates, and raise their confidence.

ICT methods have the potential not only to improve LX skills, but also to foster multilingualism in classrooms, using minority pupils' home languages. Although teachers still put forward different arguments supporting monolingual policy (Van Laere et al, 2016b, p. 2), we have seen earlier that by getting the individual support in their mother tongue pupils could foster their learning processes. Home languages act as an important information source to construct meaning and stimulate metalinguistic awareness when thinking about the ways in which different things are expressed in different languages. Furthermore, home languages may provide access to information when pupils have not yet acquired sufficient knowledge of the language of instruction (Van Laere et al, 2016a). Considering the existing linguistic diversity in the classrooms, teachers may not be able to support each student with her/his home language; thus, ICT can play a significant role in the provision of the language support.

One of the most promising tools dealing with reducing the existing gap between dominant and non-dominant language pupils is Computer-based learning environments (CBLEs), which offer multilingual support (Van Laere et al, 2016b). CBLEs are based on a code-switching approach. In the virtual learning environment, pupils can do science subject tasks in the target language and, if there is a need of clarification, they can switch to a language they understand better. One of such virtual environments, E-Validiv, has been implemented in Belgium.

BOX 16. Examples of CALL tools: E-Validiv

E-Validiv (www.e-validiv.be) is a CBLE, developed within the context of the broader Validiv-project (Valorizing Linguistic Diversity in Multiple Contexts of Primary Education) in Belgium. The goal of this CBLE is to teach fourth and fifth grade students about topics in different science education subjects (nature, technique, time and space, society, etc.). It offers all content for pupils in two different languages: LOI (Dutch) and one of the six other languages, namely English, French, Italian, Polish, Spanish and Turkish (Van Laere et al, 2016a: 431).

The research on the use of E-Validiv (Van Laere et al, 2016b) revealed that support in their home language improves pupils' understanding of the subject. Another research showed (Van Laere et al, 2016a) that pupils from dominant language groups were interested in switching the language of the content as well, and in this way they used to improve their notions on foreign languages. The research also suggests that effectiveness of the CBLE use depends on the socioeconomic status of the students. For instance, those students, who self-assessed low proficiency in the home language were struggling more when using bilingual tools (Van Laere et al., 2016a, p. 439).

Moreover, ICT approaches could be used to enhance pupils' self-awareness of their own competences in their mother tongue. Castellotti and Moore (2010) brought an example of biographical journals and activities using different media (e.g. written, audiovisual, photos) and forms (e.g. videos, blogs, school projects) to provide opportunities for pupils to question their own plurilingualism, and more generally plurilingualism in society.

New media provide new opportunities for the learning and teaching of languages in a number of ways:

> The Internet provides access to authentic material and examples of foreign and other languages;

> Smartphones, Skype and e-mail enable learners to have direct contact with others all around the world;

> Social media promote immediate connectivity and commentary on what is happening in the world.

The task for teachers and schools is to find innovative ways to use the new opportunities to make language learning and teaching more effective and more interesting, and to maintain the qualities and values of more conventional teaching.

The successful implementation of ICT tools to support multilingual education could be therefore based on three strands: (1) teacher education, (2) development of teaching approaches, and (3) integrating ICT tools into learning process (European Commission, 2014a).

The first requires creation of pedagogical design and teachers' professional development on how effectively use ICT in the language teaching.

Second, teachers need to develop teaching approaches, choosing the relevant methods and tools which stimulate and help pupils achieve better results in education and at the same time ensure the balance between traditional and innovative teaching approaches. CBLE is a good example of how code-switching methods can be effectively used to help students with different mother tongues navigate through class assignments. ICT could also successfully be used for explaining key concepts in detail, making the use of pictures and animations (Van Laere et al, 2016b, p. 13). The chosen ICT methods could help reduce learning anxiety and increase risk-taking (European Commission, 2014: 28) for both dominant and non-dominant language speakers. Although the interactive practices are highly recommended, it is important to notice the existing risks. For example, findings of TILA project, which focused on debate practices, showed that it is important to match the participants according to their proficiency levels in Lingua Franca; otherwise, there is a risk of discouraging participants (Jauregi, 2015, p. 274).

Third, the constant development and monitoring of the relevant ICT tools is necessary for ensuring the effectiveness of new teaching approaches. In the case of the E-Validiv project, several possibilities are being considered, such as optimising the pace of text-to-speech function or making code-switching func-

tion more dynamic (Van Laere et al, 2016b, p. 13). Game-based language learning tools are being considered as an effective way of language acquisition. However, further research is needed on how game-based methods can support multilingualism in the classrooms.

Finally, when integrating ICT into language teaching one needs to carefully consider its usefulness and impact on the achievements of pupils from different socioeconomic background. According to Van Laere et al (2016a, p. 439) research, pupils who assessed their proficiency in home language as low, used to face more challenges in effectively applying ICT for content learning in comparison with their peers with higher proficiency in their home language. Integration of the home language in the content learning, using code switching methods, could be initial step to making the most of linguistic diversity in the classroom.

The current chapter reviewed different pedagogical elements that increase the likelihood of success for all children, especially in multilingual environments while supporting multilingualism. Building on a general approach of linguistically and culturally responsive schooling, language portfolios, translanguaging and the opportunity to grow meta-linguistic competences, cooperative learning, dialogic reading, content and language integrated learning as well as information and communication technologies support language learning and favour multilingualism. Building on the findings from all the previous chapters such as curricula, pedagogical and organisational elements to teacher education, we will draw lessons for policy and practice in the following chapter 6.

5.5. Translanguaging and meta-linguistic competences

Over recent years, translanguaging pedagogies have emerged in Europe and beyond based on a growing realization that all languages present in the classroom need to be recognized, instead of focusing on one or two of the dominant (school) languages (i.e. Garcia and Wei, 2014). In essence, translanguaging stems from the idea that children may be able to transfer skills from one language to another with minimal support. Languages are 'mobile resources or practices, within social, cultural, political and historical context' (Garcia and Wei, 2014).

In order to transfer skills to a new language children require support, a positive environment and encouragement to do so. The use of translanguaging in the classroom implies that instead of avoiding –i.e. ignoring - or rejecting the home languages of the children, teachers will welcome the children's home languages and value the multilingual resources of these children. It is an attempt to go beyond the strict separation of languages. The essential hallmark of this strategy is that it makes strategic use of the mother tongues of children in order to maximize communicative as well as cognitive potential development.

Translanguaging is not primarily based on languages but on the practices of bilinguals who interact while switching between the languages depending on contextual factors (Garcia, 2009, p. 140), and it targets the transfer of knowledge between languages. This flexible use of code switching is meant to soften the transfer of knowledge from one language to another. The goal is to facilitate the learners' comprehension and interaction in the language that is to be learned. According to Tavares, the strategic involvement of translanguaging practices in the classroom facilitates metalinguistic awareness and promotes the development of the school language as well as the content learning of the subject.

BOX 17. Let's compare our languages - example of translanguaging in France

In France, in classes for newly arrived pupils, language learning is based, either consciously or unconsciously, on a comparison between the existing language system and the language pupils want to learn. Starting from this fact, this method is aimed at helping newly arrived student discover the French language by comparison with other languages including their own while working jointly with other students. This method stimulates thinking about languages and offers the learner a real education in the languages/cultures of others, while promoting his/her own. In class, each student is both teacher and learner. Hence, each student feels recognised and valued for who they are and what they already know (Auger, 2005).

For further information and illustration how this works see https://youtu.be/_ZlBiAoMTBo

Children approached this way eventually become competent learners in the language in which they are taught. At the same time, translanguaging helps to avoid a shift from the mother tongues to school language dominance (i.e. Sheng et al., 2011; García and Wei, 2013; Hornberger and Link, 2012). Even without the resources of full bilingual education, it fosters additive bilingualism by encouraging the pupils to make use of their full linguistic repertoires, provided translanguaging is applied systematically and includes bi- or multiliteracy practices. The approach relies on what the children know instead of what they do not know (Creese and Blackledge, 2015).

Beyond the purely academic advantages of using this method there are also psychosocial benefits. First, translanguaging not only encourages the development of multilingual and multi-literacy development, it also promotes social justice in the classroom. Furthermore, it has been shown to reduce the anxiety related to the pressure of having to perform in a different language.

It seems likely that such an approach will help pupils engage socially and foster a better quality of the teacher-children relationship. Facilitating comprehension is likely to boost the child's self-confidence. The power of translanguaging may reside in that it recognizes that children have multiple resources and acknowledges their existing (linguistic / cultural) identity.

The strategy poses complex demands on pedagogic professionalism: it requires teachers to radically change from a compartmentalized view of language and culture in the school context to a much more dynamic view of language learning, cultural diversity, and of cognitive and affective development. Therefore, teachers need to be trained adequately in order to successfully apply these new language teaching practice in their own classrooms.

The method is not without criticism. According to Ticheloven and her colleagues, the goal is too philosophical and lacks a clear definition in terms of pedagogical tools. It also encounters ideological resistance from partisans of the separation of languages (Ticheloven et al., in preparation). Teachers feel guilty when using a language that is not openly recognised in the school. They mostly allow the use of non-dominant languages to convey meanings in situations of high linguistic insecurity, but with a feeling that they have failed to explain in the target language. Research is still needed to examine whether translanguaging approaches do indeed improve learners' academic performance and well-being, and which approaches are the most successful.

CHAPTER 6. LESSONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

While multilingualism has always been an integral part of Europe, it can be argued that since the beginning of the 21st century it has also become an important feature of many national education systems. The complex linguistic landscape of modern classrooms is shaped by the presence of historical non-dominant language groups (Benson and Elorza, 2015), growing mobility between countries and arrivals of migrants and refugees that bring a variety of new languages into schools (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Busch, 2012), and changing educational and workplace goals for multilingual and multi-literate citizens (European Commission, 2016).

The challenge for education systems is to adapt to these complex realities and provide a quality education which takes into consideration learners' needs along with their rich linguistic and cultural resources, whilst at the same time balancing these with social, cultural and political demands.

EU-level commitment revolves around the mainstreaming of multilingualism throughout all relevant policy areas, raising awareness of the value and opportunities of linguistic diversity in the EU, and encouraging intercultural dialogue. In spite of the potential of multilingual competences for economic growth, and in spite of widespread recognition that one's linguistic repertoire is an integral part of personal, cultural and social identity, multilingual education is not yet a reality in many European countries. Furthermore, linguistic diversity is still viewed as a challenge or deficit by a number of education stakeholders. Where policy focus on multilingualism exists, there is often a divide between policy and practice, with some countries and regions demonstrating a stronger commitment to multilingualism than others (Ziegler, 2013).

Nevertheless, inspiring policies and initiatives exist and are currently being developed. They can lay the foundation for sustainable development of inclusive multilingual education in European education systems that builds on the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of all learners. This report has analysed the current policies and approaches that support multilingualism or have the potential to contribute to the progress of developing multilingual education in schools.

As a result of this review the following conclusions and recommendations can be drawn.

6.1. Lessons learnt and recommendations for policy-makers

❯ The profound societal change caused by new migration patterns and increased mobility of EU citizens has created **a need to re-think the key competence framework for lifelong learning** in the 21st century. In particular, the notions of communication in one's mother tongue and foreign languages are becoming increasingly topics of discussion. As such, there is the on-going revision process of the key competence framework in order to bring it in line with the economic and social transformations that have occurred in Europe for the past ten years.

> *Recommendations*
>
> **There is a need to re-define key competences in relation to multilingualism at the EU level** to reflect the changing European reality.
>
> **Multilingual competences need to be clearly operationalized and explained** at the national level, so that appropriate education policies and programmes can be designed to develop these competences in all learners.

❯ Research evidence demonstrates that **valuing the unique linguistic and cultural background of each child promotes academic success** by boosting self-confidence and self-esteem. In addition, the more intensive and coherent the support for individual multilingualism throughout the whole school career, the greater the academic benefits for children. Meanwhile, the failure to value or even the devaluing

of pupils' cultures and languages can have a negative impact on their overall achievement and motivation. Despite this, overall, a deficit view of linguistic diversity is prevailing among education policymakers, causing languages to be seen as barriers rather than as resources. Our analysis has shown that a favourable policy discourse and the commitment of education stakeholders, starting from political authorities to community organisations, facilitates implementation of multilingual programmes.

Recommendations

There is a need to **re-conceptualise linguistic and cultural diversity at a policy level**, and to change public perceptions, so that multiple languages are valued as resources rather than approached as problems.

It is important to provide a **framework which supports life-long development of multilingual and multiliteracies competences**: all pupils (monolingual and bilingual/multilingual) and adults (monolingual and bilingual/multilingual) in schools should be encouraged to develop behaviours and habits which would support life-long development of language awareness, multilingual and meta-linguistic knowledge.

Therefore, there is a need to **rethink school systems in terms of 'multilingualism for all'** and not just as part of a narrower agenda of new migration. A holistic approach is needed at all levels.

> **Continuity is crucial for the academic language development of pupils** in a multilingual environment. This is true for the biographical dimension from early childhood up to entering the labour market, as well as the horizontal dimension, ensuring that in formal and non-formal education the same messages are enforced. The school should act as a bridge within educational partnerships. To be sustainable, it is important to secure time resources, team-building and leadership, realistic goals and clear responsibilities as well as integration of the programmatic work of the school and systematic institutional development.

Recommendations

It is necessary to address inequalities within the education systems from the earliest stage, **starting with Early Childhood Education and Care** (ECEC), ensuring vertical continuity, especially in the light of the growing scientific evidence regarding the metacognitive benefits of multilingualism and communicative development in young children. This can be addressed by widening participation in ECEC and overcoming socio-economic disparities to reach all learners.

To ensure multilingual continuity, education policymakers need to invest in curriculum development. **Learning outcomes in all subjects have to reflect the language dimension, aiming at the academic language development while building on the multilingual resources of the classroom**. Such curriculum development must attend to the different cultural and linguistic contexts across Europe, however, and must also be supported by transnational communities of practice – networks of teachers and teacher educators who are working directly in the field.

Sustained political engagement is required at the national level, coupled with effective partnerships with grassroots education stakeholders.

Materials and school texts have to be adapted to the continuous inclusive language development concept across all subjects, as they are often the basis for teachers' daily planning.

> The research evidence and policy overview indicate that **there are very few comprehensive teacher preparation programmes that deal with managing and developing linguistic diversity**. Teachers who teach pupils of different linguistic backgrounds are expected to rely on their own resources when it

comes to multilingualism. The implicit assumption, that experience with multilingual classrooms leads to development of effective pedagogies, is simply not based on reality. Not surprisingly, teachers often complain about a lack of support to help them address these challenges. Teaching in multicultural and multilingual settings is among the top five areas in which teachers report the highest need for professional development to tackle current deficits (OECD, 2014).

Recommendations

There must be **formal recognition of multilingual competencies within quality assurance systems**, so that schools and educators support the agenda and good practices are recognised and rewarded within assessment systems.

A priority should be to **re-examine teacher education** – from initial teacher education, and teacher continuing professional development, to **supporting teachers in gaining linguistic awareness and acquiring strategies for supporting learners in super-diverse settings**. Teacher induction is critical in this respect, as is ensuring access to a suitably qualified pool of teacher educators.

In developing multilingual competencies, all (subject) teachers are language teachers. Some regions and countries have already started mainstreaming this approach by **integrating the principle and techniques of language-sensitive subject teaching in initial and continuous teacher education**.

› There are, to date, **few empirical studies in Europe that have studied comprehensive multilingual approaches to teaching highly diverse student population in schools**. Even though the existing literature (mostly non-European) provides some understanding of 'what works' in supporting children to acquire multilingual skills, the growing linguistic complexity encountered in schools is radically undermining the usefulness of traditional concepts dominating most language policies, such as 'mother tongue', 'foreign languages', 'first and second language' and 'bilingualism'. As a result, singular language teaching approaches (e.g., teaching the language of instruction or isolated mother tongue teaching) is no longer fit for purpose. Furthermore, promising practices in multilingual education are scattered across regions and contexts, making it difficult for education stakeholders to access relevant knowledge and to learn from other experiences.

Recommendations

EU-level mechanisms to support knowledge transfer between Member States should be maximised, whilst acknowledging that Erasmus+ and other programmes have had some success to date. This might entail further dissemination of the work undertaken by the Commission's networks (ELINET, SIRIUS and KeyCoNet), and possibly the development of new tools to support implementation.

There is also a need for further research in this field, which is as yet weakly established in most of the member states.

It is necessary to **ensure systematic evaluation and monitoring processes** of the multilingual education policies and initiatives, to contribute to the evidence base and ensure the greatest benefit for all children and the society.

6.2. Lessons learnt and recommendations for school communities

› Implementing multilingual learning and teaching strategies requires the **commitment and collaboration of all education stakeholders**. It is as much about creating a favourable and committed school culture as it is about employing particular teaching methodologies or following a syllabus. There is a

number of whole-school development and stakeholder partnership initiatives targeting literacy development, limited examples however are explicitly strengthening multilingual identities and promoting multilingual education. Nevertheless, many of the existing initiatives can create a foundation for elaborating multilingual approaches and linguistically sensitive practices provided an enabling policy environment is created.

Recommendations

Scepticism at the school and community level has to be met in a step-wise manner, beginning with the **sharing of relevant research results** to address the fear of parents or teachers. As a second step, characteristics and elements of a continuous inclusive multilingual education have to be explained and the inclusive character working towards family-school partnership stressed. As a third step, implementation of a comprehensive multilingual development policy in the school has to be built on solid and explicit leadership.

Non-dominant languages should be included in school contexts. Practitioners and communities have to build on existing structures; e.g., if further elaborated, mentoring initiatives can provide a good opportunity for bringing home languages into school contexts, and partnerships between teachers and local communities can facilitate non-dominant language use in the teaching process.

Even if multilingual strategies are not yet in place, improving school tolerance with regard to multilingualism can be a valuable asset in comparison to restrictive language policies. **Developing positive attitudes among teachers regarding the languages of their pupils increases motivation and feeling of school belonging,** while language rejection will negatively affect pupils' wellbeing and academic results.

> This review acknowledges parents as important educational partners for the school. Working with parents as partners, irrespective of their social-background or country, facilitates not only language acquisition but also the development of positive attitudes towards otherness, attitudes which are necessary for the harmonious development of individuals and society. Parents and wider family members are an important source and part of the learning continuity. The **involvement of families and communities in the education** of the children requires **interactive teaching strategies and actively acknowledging (and valuing) cultural differences in and outside of the classroom**, in order to foster skills and transfer knowledge between the languages.

Recommendations

Schools and teachers should build **partnerships with families and local communities** for effective multilingual teaching and learning strategies.

Teachers and school leaders need to find regular opportunities to provide a **consistent flow of affirmative messages with the aim of fostering positive attitudes towards multilingualism** acknowledging the resources and benefits it can bring to the learning process.

6.3. Lessons learnt and recommendations for educators

> New migration patterns and enhanced mobility are challenging the continuity of the learning process. We need to find ways to transfer and mainstream new forms of flexible and inclusive teaching and learning strategies that have emerged to benefit all learners. Although a considerable body of knowledge exists, there is a pressing need to make this more accessible and to consolidate the recent evidence base for multilingual learning and teaching. **Language teaching methodologies, both singular and pluralistic, have emerged over the past decades**; among them are developing language awareness, inter-comprehension, intercultural approaches and integrated didactic approaches to different languages studied.

Recommendations

Teachers need to have deep knowledge about languages and language learning, including structures of grammar and vocabulary as well as semiotic structures specific to their subjects. Most importantly, they need to learn the difference between conversational language and academic language, and how to use this knowledge to support pupils in developing academic language skills within the context of their subjects.

As language-sensitive subject teachers, they also must have detailed knowledge about assessment, diagnosis and support. This includes scaffolding on the micro-level of each student and on the macro-level of planning of instruction for the classroom. They have to know how to use "mistakes" for enhancement rather than intimidation.

Teachers need to learn to diagnose individual linguistic preconditions and development processes. They have to take into account variations in pupils' linguistic achievements, background knowledge, interests and abilities. Therefore, the **teacher needs to acquire a solid knowledge of the pupils' language and cultural biographies and of their academic background**.

Teachers need to provide materials for learning different linguistic registers, from vocabulary to specific content-related tasks. This scaffolding strategy is not the same as remedial teaching in that it does not consist in simplifying the content knowledge, but rather enrichesthe context by adding resources that correspond to pupils' previous experiences and knowledge.

The proactive and strategic use of learners' first languages and the use of culturally embedded tasks give pupils access to higher conceptual and cognitive tasks. **The inclusion of the home / non-dominant language** in the school should not be restricted to oral communication but **should include written texts so that multiliteracies are developed and maintained**.

Teachers and pupils need to **monitor and evaluate the results of actual language development**, using language portfolios to keep track of the progress.

Teachers need to be provided with examples of effective practice, guidance and training to develop skills essential for integrating home languages across the curriculum.

Specialised support personnel should be available at the school or at least in a regional expert pool. This shift in practice should be led by the awareness that the impact will be evident in improved results across the curriculum as a whole.

> **Information and communication technologies can substantially facilitate teaching in multilingual contexts**. ICT can be successfully used for explaining in detail key concepts, making the use of pictures and animations. They help reduce learning anxiety and increase risk-taking for speakers of dominant as well as non-dominant languages. ICT offers linguistic resources that a single teacher or school cannot offer. Therefore, it is important to provide access to the necessary infrastructure in schools and ideally also at home.

Recommendations

To reduce existing gaps between pupils from dominant and non-dominant language backgrounds, **computer-based learning environments (CBLEs) should be used by teachers to the fullest extent**, while maintaining the qualities and values of more conventional teaching such as learner-centred teaching.

Constant monitoring of the effects of ICT on different subgroups of pupils will support the use of relevant ICT tools for effective multilingual learning in different subjects.

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