TRILINGUALISM BY DESIGN?:

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

OF KURDISH CHILDREN SCHOOLED IN DENMARK

by

Shelley K. Taylor

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the

University of Toronto

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Abstract

Trilingualism by Design?

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This study involved an ethnographic investigation of a bilingual program designed to improve the academic success and promote the self-esteem of Turkish children in Denmark. Although listed as Turkish nationals, a significant proportion of students enrolled in the program were of Kurdish background and spoke Kurdish as a first language. Thus these children constituted a minority within a minority and the program entailed a trilingual experience for them.

The data for the study included extensive classroom observation and document analysis together with in-depth ethnographic interviews with four educators who participated in the program. The program was also examined from the perspective of one female student

who participated in the program.

Although the educators who participated in the in-depth interviews expressed positive orientations towards both the program and the minority students, inconsistencies were observed between these good intentions and the actions of these educators. These discrepancies were examined in terms of constraints limiting educator agency and pressures exerted on these educators as a result of the prevailing societal discourse that was highly negative towards immigrant populations. Although the program was viewed as relatively successful for participating students insofar as they acquired or maintained Turkish and performed well in Danish, for the Kurdish children loss of L1 and Kurdish ethnolinguistic identity also resulted. This was not a case of 'trilingualism by design.' Rather, the children's Kurdish identity and trilingualism were veiled. Despite these findings and contradictory though it may seem, they gained an academic edge due to participation in the program.

The investigation reinforces the centrality of issues related to power and identity in educational reform for minority language students. A focus on language alone is insufficient to understand the patterns of achievement and plan effective interventions.

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Last but not least, I wish to thank my family. It is certainly true that for every *chef d'œuvre* which one completes in life, there are people who sacrificed a great deal on the home front so that the project could be completed. My mother, Sheila Taylor, went that 'extra mile' a thousand times over to allow me to finish this dissertation, at great cost to her health. I hope it will be a lasting source of pride to her that I have finished. She is my inspiration in terms of courage and perseverance, and a model in feminism. And finally, I wish to thank my children, Teddy and Eden, my source of constant happiness and wonder, who were still more or less infants up until the moment that I completed this thesis. They could not understand why Mommy had to work so much this past year. As I write this, I think of Teddy waking and crying out just last night: "I want my Mommy back." I'm back, *mes chéris*: It's done--*Dieu merci*!

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 1986, Christopher Candlin identified the need for further information on classroom and school-based cases of bi- and multilingual educational practice, particularly information arising from qualitative studies. Candlin (1986) deemed qualitative studies best for gaining much needed "accounts of participants' reactions to the process of bilingual education, sensitive to the ethnic and social variation characteristic of the domain" (p. xi). Candlin linked the variation characteristic of bi-/multilingual education to political, social, ethnic and ideological pressures, and observed that bilingual education is tendentious and fraught with problems for policy-makers.[1] It is into this tendentious, critical area of language education that the present study falls.

This study deals with the educational experience of two cohorts of Kurdish background children schooled in Denmark, children enrolled in a bilingual/bicultural education program which did not reflect the fact that they were Kurds (i.e., neither their home language nor culture were acknowledged). These children, born in Denmark of Kurdish immigrant parents in the early 1980s, were enrolled in a Danish/Turkish medium, bilingual/bicultural education program on the outskirts of Copenhagen. No oversights occurred regarding the language and culture of their Danish and Turkish background peers whose language and culture was not only acknowledged but, as will be discussed, their program was designed around them.

This particular program was tendentious due not only to its bilingual nature, but also because its primary focus was on benefiting minority language child participants. That half of the child participants were not from the target group anticipated by program planners (i.e., Turks) but were, in fact, Kurds, did not add to public criticism as that detail was hidden. How and why the Kurdish factor was hidden, and whether public criticism would have heightened, had it been known, is the central problem in this equation. As such, it is further discussed in

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[1] Indeed, bilingual education is fraught with problems not only for policy-makers, but also for participants in the educational structures which policy-makers plan: students, educators and, to a degree, parents.

the findings. Suffice to say that the omission of the Kurdish children's true identity and their subsequent misclassification as Turks raises the even more tendentious Kurdish issue. Scholars who specialize in Middle Eastern issues contend that the Kurdish issue "looms as one of the largest threats to peace and stability in the Middle East for the coming decades" (Olson, 1996, back cover). Therefore, the present study provides an interesting case for gaining Candlin's "accounts of participants' reactions to the process of bilingual education" (1986, p. xi).

The purpose of the present study is threefold. The first intent is to contribute to theoretical understanding of childhood trilingualism by examining processes and variation characteristic of the present case study. The second is to add to the research literature on bi-/multilingual education and on one aspect of the Kurdish issue: the education of Kurdish background children in Europe. The third is to relate research findings to current educational practices so as to inform practitioners of their bi-/multilingual students' needs: particularly, but not only, their Kurdish students' needs. Included in the present chapter are: (a) preliminary background information and terminology; (b) the theoretical framework; (c) the problem and research questions; (d) the theoretical implications of the study and its relationship to previous work; and (e) an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background Information and Terminology

1.1.1 Coercive and Collaborative Relations of Power

To begin, Cummins' (1996) work on coercive and collaborative relations of power sheds light on issues which seem unrelated at first glance: (a) why many dominant[2] group members view bilingual education programs that are intended for minority language speakers as problematic; and (b) why dominant group members in Turkey view Kurdish nationalism in Turkey and the Kurdish diaspora as problematic. Both cases involve dominant group members

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[2] Cummins' (1988) use of the terms dominant and subordinated implies power differentials, as does Ogbu's in the following clarification:

> A population within . . . a [plural] society or nation is a minority group not because it is numerically smaller, but because it occupies a subordinate power position vis-à-vis another population within the same political boundary. (Ogbu, 1991, p. 383)

adopting Us vs Them positions, and denial of subordinated group members' rights and needs. Cummins (1996) labels Us vs Them positions as coercive relations of power, defined as:

> [The] exercise of power by a dominant group (or individual or country) to the detriment of a subordinated group (or individual or country). The assumption is that there is a fixed quantity of power that operates according to a zero-sum logic; in other words, the more power one group has the less is left for other groups. (p. 14)

The relationship between coercive relations of power and dominant group attitudes towards bilingual education and Kurdish nationalism is as follows.

In North America, not all bilingual education initiatives are deemed tendentious. The two most common forms of bilingual education in North America are the Canadian French immersion model and the American compensatory bilingual education model (Olson & Burns, 1983). In comparing the "clients" of both programs, Cummins (1988) observes that most Canadian students in French immersion are dominant group members, and most American students receiving bilingual education are subordinated group members enrolled in programs "designed to remediate presumed deficiencies" (p. 14). He emphasizes that, although the same theoretical principle (the interdependence principle discussed in section 1.2.1) accounts for empirical findings supporting French immersion and compensatory bilingual education, findings routinely accepted and applied in Canada are not routinely accepted and applied in the United States (Cummins, 1988). To explain this apparent discrepancy, Cummins (1988) comments: "Research and theory are coherently applied to policy only in situations where there is a relatively high degree of consensus in regard to both the societal and educational goals of the policy debates relating to language and education" (p. 11).

In situations of coercive relations of power, that consensus is missing with regard to programs designed to benefit minority language students; thus, oversights occur. Given what amounts to power politics in policy-making, Cummins (1988) argues that issues of language and power intersect, and influence the shape of educational programs. This supports Candlin's (1986) observation that bilingual education programs can be fraught with political, social, ethnic and ideological pressures. This is most often true when these programs are designed to meet subordinated group needs.

French immersion programs, on the other hand, were designed to meet a dominant group need: Anglo-Canadians viewed becoming officially bilingual as in their better interests (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Immersion programs, therefore, responded to dominant group "societal and educational goals" (Cummins, 1988) and flourished as a result of powerful lobbying (Olson & Burns, 1983). Non-official language programs in Canada do not respond to the dominant group's perceived needs, do not flourish, and continue to be a contentious issue (Cummins, 1988). This imbalance reflects high societal consensus on the value of official (French/English) bilingualism in Canada, low consensus on the value of non-official bilingualism, and is an issue which is revisited in Chapter 2 with regard to the Danish context.

Though belief in the value of only one form of bilingualism is not supported in the research literature, it is pervasive and may be considered part of the dominant group's "cultural model."[3] Ogbu (1991) defines cultural models as "folk systems" which, though never

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[3] The research literature supports additive, not subtractive bilingualism, regardless of whether program participants in an additive program are dominant or subordinated group members. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995) define the terms additive and subtractive bilingualism in terms of the following language learning situations:

> [In] subtractive language learning situations . . . the mother tongue risks being forcibly replaced by official, majority languages or not being learned fully and . . . [in] additive language learning situations . . . other languages are added to a person's linguistic repertoire, without any risk to mother tongues, which are allowed to develop fully. (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995, p. 102; see also Lambert, 1975)

Examples of programs which lead to additive bilingualism are: French immersion for dominant group children, two-way bilingual programs for dominant and subordinated group children, and late-exit bilingual education programs for subordinated group children. The latter two programs are discussed next.

Two-way bilingual programs feature equal numbers of children who are dominant language-speakers (e.g., Anglophones in the US or Danes in Denmark) and subordinated language-speakers (e.g., Latinas/os in the US or Turks in Denmark). Both groups of children are (ostensibly) monolingual at the outset. Initially, instruction is given to both groups of children via the medium of the subordinated group language. This amounts to mother tongue (L1) instruction for the subordinated group children (i.e., language maintenance), and second language (L2) instruction for the dominant group children (i.e., immersion). Later, both groups are schooled in their L1 and L2. Thus, neither group experiences L1 loss; rather, both groups become bilingual. Therefore, two-way programs constitute additive language learning situations. (For further related discussion, see Lessow-Hurley, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Late-exit bilingual education programs are ones in which L1 instruction continues throughout a child's schooling (language maintenance) rather than being phased out as soon as possible; the latter is

right or wrong, "guide behaviors and interpretations" (p. 7). In practice, dominant group (mis)interpretations of bilingualism serve to limit innovative programming. Indeed, Cummins and Danesi (1990) note an under-exploration of "bilingual education programs designed to improve the academic achievement of minority group students who tend to experience school failure" (p. 100). They attribute this oversight to the fact that dominant group members do not think they can benefit from gains made by subordinated group members; hence, the will is not there to take initiative. Support for initiatives in this area is lacking because dominant group members do not view power as collaboratively constructed: "Collaborative relations of power . . . operate on the assumption that power is not a fixed pre-determined quantity but rather can be generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations . . . power is created in [a] relationship and shared among participants" (Cummins, 1996, p. 15). When viewed from this perspective, it becomes clear that subordinated group gains are also dominant group gains.

Cummins (1996) gives the example that both dominant and subordinated group members have certain "vested interests" (p. 222) in common (e.g., in the future of society). They have vested interests in schools which (fail to) help students succeed, and in societies which repress part of the population because both groups suffer from the strife, civil unrest and drained financial resources which result from those situations. Yet, Williams (1973) notes that coercive relations of power are highly prevalent due to the way dominant groups perceive their best interests:

> [It] is a fact about the modes of domination that they select from and consequently exclude the full range of human practice. . . . It depends very much whether it is in an area in which the dominant class and the dominant culture have an interest and a stake. If the interest and the stake are explicit, many new practices will be reached for, and if possible incorporated, or else extirpated with extraordinary vigour. But in certain areas, there will be in

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characteristic of transitional (or early-exit) bilingual education programs. In Cummins' (1997, p. 7) review of the Ramirez Report (Ramirez, 1992), for example, he notes that Spanish-speaking children enrolled in late-exit programs in the U.S. received instruction exclusively in Spanish in kindergarten, "with English used for about one-third of the time in grades 1 and 2, half the time in grade 3, and about sixty per cent of the time thereafter" whereas Spanish-speaking children in early-exit programs received Spanish instruction for "about one-third of the time in kindergarten and first grade with a rapid phase-out thereafter." (For further reviews of various models of bilingual education programs, see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984, 1990, 2000, and Wink, 1997).

> certain periods practices and meanings which are not reached for. There will be areas of practice and meaning which, almost by definition from its own limited character . . . dominant culture is unable in any real terms to recognize. (p. 12)

This passage provides a good (coercive relations of power) explanation for why certain bilingual education initiatives are supported and promoted, and the value of others is not recognized and they remain under-explored: Some programs are deemed within the realm of dominant group interests; programs outside of those interests may well be deemed tangential, extraneous or lacking importance.

Corson (1993) takes up this issue, noting that alternate forms of knowledge often "go unrecognized and remain without influence" (p. 14). His term for recognizing dominant culture and knowledge, but not alternatives, is sanctioning the 'legitimate' (p. 7). Several related terms clarify what is sanctioned as legitimate and what is not: cultural and linguistic capital, and cultural 'fields.' These terms derive from Bourdieu's work (see Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu [& Passeron], 1977, etc.), but are best understood as explained by Corson (1993).

1.1.2 Sanctioning the 'Legitimate:' Cultural and Linguistic Capital, and Linguistic 'Fields'

In speaking of culture and language as capital, Corson (1993) refers to Bourdieu's metaphor of an economic system. In this system, an individual's resources, be they cultural or linguistic, have varying market value in different social systems. Cultural capital refers to "those culturally esteemed advantages which people acquire as a part of their life experiences, their peer group contacts, and their family backgrounds: such things as 'good taste,' 'style,' certain kinds of knowledge, abilities, and presentation of self" (Corson, 1993). Linguistic capital, on the other hand, refers to:

> the ability to utilize appropriate norms for language use and to produce the right expressions at the right time for a particular 'linguistic market' . . . there are many linguistic markets in which rare or high status forms result in profit for the user, and where non-standard or low-status language use is assigned a limited value. (p. 10)

Corson explains that children from subordinated groups may remain silent or withdraw if their language has a low 'market value.'

A language may have a low market value if it is not the dominant group's mother tongue or if it is a nonstandard variety of the dominant group's language (for a related discussion, see Telles, 1996). Corson connects market values to cultural 'fields,' noting that

Bourdieu considered the latter to be the more important of the two. That is, while market values are apt to flux, all languages and cultures are valued somewhere. The "where" depends on power relationships in effect from cultural 'field' to cultural 'field:'

> [All] groups possess cultural capital and a linguistic capital of their own, but not necessarily the same form of capital that is recognized and valued in education. By moving from one cultural 'field' to another, power relationships change, as does cultural capital. (Corson, 1993, p. 15)

Like the terms cultural/linguistic capital, the term linguistic 'fields' is very important when discussing the language of schooling and alternative educational programs. These terms are especially important when discussing the schooling of Kurdish children in Europe, as becomes apparent in Chapter 4.

1.1.3 Linguicism

That the language and culture of the Kurdish children in this study were overlooked, even in a program designed to benefit subordinated group children, is highly significant. This oversight raises the issue of linguicism which (like linguistic capital) is a useful term for analysing the role of language in schooling. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) defines linguicism as: "Ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (p. 30). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995) explain the linguicist process as the result of a hierarchization of languages. The way a language hierarchy works is usually to the detriment of subordinated groups as, increasingly, only certain languages are deemed fit to survive and worthy of economic support--usually dominant group languages:

> In a new social Darwinist dress the argument is that the . . . cultures and languages which are to survive and expand will do so because they are more adapted to modern technological life, to market economies. . . . The hegemony of the dominant group then ensures that the other . . . cultures and languages are deprived of resources and a fair chance to survive. Central in this process are institutionally controllable measures such as education. Somehow it always turns out to be majority languages and cultures which are the fittest survivors. (p. 104)

This is a clear example of a coercive relations of power approach to diverse languages and

cultures. How this specifically relates to Kurdish (a subordinated group language in Denmark and Turkey) and, to a certain extent, to Turkish (a subordinated group language in Denmark, but not Turkey) is discussed at length in Chapter 2.

1.1.4 Power(lessness): Big and Small "Players"

Against great odds (power imbalances, negative folk beliefs), innovative bilingual education programs do exist. The present study is based on one such program. As already noted, Kurdish students were enrolled in the program--children of a minority group equated, throughout much of this century, with powerlessness:

> The Kurds number at least 25 million, yet there is only modest information available about them. There is probably a larger literature available on Kuwait, a state with barely half a million citizens. The reason is obvious: the Kurds inhabit a marginal zone between the power centres of the Mesopotamian plain and the Iranian and Anatolian plateaux. They remain marginalised geographically, politically, and economically.[4] (McDowall, 1996, p. xi)

Thus, the Kurds too are prey to coercive relations of power.

Robins (1996) argues that, even today, Kurdish issues are marginalised in Europe by the European Union (EU)'s largest countries (Britain, France, Germany and Italy) despite the fact that significant numbers of Kurdish immigrants have settled in those countries.[5] Robins cites "wider interests" as the reason for these countries' oversight of Kurdish issues:

> The larger states, with their more extensive and complex relations with Turkey, have not allowed the Kurdish issue to dominate bilateral ties; official statements have always been balanced and the language used has been measured. Indeed, with the exception of Germany, the bigger players of the EU have largely been able to cocoon the Kurdish issue from the process of policy-making. At the level of EU institutions, the big players have had a moderating effect on the smaller states. (p. 129)

That is, "big players" can override Kurd-friendly/Turkey-critical moves which "smaller states"

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4 See Chapter 2 for further discussion of the Kurdish situation in the Kurdish homeland (especially Kurdistan in Turkey), as well as in European countries; specifically, Denmark.

5 In Germany, for example, there are approximately 2 million Turks of whom, it is estimated, 450,000 are Kurds (Kurds Assail Consulate in Germany, 1995).

make,[6] and do so in the name of bilateral political and trade relations. Still, smaller players are not entirely without influence.

Denmark is one of the smaller players which, as Robins (1996) notes, along with the European Parliament, has repeatedly criticized Turkey for its Kurdish policy. As a result, Turkey has placed Denmark and some other, smaller European Union countries on a "red list" (Robins, 1996, p. 120).[7] In 1995, however, the European Parliament, deemed a smaller player, did manage to put substantial pressure on Turkey during Turkey's bid to finalize a Customs Union with the European Union. In return for acceptance into the Union, the European Parliament gained concessions from Turkey in the (virtually synonymous) areas of human rights and Kurdish issues.[8]

These concessions are proof that strides forward can be made if the will to fight for them exists. A prerequisite for championing a subordinated group's cause is for a dominant group to view subsequent gains as their own; to view power as collaboratively manufactured (and shared).The issue of the will to promote subordinated group rights pertains to both foci

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6

Robins (1996) gives the following example of how "big players" can thwart "smaller players" in their lobby or other efforts to condemn Turkey's treatment of the Kurds and human rights record: When it was Greece's turn to hold the six-month Presidency of the EU Council of Ministers, the big players, nervous that Greek antagonisms toward Turkey would sour EU relations with Turkey, conducted a preventative manoeuvre by establishing regular trilateral meetings at the senior level between Britain, France, Germany and Turkey. As Robins (1996, p. 125) notes: "the human rights situation and the Kurdish problem did not prevent the implementation of such an initiative," and the meetings lapsed at the end of the Greek term when EU relations with Turkey were no longer in the hands of the Greek Presidency.

7

Indeed, Turkey has gone so far as to ban certain Danish Members of Parliament (MPs) from even entering the country to conduct observer missions. Those MPs are on a "black list" established and maintained by the Turkish state (Med-TV, 1997). That MPs from a red-listed country can also be black-listed is indicative of how far Turkey will go to maintain its Kurdish policy abroad.

8

In order to convince the European Parliament to endorse Turkey's bid to gain membership in the Customs Union, Turkey's coalition government, led by Tansu Ciller, took action in three areas leading to an amendment of Article 8 of the (notorious) Anti-terror Law, the release from prison of two democratically elected Kurdish MPs, and the steering through parliament of a democratization package (Robins, 1996, p. 128).

of the present study: bi-/multilingual education and the education of Kurdish children in Denmark, and raises the equally important issue of agency.

1.1.5 Agency

This concept is best understood in contrast to the age-old concept of determinism. Williams (1973, p. 4) discusses ties between determinism and idealist (especially theological) accounts of humanity and the world, and how Marx challenged those views. Rather than seeing determinism as a process of prefigured, predicted controls exerted by pre-existing external forces, Marx substituted the concept of determining factors. Williams suggests that Marx viewed determining factors as a process of setting limits and exerting pressures which determine, but do not dictate, social practice. In this view of determinism, even though subordinated groups experience marginalization, denial of rights and needs, ill-will, and indifference, their fate is not necessarily sealed.

Corson (1993, p. 16) concurs with Williams in warning against the "bleak determinism" of some interpretations of Marxist theory. With regard to agency, Corson (1993) observes that "while schools need to consider wider structural questions very carefully in order to decide equitable approaches, neither schools nor individuals are inevitably the willing dupes of power forces that are outside their control" (p. 14). Clearly, Corson's observations differ from the old view of determinism which held that individuals were victims of fate.

Cummins (1996, p. 3) also argues against the old view on the grounds that historical patterns of subordination may be challenged as in the case of the European Parliament challenging Turkey. People or entities willing to take up the cause of oppressed groups such as the Kurds, or of educational programmes designed for subordinated group children, can also gain important concessions. As Cummins (1996) forcefully observes, it is possible to resist "those elements within the societal power structure that are intolerant of difference and are motivated to maximize individual profit at the expense of the common good even though" (p. vii), as Cummins (1996) admits, "enormous pressures . . . constrict the options available" (p. vi). Cummins (1996) introduces the terms educator role definitions and educational structures in his discussion of how individuals can resist power structures.

1.1.6 Educator Role Definitions, Educational Structures and Empowerment

Cummins (1996) defines educator role definitions as "the mindset of expectations, assumptions and goals that educators bring to the task of educating culturally diverse students" (p. 18). By this, Cummins (1996, p. 141) suggests that the way in which educators define their roles (e.g., their mindset, assumptions, expectations and goals) in relation to culturally diverse students and communities influences students' educational experience. This relationship is further discussed in section 1.2.3 in reference to Cummins' (1996) empowerment framework.

Another important aspect of individuals' ability to resist power structures applies to the structures of schooling. Cummins (1996) labels structures of schooling educational structures which he defines as "the organization of schooling in a broad sense that includes policies, programs, curriculum, and assessment" (p. 18). Educational structures are also discussed at greater length in section 1.2.3.

Cummins (1996) defines the last term, empowerment, as "the collaborative creation of power" (p. 15). By this, he means power is generated between individuals, not bestowed on an individual by a benefactor. Additive relations of power[9] (i.e., collaborative relations of power) promote empowerment.

Central to Cummins' view of schooling are key concepts discussed thus far: (a) the will to challenge dominant group oversights and power structures in wider society which affect the powerless; and (b) agency: individuals' ability to challenge power structures and empower themselves. Both contribute to conditions of practice in a particular educational setting. It is the goal of this dissertation to capture the conditions of practice at work in this educational setting, be they a dialectic dance between battles of wills and power struggles, or collaborative relations of power. The theoretical framework which was operationalized to capture this dynamic interplay is described next.

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[9] See Footnote #3 for a related discussion on additive or subtractive orientations (to language).

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Described in this section are two theoretical propositions which account for the development of bilingual proficiency (and why bilingual proficiency develops better in certain models of bi-/multilingual education than others), a theoretical framework, and divergent perspectives on variation in bilingual proficiency and school success. First, Cummins' (1991, 1996) Interdependence principle and his distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills and cognitive-academic language proficiency are outlined. Second, Cummins' (1996) empowerment framework ("Intervention for collaborative empowerment") is discussed. Finally, brief reviews of select aspects of Wong Fillmore's (1991-a) model of language learning in social context, Leets and Giles' (1993) critique of contact theory, and Ogbu's (1978, 1992) work on variability in academic outcomes for minority students are presented. The relationship between these propositions is also discussed, as are their links to practice. Following this, the problem and research questions are presented. Finally, the theoretical implications of the study are raised and its relationship to previous work in the areas of bi-/multilingualism and the education of Kurdish background children in Europe is established.

1.2.1 Interdependence Principle

The interdependence principle holds that:

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly. (Cummins, 1981; 1984; 1986, p. 87)

Cummins' (1986) explanation for the principle is as follows: "Experience with either language can promote development of the proficiency underlying both languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both either in school or in the wider environment" (p. 82). Cummins further explains: "In other words, . . . the same theoretical principle . . . underlies immersion programmes for majority language students as well as bilingual programmes for minority language students" (p. 87). Thus, the interdependence principle supports Turkish-medium instruction for Turkish background children in Denmark as a viable way to learn Danish; Spanish-medium instruction for Latino/a children in the US to learn English, and

French-medium instruction for Anglophone children in Canada to master English.

To illustrate his point, Cummins presents CUP and SUP models of bilingual proficiency (acronyms for common underlying proficiency [CUP] and separate underlying proficiency [SUP]). Cummins (1986, pp. 81-82) uses a balloon metaphor to distinguish between SUP and CUP. The SUP model represents common sense notions about how one acquires a second language. Intuitively, it seems logical that more exposure to a language will result in better mastery of the language than if one is exposed to the language somewhat less (maximum exposure hypothesis; Cummins, 1986, 1996). Metaphorically, from the SUP viewpoint, language proficiencies are viewed as separate phenomena; like blowing up two separate (language) balloons in someone's head (Cummins, 1986, p. 81). When viewed from a CUP perspective, however, certain aspects of language are viewed as shared; like blowing up a single balloon in someone's head from two separate (language) valves (Cummins, 1986, p. 82).

As for the existence of empirical evidence one way or the other, Cummins (1986) notes that "there is little to support the SUP model . . . despite its intuitive appeal" (p. 82). In fact, less-is-more when certain circumstances pertain (Cummins & Swain, 1986): Subordinated group children who receive less instruction in a dominant group language and more instruction in their mother tongue can master their second language better than if they are solely instructed in that language.

These psycho educational principles do not pertain indiscriminately, however. A major qualification which needs to be made is the additive bilingualism enrichment principle (referred to in Footnote 3). It is important for children to develop additive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995). That entails adding "a second language to their repertory of skills at no cost to the development of their first language." Thus, the less-is-more principle cannot be applied to defend English-medium instruction for subordinated group children (e.g., Latino/a children in the US) as Wong Fillmore's (1991-b) research strongly indicates that English generally supplants these children's mother tongue, resulting in subtractive bilingualism.

Wong-Fillmore (1991-b) describes subtractive bilingualism as "the erosion or loss of

primary languages" (p. 323), and considers the phenomenon highly prevalent in the US context as "countless American immigrant and native children and adults [lose] their ethnic languages in the process of becoming linguistically assimilated into the English-speaking world of the school and society." She notes that "[few] American-born children of immigrant parents are fully proficient in the ethnic language, even if it was the only language they spoke when they first entered school. Once these children learn English, they tend not to maintain or to develop the language spoken at home, even if it is the only one their parents know" (p. 324). Though this process has been ongoing for decades, she feels it has accelerated recently. Whether the process occurs with Kurdish or Turkish background children in Denmark who receive Danish-medium instruction is reviewed in Chapter 2.

1.2.2 Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills and Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency

The terms Cummins (1981) originally used to distinguish between two aspects of language proficiency were basic interpersonal communicative skills and cognitive-academic language proficiency. The first refers to more transparent, quantifiable aspects of language such as pronunciation, basic vocabulary, and grammar; those aspects of language which facilitate knowing, understanding and speaking another language. The second refers to less visible, less easily measured aspects of language (e.g., semantics and pragmatics), and includes the ability to analyse, synthesize and evaluate in a second/third language (Cummins, 1992, p. 17).

Though it is risky to dichotomize between the two constructs as that oversimplifies reality (Cummins, 1992), it is useful to identify characteristics which differentiate between the two aspects of language proficiency so that educators will not misdiagnose a child's overall level of bilingual proficiency. Misclassifications are wont to occur (see Cummins, 1984) due to the fact that many children's basic interpersonal communicative skills develop more quickly than their cognitive-academic language proficiency skills do (e.g., conversational skills develop after approximately 2 years of residence in another language community vs. an average of five years to seven years to attain grade average on cognitive-academic skills. See Collier, 1987, 1989; Cummins, 1996). Therefore, educators unfamiliar with these constructs

can gain misleading impressions of children's overall academic proficiency and attribute academic weakness to poor cognition or academic aptitude rather than to the children's stage of second (or third) language learning.

It is fair to say that, together, the above propositions constitute the most commonly cited arguments for bi-/multilingual education programming today (see Baker, 1993; Byram & Leman, 1990;[10] Collier & Ovando, 1985; Krashen & Biber, 1987; Lessow-Hurley, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995,[11] etc.) especially late-exit bilingual programs (see Ramirez, 1992). They also form the basis of arguments for imperfect, but reasonable alternatives.[12]

1.2.3 Empowerment Framework

1.2.3.1 Background information.

Key to understanding Cummins' (1996) empowerment framework is his observation that "human relationships are at the heart of schooling" (p. 1). By that, he suggests that, more than any curricular or instructional approach, the major determinant in school success (or lack thereof) is the interaction which takes place between teachers and students, and among students (Cummins, 1996, p. 18). Cummins refers to this level of direct interaction as micro-interaction. Students also experience macro-interactions due to a trickle-down effect. Though indirect, these experiences are also powerful.

Coercive relations of power at the macro level (macro-interactions) may play themselves out in micro-interactions. That is, many disempowering trends in the wider societal context filter down into educator attitudes and educational structures. An example which Cummins (1996, p. iii & p. v) gives of this phenomenon is how an "escalating societal discourse" which equates bilingualism with doors closing on students' futures manages to filter down into classrooms. It does so when bilingual education programs are "demonized,"

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[10] See articles by Danesi and by Snoeck in Byram & Leman (1992) (Eds.).

[11] See the article by Artigal in Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) (Ed.).

[12] One alternative which does not replicate, but can capture some of the positive features of good bilingual education programs, is content-based instruction (see Chamot & O'Malley, 1994; Cummins, 1996; Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992).

then cancelled.

A second example is the powerlessness of the Kurds at the macro level (i.e., on the international stage), and the fact that the Kurdish children in this study were misclassified as Turks at the micro level and enrolled in a (Danish/Turkish) "bi"-lingual/"bi"-cultural program. The connection between coercive power relations at both macro and micro levels in the latter instance remains to be explored (see Chapter 2); however, both examples illustrate how "schools reflect the values and attitudes of the broader society that supports them" (Cummins, 1996, p. 3). Thus, conditions of practice may well reflect and even reproduce aspects of the dominant group power structure. Still, the role of agency must not be underestimated. Communities, educators and students can challenge negative attitudes (e.g., linguicism) which devalue subordinated group children's cultures, languages and selves; they can challenge disempowering macro-interactions by orchestrating interactions which affirm subordinated children's worth.

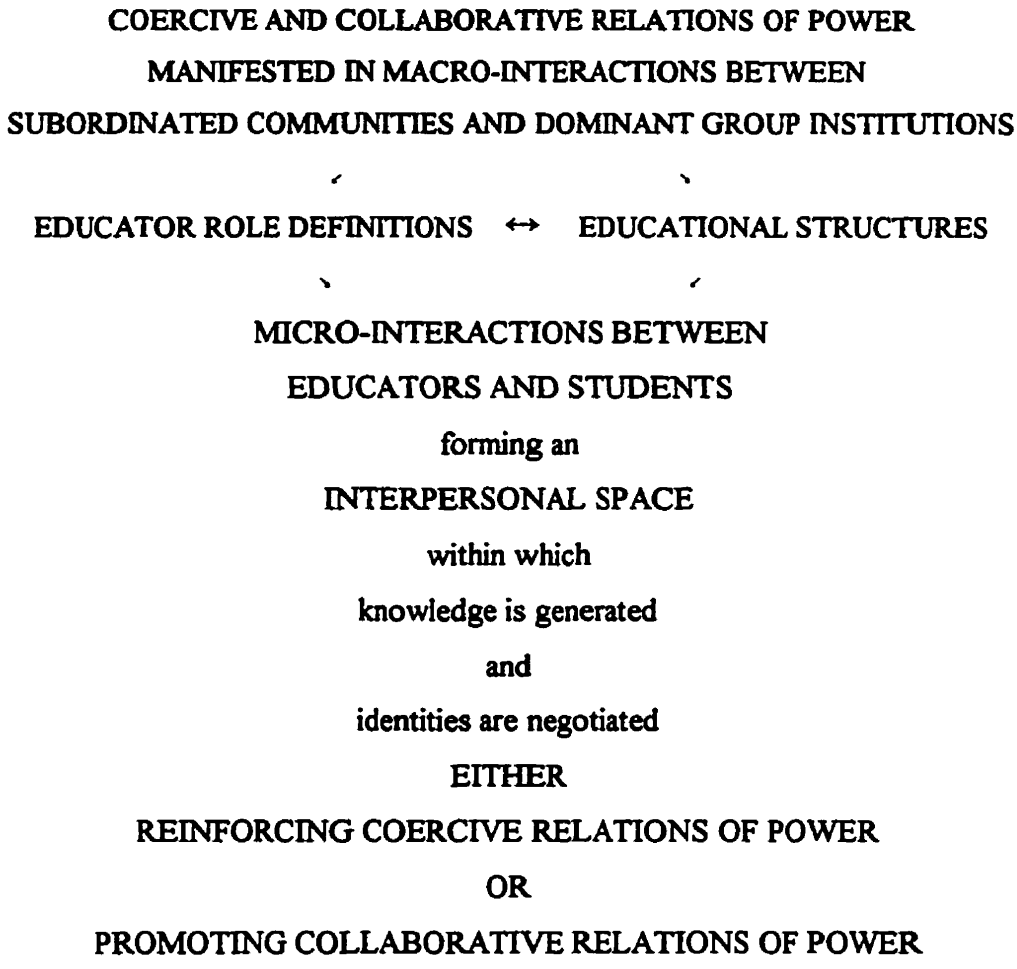
Cummins (1996) stresses that, while it is important to respect psycho educational principles of bilingualism and implement programs which support research findings on bilingual development, these principles alone do "not address the fundamental causes of bilingual students' educational difficulties" (p. 123) as those causes "are sociopolitical and sociohistorical in nature" (p. 123). Cummins designed his empowerment framework to capture the sociopolitical and sociohistorical conditions of process in educational settings. A review of its components is as follows.

1.2.3.2 Components of the empowerment framework.

The top half of the framework is divided into three tiers (see Figure 1[13]). The top tier represents macro-interactions. Coercive relations of power which occur at this level between dominant group institutions (e.g., schools, Faculties of Education) and subordinated group communities can have an impact on three areas: how community group members view and feel about themselves (their identity); how educators view community members and their children, and how education is structured. At the second tier, coercive relations of power may

[13] See Cummins (2000), p. 43.

Figure 1. Coercive and collaborative relations of power manifested in macro- and micro-interactions



also influence how educators define their roles vis-à-vis educational structures (e.g., whether they will endorse or resist structures, or simply acquiesce). Coercive relations of power may also impact on how educational structures influence educators (i.e., agency may be constricted by structural impossibilities). The bottom tier is the level where micro-interactions between educators and students occur.

Cummins (2000) elaborates on the various positions educators may take on educational structures depending on whether their personal orientations have predominantly

intercultural or assimilationist leanings (see Figure 2[14]). These orientations may fluctuate along the intercultural-assimilationist continuum[15] of each educational structure: (a) incorporation of subordinated group students' language and culture (or reactionary, dominant group oriented views of cultural and linguistic capital); (b) community participation (or exclusion); (c) pedagogical orientation; and (d) assessment practices.

Orientations to these four educational structures may be manifest in the following ways.[16] First, educators with highly additive orientations to subordinated group children's home culture and mother tongue are wont to view bilingual/bicultural programs favourably: as a way for these children to "add a second language and cultural affiliation while maintaining their primary language and culture" (Cummins, 1996, p. 147). At the other end of the continuum, educators who hold strong assimilationist views are wont to expect subordinated group children to "leave their language and culture at the schoolhouse door" (Cummins, 1996, p. 150).

Second, educators with an intercultural orientation to community participation tend to fall along the collaborative end of the collaborative-exclusionary continuum. Educators at the exclusionary end tend more to view subordinated group communities as inferior and responsible for their own school failure and poverty, perhaps due to (alleged) pejorative group characteristics (i.e., "bilingualism, parental apathy, genetic inferiority, etc.," [Cummins, 1996, p. 5]). These educators are unlikely to include community members in their classroom and planning activities as it is doubtful that educators who denigrate subordinated group communities would divest themselves of institutional power and share it with people they consider inferior. Educators at the other end of the continuum tend to think in terms of how much they can learn from students and their communities, and how learning such things can enhance instruction and the children's educational experience.[17]

Third, the pedagogical continuum ranges from transformative pedagogy on the

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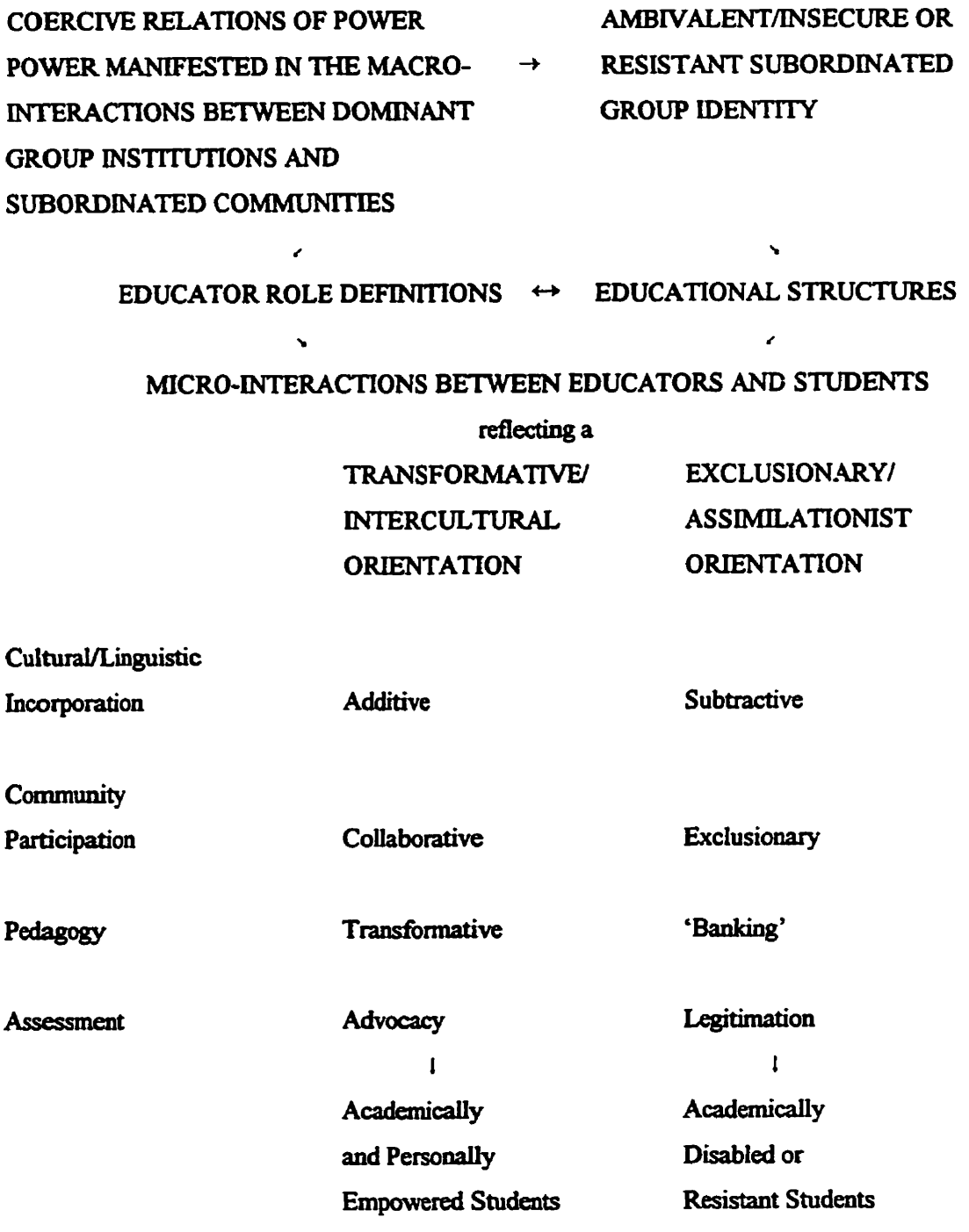
[14] See Cummins (2000), p. 45.

[15] While this kind of dichotomizing may appear to make caricatures out of educators, it is necessary. As Candlin (1986) notes, bi-/multilingual education is tendentious. Therefore, both opponents and advocates may hold extreme positions.

[16] These examples are drawn from Cummins (1996, pp. 147-158).

[17] See Wink's (1997) chronicle of "Rainey's" evolution along the collaborative-exclusionary continuum.

Figure 2. Intervention for collaborative empowerment



intercultural end to "banking" on the assimilationist end, with progressive pedagogy falling midway between. Cummins (1996) describes the main difference between these orientations as "the extent to which the teacher retains exclusive control over classroom interaction as opposed to sharing some of this control with students" (p. 152). The main characteristics of the three pedagogical approaches are: (a) for traditional pedagogy, the imparting of test-driven knowledge, and "truths" to be ingested ("banked") and recalled verbatim; (b) for progressive pedagogy, personalizing knowledge to validate students' identities, collaborative generation of knowledge, and focus on the child rather than on social realities (or critiques); and (c) for transformative pedagogy, focus on "the broader social implications of instruction" (Cummins, 1996, p.157), social critique and self empowerment.

Fourth and last, with regard to assessment, interculturally oriented educators advocate for subordinated group students. Assimilation oriented educators sanction the 'legitimate' (i.e., they support dominant group power structures). The latter orientation applies to educators who assess subordinated group children on cognitive measures and accept the test scores at face value before the children's cognitive-academic language proficiency has had the time to properly develop, thereby invalidating the test scores. Advocacy-oriented educators would argue against tracking subordinated group children into limited future possibilities on the basis of such (invalid) assessment. This concludes discussion of the components of Cummins' (2000, p. 45) empowerment framework.

1.2.3.3 Divergent but related perspectives.

Select aspects of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Wong Fillmore (1991-a), Leets and Giles (1993) and Ogbu's (1978, 1992) work on linguistic human rights, language acquisition, contact and academic success are presented here as they buttress both faces of Cummins' framework: not only his psycho educational concerns (e.g., theories of bilingual proficiency), but also his social concerns (i.e., sociohistorical and sociopolitical concerns). To begin, Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) use of the concepts of A-team versus B-team members parallels Cummins' (1996) concept of Us versus Them (or coercive relations of power). To explain, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) characterizes people with all A-Team characteristics as middle-class, white (male) majority group members with high levels of formal education who reside in

Western cities, and full B-Team members as working class and rural (female) minority group members, 'black,' 'red,' 'brown' or 'yellow,' who have little formal education and live in underdeveloped countries. The power relationship between the two groups is coercive (see above) rather than collaborative. The assumptions on which these polar opposite power relations are based are reflected in whether principles of linguistic human rights are respected or not.

Skutnabb-Kangas identifies the following as necessary conditions of linguistic human rights at the level of the individual. An individual must be able to: (a) fully learn, use in most official situations (including schools) and identify with her mother tongue(s)/L1 and have that identification accepted and respected by others; (b) learn (one of) the official language(s) of the country of residence and thus become bilingual (or trilingual, as the case may be); (c) not have a change of L1 imposed (which includes knowledge of long-term consequences in the case of a voluntary language shift); and (d) profit from the state education system, no matter what her L1 is (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998, p. 23). At present, many minority individuals cannot fully learn their L1 (e.g., develop both oracy and literacy) or use their L1 in official settings such as schools. They cannot become balanced bilinguals with the help of the school (those who do, often succeed despite the school). Many cannot derive maximum benefit from state education. And many cannot control whether their L1 will remain a fully known language that they can transfer to their children if they so wish – they are forced to language shift. In short, they do not have linguistic human rights. One reason why the necessary conditions of linguistic human rights are not met is that minorities often have many characteristics of the B-Team whereas policy-makers often belong to the A-Team. This may make the application of coercive relations of power more likely.

A summary of proposals made by Skutnabb-Kangas about what basic educational linguistic human rights should guarantee at an individual level is presented in Figure 3.[18] Whether the linguistic human rights of the Kurdish children in my study were respected or not,

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[18] This figure replicates the table developed by Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) to represent a universal covenant of linguistic human rights (see p. 502).

Figure 3. What should a universal covenant of Linguistic Human Rights guarantee to individuals?

A UNIVERSAL COVENANT OF LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS
SHOULD GUARANTEE AT AN *INDIVIDUAL* LEVEL,
IN RELATION TO

THE MOTHER TONGUE(S)

that everybody has the right to

- identify with their mother tongue(s) and have this identification accepted and respected by others;

- learn the mother tongue(s) fully, orally (when physiologically possible) and in writing. This presupposes that minorities are educated mainly through the medium of their mother tongue(s), and within the state-financed educational system;
- use the mother tongue in most official situations (including schools).

OTHER LANGUAGES

- that everybody whose mother tongue is not an official language in the country where s/he is resident, has the right to become bilingual (or trilingual, if s/he has 2 mother tongues) in the mother tongue(s) and (one of) the official language(s) (according to her own choice).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGES

- that any change of mother tongue is voluntary (includes knowledge of long-term consequences), not imposed.

PROFIT FROM EDUCATION

- that everybody has the right to profit from education, regardless of what her mother tongue is.

or to what degree they were partially respected, is discussed in Chapter 4 when I highlight the educational experience of a young Kurdish girl enrolled in the Danish/Turkish bilingual/bicultural program.

The second divergent, but related, perspective on the empowerment framework is Wong Fillmore's (1991-a) model of language learning in social context. One purpose of her model is to account for learners' efforts (i.e., motivation) to learn a second language. Language learning issues which her model focusses on include: Do learners seek out contact with the target language? Do they have social contact with competent speakers of the target language who are willing to interact with them? Are they in a setting which promotes contact. The model also includes three processes: social, linguistic and cognitive processes. Wong Fillmore defines these processes in the following way: Social processes refer to the steps which target language learners and speakers take to create settings where communication is possible and rich; linguistic processes refer to how target language speakers' assumptions lead them to speak to learners in certain ways (e.g., with or without modifying their speech); cognitive processes refer to analytical procedures and operations which go on in learners' heads and lead to language acquisition. In two out of three of these processes, Wong Fillmore deals extensively with the role of contact.[19]

The issue of contact arises with regard to social processes in the sense that language learners seek out social interaction with native speakers of the target language to gain "input" and to have the chance to produce "output."[20] Impediments to social contact arise from social constraints: target language speakers who are not willing to encourage learners with caretaker speech; insufficient exposure, and poor quality or meaningless contact.

The role of contact in linguistic processes is, in many ways, the mirror image of how

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Contact is less a factor in Wong Fillmore's (1991-a) cognitive processes. Her main focus in that regard is on different forces at work in first and second language acquisition.

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See "input" research by Krashen (1980, 1981), interaction research by Gass (1997), and "output" research by Swain (1985, 1995).

contact arises in social processes. Wong Fillmore (1991-a) remarks that linguistic contact is necessary in order for learners "to get . . . enough linguistic evidence to allow them to discover how the language works and how people use it" (p. 54). Close, interpersonal contact is also needed for learners to get properly modified, situationally anchored "input."

In Wong Fillmore's model, variation in second language proficiency results from how components of the model are configured from one setting to the next. As noted, Wong Fillmore suggests that immigrant families are privileged in the opportunities they have to gain exposure to the target language; however, these opportunities are less available to adult family members from groups that are chronically unemployed such as the Kurds and Turks are in many parts of Europe.[21] Thus, for many Kurdish parents, social and linguistic contact with Danes is limited and the variation characteristic of this setting alters predicted norms, as is discussed in further chapters.

As a further example, Wong Fillmore (1991-a) observes that, while schools are poised to be ideal settings for subordinated group children to learn the target language, this is not a given because "even classrooms can differ widely in the quality and quantity of input they provide learners"[22] (p. 64). That is, social contact may be shaped by negative variables such as native speaker reluctance to interact with language learners. Again in this case, social variables are highly important.

The first example with regard to the situation of Kurdish parents in Denmark relates to the level of macro-interactions (e.g., the employability of certain groups). The second example relates to micro-interactions. Thus, Wong Fillmore's model of language learning in social context is useful in operationalizing Cummins' empowerment framework. A slight modification to Cummins' two frameworks which Wong Fillmore's work on contact suggests may be fruitful is to add inter-student contact at both third tiers, along with Cummins' (2000) "micro-interactions between educators and students" (pp. 43 & 45; see Figures 1 & 2).

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[21] Just Jeppesen (1995-a, p. 18) puts their unemployment rate at 40% in Denmark.

[22] Cummins' (1996, p. 3) observation that schools are neither static nor predetermined milieus supports Wong Fillmore's (1991-a) opinion on the degree of variation which exists from setting to setting.

Leets and Giles' (1993) work goes to the very heart of the matter and challenges the present formulation of the contact hypothesis which holds that "contact among individuals belonging to different social categories will result in improved relations among the groups" (p. 160). Leets and Giles (1993) take exception to the supposition that mere contact promotes intercultural harmony. These researchers tested the hypothesis and found that tolerance does not stem from simply gaining knowledge of the 'other' through contact, but from quality contact.

On a different note, Swain (1981) reports that mere physical proximity is not enough to stimulate quality contact between two groups. She reported little interaction between Anglophone and Francophone students residing in bilingual communities when "interaction" is defined as shared out-of-school activities. Her findings suggest that little sustained contact occurs between the two groups and that there is, in fact, a high degree of social segregation. As a result, the anglophone immersion students living in areas with a higher concentration of Francophobe do not necessarily outperform anglophone immersion students with less contact to Francophobe on measures of French proficiency.

Wong Fillmore's (1991-a, p. 53) work provides a final example of the inapplicability of the contact hypothesis. She insists on the need for quality contact in social processes and provides examples of how even 'ideal' language learning settings can be marred by unfavourable situational conditions. Combined, these findings support Leets and Giles' (1993) assertion that contact alone is insufficient to promote interethnic harmony. This finding is compared to characteristics of the research setting and related findings in later chapters (see also Chapter 2 for a review of the research literature on contact).

Finally, Ogbu (1978, 1992 & 1997) stresses that the attitudes which subordinated group students bring to (third tier) interactions between peers and educators in educational settings are just as important as are their peers' and educators' attitudes towards them. He notes that "school success depends not only on what schools and teachers do, but also on what students do" (Ogbu, 1992, p. 6). He disagrees with overemphasizing the role of the classroom environment and teacher attitudes, and under-emphasizing the meaning and value of education that communities instill in children and that children bring to school with them

(Ogbu, 1992, p. 7). Relating Ogbu's comments to Cummins' framework, this suggests that the first tier arrow should go both ways, not unidirectionally as it does at present (see Figures 1 & 2), since subordinated group members' attitudes also act on dominant group institutions such as schools. They may also impact on the second tier of the framework as resistant attitudes to education may influence educator role definitions and educational structures. Whether they do so in the present case remains to be seen in Chapter 4.

Ogbu (1978, 1992) couches his discussion of reasons for variable school success among different minority groups in terms of three different types of minorities: (a) autonomous minorities such as the Mormons who reside in North America; (b) immigrant or voluntary minorities who left their homeland and (usually) moved to a developed country to better their own and their children's future and/or economic prospects; and (c) caste like or involuntary minorities.[23] Ogbu notes that caste like or involuntary minorities may be colonized peoples (such as the Kurds in Turkey) or people who just feel as though they are colonized. Ogbu (1992) further notes that involuntary minorities "usually experience greater and more persistent difficulties with school learning" (p. 8).

Ogbu also distinguishes between "primary cultural difference" which existed before groups (e.g., host country dwellers and voluntary minority newcomers) came into contact with each other, and "secondary cultural differences" which developed over time as a result of confrontational intergroup contact between, for example, colonizers and involuntary minorities. As noted, Ogbu suggests that primary cultural differences are less problematic in school settings. He explains that primary cultural differences did not emerge to maintain intergroup boundaries and are not necessarily oppositional, as are many secondary cultural differences. The latter may take on cultural lives of their own, as it were, and cause extensive and persistent problems; they may become coping mechanisms in times of oppressive conditions and may take on oppositional qualities (Ogbu, 1992, p. 10).

Given the complex stances which subordinated group community members can take

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[23] Cummins (1997) warns that the distinction which Ogbu makes between voluntary and involuntary minorities is useful, but less flexible and inclusive than it should be to account for variation in academic outcomes.

on dominant group institutions such as education, Ogbu (1992) recommends ethnographic research which extends beyond micro (school-based) settings to the wider community to understand the intricacies of minority group underachievement. He stresses that patterns of educational failure can only be reversed by co-opting community members as "minority children do not succeed or fail only because of what schools do or do not do, but also because of what the community does" (p. 12). This certainly warrants investigation into the top tier of Cummins' framework with its (sociopolitical/sociohistorical) focus on macro-interactions between subordinated and dominant groups.

1.3 Problem and Research Questions

The fundamental problem in the present study is that one group of participants in a bilingual/bicultural program was misclassified. Those participants did not gain entrance to an innovative program from which they benefited by the normal route; they got in "through the back door" since their enrolment in the program was an error. The program was not designed with the Kurdish children in mind. It was not a case of trilingualism by design. With that in mind, the major research question is: How did these children fare once they enrolled in the program? Related questions include: Did their enrolment lead to a juxtaposition of power as a group traditionally associated with powerlessness (McDowall, 1996) gained access to an innovative program with the potential of giving its Kurdish participants a (trilingual) linguistic edge? What role did macro-interactions play in this case? These questions remain to be answered.

As noted, due to a classification error, Kurdish students gained access to an early-exit bilingual/bicultural program. Though not as highly lauded as late-exit programs, early-exit programs are intended to increase subordinated group participants' school success and development of "bi"-lingual proficiency (see Footnote 3; Cummins, 1997; & Lessow-Hurley, 1996). Thus, a traditionally powerless group gained access to a potentially empowering program.

Early-exit programs are, however, theoretically grounded on the supposition that children receive at least some instruction in their mother tongue, thereby drawing on the

interdependence principle. The situation in which the Kurdish children found themselves was unprecedented in that their mother tongue was not recognized, supported or developed. As the topic of similar omissions has not been broached thus far in theoretical discussions of bilingual education, it begs the research question: How does this situation relate to the psycho educational underpinnings of bilingual education and how does it inform theory?

Finally, these children were left alone to navigate a de facto trilingual experience in (theoretically and empirically) uncharted waters. Though puzzling, the conundrum does not lie there. The biggest riddle revolves around why (and how) the Kurdish participants benefited from enrolment in the program: To what conditions of practice can that be attributed? To summarize, the research problem is to unravel conditions of practice in this setting to understand these children's accounts of their "bi"-lingual educational process, nascent trilingualism and their overall educational experience.

1.4 Theoretical Implications of the Study and its Relationship to Previous Work

1.4.1 Theoretical Implications

Beyond a simple investigation into childhood trilingualism, this study raises important questions about how far psycho educational theory can stretch. As such, this study holds implications for second language acquisition research. The study also tests Cummins' and Ogbu's theory that sociopolitical/sociohistorical factors outweigh psycho educational factors, and that there is more to subordinated group children's school success than language. Research findings in this area will also inform second language acquisition research with regard to the role of social factors in language learning.

1.4.2 Relationship to Previous Work in Related Areas

While much of this study is ground-breaking, it is also related (but dissimilar) to previous work on (a) language, power and identity, (b) bi-/multilingualism in North America and Europe, (c) the Kurds, and (d) issues in the schooling of Kurdish and Turkish children in Europe. The research literature on these and related topics are discussed in Chapter 2.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter 2, I combine a literature review with an overview of the context of the study, beginning with literature relating to identity issues. The literature reviewed is presented thematically. It narrows in scope until it focusses in on the lesser known topic of Kurdish children schooled in Denmark. Background information is provided on related, but lesser known, empirical work. Special emphasis is placed on the genesis of the innovative Danish bilingual/bicultural program in which the Kurdish children were enrolled, and on related documents such as program evaluations.

In Chapter 3 on methodology, discussion centres on what an ethnographic study entails and how the present ethnography was conducted (e.g., the research design and techniques used). The relationship between the theoretical propositions and research design is also discussed. Data collection techniques for this long-term, ethnographic case study included participant observation, interviews and document analysis. Finally, the issue of how the research design allowed insights to be gained into conditions of practice and "participants' reactions to the process of bilingual education" (Candlin, 1986, p. xi) is discussed, as are data analysis procedures and validity.

In Chapter 4, I present my findings and interpret my results. I present findings in the areas of educator role definitions, educational structures, the original misclassification error, and the human face of structural error. I then present tables which summarize the results and serve as springboards for the discussion that follows. Topics of discussion include the relationship between the research findings on identity development and Cummins' (2000) empowerment framework, contradictions between the educators' beliefs and behaviours, constraints on their potential for agency, and the answer to the riddle: How did the Kurdish children manage to fare well in a program not designed with them in mind, and which ignored and veiled their ethnolinguistic identity? The answer to the riddle becomes apparent when programmatic advantages and disadvantages are compared. Finally, I revisit methodological issues raised in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 5, I present my conclusions after reviewing the results found in answer to the broad research questions presented in Chapter 1. I also discuss the limitations of the study,

and present programmatic and other recommendations, based on my findings and conclusions. Next, I comment on how the study informs theory and on future research directions. Finally, I conclude with a warning based on Ogbu's work on secondary cultural differences.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review and Context

As will be further discussed in Chapter 3, one of the principles of ethnographic research is that it is holistic in nature; that is, parts are described in relation to the whole (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). To gain a holistic view and meet the methodological requirements of my study, I related micro-parts to the macro-whole in which they took place. There were also theoretical requirements for adopting a holistic approach. As noted in Chapter 1, the theoretical framework underpinning the study places great emphasis on the interaction between the micro- and macro-contexts in which schooling occurs. For example, how educators view and deal with minority students in micro- (student/teacher) interactions may confirm or challenge prevailing attitudes to minority groups in wider society (the macro-context) (Cummins, 1996). Given the essential role played by contextual variables, it is necessary to present background details. This is done in this chapter.

A secondary purpose to providing contextual details is to help the reader make sense of findings reported in Chapter 4 which require prerequisite information on lesser known, yet specific, topics such as: who the Kurds are; what the significance of their coming from Turkey to Denmark is for their children's educational experience; how these children are perceived by the Danes; what the national education scene is like in Denmark, etc. Ample references are provided for readers interested in more detail on topics briefly presented in this chapter.

Contextual details which are beyond the scope of the school itself, *Trilleskolen*, are provided first (i.e., the macro-context), with school specific details following next (the micro-context).

2.1 Select References on Identity Issues

2.1.1 Orientalism

Since the children discussed in this study have a Middle Eastern heritage, since they are Kurds and, since as has already been noted, identity issues are sure to arise when dealing with Kurds, a Middle Eastern people associated with powerlessness, Said's (1978) work on "Orientalism" it of relevance to this study. Said (1978) defines "Orientalism" as a style of

thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident" (p. 2). This distinction harks back to Cummins' (1996) Us/Them dichotomy and the distinction which Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) makes between A- and B-Team members. In a study of Kurdish children schooled in Denmark, Orient/Occident or East/West distinctions situate them as an "other" from an eastern culture presently residing in the West. This classification is not neutral as East/West distinctions invariably place the Easterner in an inferior light to the Westerner. Indeed, Said views Orientalism as a discourse with its own internal consistency (i.e., a tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary; p. 5). However, the imagery associated with the "other" does not tend to be positive.

Said (1978) mentions one negative stereotype which concerns Kurds from Turkey: that of the "lustful" Turk (p. 8).[1] The issue of negative stereotypes about 'the Turks' is of great relevance to the present study. How this effects the Kurdish children is discussed at length in subsequent sections of this chapter, particularly with regard to the phenomenon described next.

2.1.2 Ascribed Identity

The Kurds in my study were classified as "Turks" for reasons explained later in this chapter. That is, they had an ascribed identity. Ibrahim (1999) defines an ascribed identity as a discursive space in which a group or population is already imagined, constructed and treated as members of the imagined group by dominant group members (p. 349). Ibrahim (1999) refers specifically to how Black youths of African origin are classified in a particular segment of North American society; however, the phenomenon of misclassification which he describes also pertains to the Kurdish youths in my study.[2].

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Said (1978) also notes that distinctions are sometimes made between the origins of different "Oriental" groups, with good/bad distinctions made on the basis of language and race. Unfortunately for the Kurds in my study, they fall into the 'bad' category of those who make such distinctions since they are living in the present, rather than in Classic times, and they are Muslims (p. 99).

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Ibrahim (1999) gives an example of how misclassification errors may occur: "Oh, they all look like [XX] to me." (p. 353) According to Ibrahim, that statement exemplifies the way White (racist) dominant group members position the "other" in everyday life. Though Ibrahim refers to 'Blacks' in his discussion of ascribed identity, one could just as easily substitute the term 'Turks' (or '*perker*,' see

Ibrahim (1999) raises yet another identity issue: Since the youths in his study were subject to the phenomenon of ascribed identity and were positioned as 'Blacks,' he questions where they saw themselves in the image society reflected on them, whom they would wish to become, and what identity they would eventually choose. The same questions arise in my study, as becomes apparent in Chapter 4.

Finally, groups who are subject to labelling and given an ascribed identity, who are faced with racism and representations and must decide where they fit in, eventually have to make identity choices. Ibrahim views these choices in terms of agency or an individual's "room to maneuver [his or her] own desires and choices" (p. 353). Questions such as which ethnolinguistic identity will or do Kurdish youths choose and to what extent is the choice theirs to make are of great relevance to my study and are revisited in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.2 Macro-context and Related Literature: Turkey and Denmark

2.2.1 Minority Issues in Turkey: No Minorities?!

2.2.1.1 Kemalism.

In a submission to *TESOL Matters*, a Turkish linguist claims that "there are no sociological grounds to suggest that they [the Kurds] are a minority [in Turkey]" (Yağmur, 1997, p. 18). In actual fact, Kurdologists conservatively estimate that Kurds residing in Turkey account for 19-24% of the total population of that country (McDowall, 1991; McDowall, 1992; Nezan, 1996; Yassin, 1995).[3] Other than being an egregious error on the linguist's part to make such an assertion, this claim is also representative of a specifically Turkish brand of ideology: Kemalism. While Kemalism is generally equated with such reforms in Turkey as the importation of the Gregorian calendar, European dress and the Swiss Civil Code, it also entailed the following ideological components: It became state ideology that Turks belonged to the Aryan race which was viewed as superior, and that Kurds belonged to an inferior race; Turks were viewed as "the most valiant and noble race on earth" and Kurds

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Chapter 4) and witness the same sort of phenomenon and hear the same sort of statement.

[3] In Taylor & Skutnabb-Kangas (1996/97), errors in Yağmur's text are discussed at length.

as "savage and backward" (Kendal, 1993, pp. 59-60); hence, the status of the Kurds was the same under Kemalism as under Ottoman rule. [4]

This is a textbook case of what Cummins (1996) terms coercive relations of power as Kemalist discourse "involves a definitional process that legitimates the inferior or deviant status accorded to the subordinated group . . . the dominant group defines the subordinated group as inferior . . . thereby automatically defining itself as superior. . . ." (p. 14). That is, interactions between Turks and Kurds confine the space in which Kurds can develop when the Turks involved subscribe to a Kemalist way of thinking.

Hassanpour (personal communication, September 26, 1996) comments that "Yağmur's comments constitute a piece of datum, a "fact," or evidence. For those familiar with the discourse and argumentation of Kemalists there is nothing new in it, and it hardly deserves counter-arguments. It is in this sense that it should be used as yet another piece of data on the mindset, ideology and politics of Kemalism. It is familiar language for all of those--the Kurds themselves, human rights groups, academics, journalists, lawyers, etc.--who have documented, analysed, exposed, and denounced Turkey's policy and practice of genocide, linguicide and ethnocide during the last seven decades. Yağmur reiterates what the Turkish government officials and media have always said: The Kurds (if they tolerate to mention the name) are Turks. They are not a distinct or separate nation; they are not even a minority; they are Turks and enjoy all the glory of being a citizen of the Turkish state."

Based on the above, it is clear that, in any study of the Kurdish people, enormous issues of past and present social injustice will arise, as will identity issues which entail linguistic and cultural loss, misrepresentation, misclassification, and ethnolinguistic vitality.[5] The roots of these issues can be traced to Kemalist ideology which has formed the basis of state policy, history (or collective memory), and education in Turkey since the 1920s.

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[4] That is, for the Kurds, life under Kemalism was much the same as under the Ottoman era as there still were no agrarian reforms, no schools, heavy state taxes, and the landlords and moneylenders still practised extortion (Kendal, 1993, p. 61).

[5] Whereas others misclassify and misrepresent the Kurds, Olson (1996, p. 85) notes that they, as a people, "have possessed a sense of self, community and shared space since medieval times at least."

2.2.1.2 The Kurdish "problem" in Turkey.

According to Olson (1996), the Kurdish problem in Turkey refers to how to deal with Kurdish nationalism. A people without a state, there have been Kurdish uprisings since the establishment of the Turkish Republic, uprisings which the Turkish state has attempted to eradicate, along with Kurdish nationalism (Nigogosian, 1996, p. 39). Since the 1980s, the Kurdish nationalist movement, spearheaded by the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) has fought, at times, for an independent state and, more recently, for autonomy with linguistic and cultural rights within Turkey. Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak (1995, p. 348) see the Kurdish "problem" on a more basic, human rights level; they see it as the Turkish state's reaction to the Kurdish minority's refusal to assimilate and deny their Kurdish identity in return for recognition as Turkish citizens with equal rights. No matter how the problem is framed, it is clear that the Kurdish nationalist movement would be seen as highly problematic since Kemalist ideology (and chauvinism) denies the very existence of minorities in Turkey, and since this ideology is reflected in legislation which forbids instruction in a language other than Turkish.[6] Reasons for this national conflict follow.

2.2.1.3 A brief history of the Kurds.

The Kurds are amongst the oldest inhabitants of the Middle East and Kurdistan was part of ancient Mesopotamia (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995). Following the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Kurdistan--the homeland of the Kurdish minority in Turkey--was divided between five countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the former Soviet Union (Chaliand, 1993; Mauriès, 1967). It is estimated that, at the present time, there are between twenty-five and thirty million speakers of Kurdish, and that it is the fortieth largest language in the world in terms of speakers (Hassanpour, 2000).

Kurds in Turkey have no linguistic human rights. That is, they do not have "the right to identify with [Kurdish, their mother tongue or] to education and public services through the medium of [Kurdish]" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995, p. 71). They cannot identify

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The Turkish Constitution states that "no language other than Turkish may be taught as a native language to citizens of Turkey in instructional and educational institutions" (Constitution Article 42/9; see Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak, 1995, p. 355).

with Kurdish; they do not receive Kurdish-medium education; they do not receive services in Kurdish; they cannot have a Kurdish first name, and there are laws prohibiting them from developing a sense of Kurdish identity (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995):

> First of all, you are not allowed to claim that your mother tongue is Kurdish. The third section of law No. 2932 tells you what your mother tongue is: 'The mother tongue of Turkish citizens is Turkish.' You are not allowed to speak Kurdish in public places. . . . If you, in spite of all this, speak Kurdish, you can be sentenced to a maximum of 2 years of imprisonment according to section 4 of the same law (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 347).

Hassanpour (2000) confirms that Kurds can now speak Kurdish in private, but not in public places. He notes that to speak Kurdish in parliament, to conduct a Kurdish-medium political campaign, or to use Kurdish in education or broadcasting would be to commit a crime against the 'territorial integrity' of the Turkish state (p. 34). Hassanpour (2000) also observes that Kurdish is technically available in written form (i.e., in book and print journalism), but that it is still illegal to write Kurdish (p. 35). Still, the Kurdish language has a rich legacy. It has been spoken for at least 3000 years and the oldest Kurdish literary text predates the Islamisation of Kurdistan (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995).

For decades, Turkey has included forced deportations in its effort to break down the Kurds' sense of identity, empty the border areas, and continue the Turkification process which included linguicide (i.e., "prohibiting the use of [Kurdish] in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in [Kurdish]" [Capotorti, 1979, p. 37, as cited in Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 360]). Kurdish children were also sent to boarding school in attempts to isolate them from their families for the greater part of a year and make them forget their Kurdish (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 336; Taylor, 2000). The practice of 'socially engineering' and displacing Kurds continues on into this century as in the past. In 1993, for example, 392 Kurdish villages were destroyed (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 368). While Kurds forcibly moved into the interior of Turkey do not experience total language death, their Kurdish is altered:

> The Kurdish language community is divided and dispersed. Kurds are subjected to colonial rule in four states, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds have been deported or more or less forced to move from Kurdistan to other

> parts of the occupying states or to other countries. Thus it has been and is difficult for the Kurds to develop their language in a way which is normal in closely-knit non-dispersed language communities (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 351).

Widespread lexical borrowing is a side-effect of the Kurds having been displaced during Turkification/linguicide campaigns and, as a result "Kurdish vocabulary has . . . evolved in different directions in different parts of Kurdistan" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 352). A second side-effect is neither natural nor related to the first; Kurds denied linguistic human rights (i.e., Kurdish-medium instruction) become illiterate in their mother tongue.

2.2.2 Minority Issues in Denmark

2.2.2.1 Fear of the loss of "Danish identity" [danskhed].

At first, the preoccupation with maintaining national identity and limiting numbers of refugees and immigrants to a tolerable number which was growing among the Danish population was thought to be a reflection of national discomfort with the Maastrict debate or the domain of Neo-Nazis; however, Sampson (1995) documents how minority issues have unsettled and permeated Danish consciousness in the past decade, and how mainstream political parties have picked up on anti-foreigner sentiment to capture the popular vote. He discusses the irony of the trend as follows:

> In a country with a workers party in power, where there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed, the Social Democratic congress' focus on the foreign workers and the few hundred family reunifications demonstrated that foreigners, integration of foreigners and Danish culture are now primary concerns in Danish public life. The threat to Danishness has become--to use a very overused term--an object of discourse (pp. 59-60).

And what is this concept of "Danishness"? What does it entail?

"Danishness," or what Kofoed (1994) terms the "national idea",[7] may be understood as a group's belief--in this case, the Danes' belief--that there is a national consensus on who they are as a group and what characteristics they share (Kofoed, 1995, p. 15); it is belief in a unitary population, religion, language, culture and ethnicity; it is a belief in monoculturalism versus plurality. "Danishness" is also understood in opposition to what it is not, as is

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According to Kofoed (1994), the term "*nationale idé* "[national idea] represents an amalgam of theoretical fields ranging from nationalism, to national identity, to the nation state (p. 15).

embodied by immigrants (e.g., "Turks") who are not viewed as true members of the imaginary country.[8]

To put the robustness of a Danish national idea to the test, Kofoed (1994) conducted a major school-based study in which she asked minority children how they felt about not being part of the national idea, and in which she attempted to discover if the children, by their presence, altered the national idea. As part of the study, Kofoed analysed old (1975) and new (1993) Danish school laws to see how Danishness and plurality were represented in schooling in Denmark. In her document analysis, she found that plurality was marginalised at best; that qualities such as "democracy," and instilling "Danish cultural heritage" in children, often arose in describing the mission of public schooling in Denmark, and that there was a blurring of whether "being Danish" meant being of Danish descent for several generations (which excluded ethnic minority children) or residing on Danish territory (e.g., which included ethnic minority children born in Denmark).

Results indicated that the ethnic minority children did not feel included in the Danish national idea. In a telling interview, when a boy of Pakistani descent was asked whether he was Pakistani or Danish, he answered: "It's hard to know" (p. 149). Kofoed's explanation of his answer was that he was technically in Denmark and away from Pakistan, but was neither completely "in" Denmark nor "away" from Pakistan: He was excluded from feeling part of

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[8] It is worth noting that not all Danes subscribe to the myth of a monocultural Denmark. Indeed, poet Benny Andersen satirizes the whole notion in the poem "Closet Swede," portions of which are presented below:

"Closet Swedes"

Is there anything as Danish as a potato?
The potato stems from South America.
. . . Is there anyone more Danish than the Danes?
. . . a few thousand of these original Danes succeeded
in reaching Sweden where they settled
under the dubious name Swedes.
Here is the question once again
and think carefully before you answer:
Is there anyone more Danish than the Danes?
. . . The correct answer is: Yes! The Swedes!

Benny Andersen (1995, pp. 47-49)

Danish society, was not seen as an individual, but was ascribed an identity based on what Danes construed as "Pakistaniness," and was therefore made to feel Pakistani, even if he had never been to that country (p. 50). In short, he was used by Danish society, along with other "foreigners," as a measuring stick of what was and was not Danish to consolidate and propagate the myth of "Danishness" and the national idea. On the flip side, "foreigners," Kofoed notes, often develop a reactionary feeling of group solidarity when faced with the discrimination which majority group members mete out for not measuring up to socially constructed Danishness (p. 52). This tendency is noted and discussed in Chapter 4.

In yet another interview, even the Head of the Union of Teachers of Multilingual Children noted that the ideological underpinning of "Danishness" influenced her Danish identity and that she transmitted as "natural" certain ideologically based ideas to her students. She noted that it was hard to avoid transmitting Danish national ideology as "it's really something that enters into [the picture] in so many ways. . . . Yes, of course I operate on the basis of my Danish"[9] (see Appendix A, Translation #1 [Tr-1]) (Kofoed, 1994, p. 103). In this sense, the issue of "Danishness" is important when investigating educator role definitions as it has the potential to shape educators' mindsets and so influence their micro-interactions with children.

Kofoed (1994, p. 49) also notes that speaking Danish is viewed as an important aspect of "Danishness" and the national idea, and that it is an issue which arises constantly when dealing with the educational experience of children in a bilingual program. When interviewed by Kofoed, teachers and administrators stressed that minority children in Denmark had to speak Danish "because it was Denmark;"[10] doing so was viewed as completely natural, and not doing so was viewed as unnatural. Again, the inclusive/exclusive aspect of this view becomes evident and is discussed in Chapter 4.

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9 For future reference all original Danish versions of interviews and documents will be found in Appendix A.

10 The teacher interviewed discussed the importance of minority children speaking Danish in class in the following way: ". . . we speak Danish because it's a Danish school and we speak Danish with each other. Speaking anything other than Danish isn't allowed in school . . . ." (Kofoed, 1994, p. 102) (Tr-2)

Vikør (2000) views the presence of non-European and south-eastern immigrant communities in Denmark, even though "the immigrants do not exceed 5 per cent of the population," as one of three current perceived challenges to Danes' linguistic and national identities.[11]

2.2.2.2 Faces and numbers.

Given the fear which "they" elicit in the Danish population, it is safe to ask who the foreigners are and how many there are of them. In fact, by North American standards, there are not many immigrants in Denmark. In January 1995, only 3.8% of the Danish population were foreign citizens with permanent resident permits (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a). In 1995, the majority of Denmark's 195,000 foreign citizens were from Turkey: 35,000 or 30% of all foreign citizens from third world countries (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, pp. 9-10). These figures were borne out in 1998 when Just Jeppesen reported that the majority of non-Danish, one-year old children were born to families with Turkish citizenship residing in Denmark. The other largest immigrant nationalities were citizens of ex-Yugoslavia and Pakistan, and the three major refugee nationalities were from Somalia, Sri Lanka and Iraq (Just Jeppesen, 1998, p. 155).

In 1992, 5.2% of all school-aged children in Denmark were ethnic minority children, a figure that had tripled in the previous decade (from 1982-1992). The figure had risen to 6% in 1995, at which time it was forecast that 9% of all school-aged children in Denmark would be ethnic minority children by the year 2000 (Bøgeskov, 1995). The 1992 figure was still less than the European average. In 1995, Cummins reported that up to 10% of all school-aged children came "from families that have a language and/or cultural background different from that of the majority of the country in which they live" (p. 1) in the rest of Western Europe. It

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The other perceived challenges include: (a) the ideology of Nordism, and (b) the encroachment of English on many domains of life in the Nordic societies. With regard to the former, the purpose of Nordic ideology is to create and maintain political and cultural links and cooperation between all Nordic countries. With regard to the latter, English is perceived as exerting pressure on Nordic languages due to its appeal as a modern, international language. Anglo-American culture is also viewed as intrusive. There is growing fear that Nordic languages may be replaced, given EU developments in recent years. The debate which unfolded over the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and 1993 may be viewed as a manifestation of this fear. (For further discussion, see Vikør, 1990, pp. 110 & 127-29).

is, however, also true that minority numbers are concentrated in certain areas in Denmark (Just Jeppesen, 1994; Moldenhawer, 1995). At *Gasværksvejens* school in inner Copenhagen, for example, 81% of the school-aged population were ethnic minority children in 1992 (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 18). At the time of my study in 1993-94, there were only 8-20 Danish children left in the school.

The children in Just Jeppesen's (1998) study came from the following parts of Denmark: more than half of the ethnic minority children lived in or around Copenhagen (58%); about a quarter of them lived on Jutland (23%) in places like Ålborg and Århus; 12% lived on Zealand, in larger provincial towns like Roskilde and Helsingør (not in the Greater Copenhagen Area), and on the sparsely inhabited islands of Bornholm and Lolland-Falster; finally, 7% lived on Funen in towns such as Odense. Just Jeppesen (1998) notes that since a private organization (Danish Refugee Aid) decides on where refugees live, they are more evenly spread over the 275 municipalities into which Denmark is divided (p. 160).

Holmen and Jørgensen (1993-b) report that language-minority children account for 11 to 25% of the school-aged population in nine municipalities in metropolitan Copenhagen. Bøgeskov (1995) reports the following range in numbers of language-minority children in two municipalities in the greater Copenhagen region: In Ishøj, they account for 30.0% of all school-aged children; in Gentofte, they only account for 2.5% of the school-aged population. Just Jeppesen (1994) agrees that language-minority children outnumber ethnic Danish children in some parts of DK, but like Andersen and Schütt (1993), she attributes this situation to economic and socio-cultural factors.[12]

Table I which follows puts faces to numbers. The reason for the line separating Western versus Third World as different categories of immigrants in this table is discussed in section 2.2.2.3. While the numbers indicate that loss of Danishness is not likely on the basis of numbers of immigrants, the fear exists and the perception that immigrants are a threat remains. Many Danes have succumbed to the image of growing numbers of "Turks" encroaching on

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Ishøj is a relatively poor municipality, and Gentofte a wealthy one. How economic factors are reflected in where immigrants settle is discussed in section 2.2.4.3.

Table 1

Immigrant Children in the Danish Public School System (Figures as of January 1991)[13]

Donor	Number
Scandinavia	780
EU	876
North America	113
Total	1,769
Turkey	7,148
Pakistan	2,915
ex-Yugoslavia	1,911
Lebanon	1,686
Iran	1,311
Vietnam	1,241
Sri Lanka	966
Morocco	878
Total	18,056

Danish culture and feel threatened "from within" (Sampson, 1995; Schierup, 1991). To illustrate this point, in a recent letter to the editor of Denmark's most prestigious newspaper (*Information*), a concerned citizen wrote that Danes should take control of their own country and "immigrants--foreign workers, refugees, asylum seekers, people who came because of family reunification, those who married a Dane or were adopted etc.--and their descendants, with and without Danish citizenship, have to get out of Denmark" (Rohrberg, 1996). (Tr-3) Clearly, the numbers indicated in Table 1 do not warrant the perception expressed by this

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Adapted from *Tosprogede børn i Danmark [Bilingual children in Denmark]* by A. Holmen & J. N. Jørgensen (1993-b), p. 94.

concerned citizen.[14] Still, common belief holds that there are too many of "them," and is pervasive. How it is expressed in educational structures is described in Chapter 5.

2.2.2.3 The integration debate.

Kofoed (1994) explains how some categories of immigrants are viewed as immigrants and others are not:

> Citizens of other EU countries are not viewed as immigrants whereas people from Eastern Europe and Third World countries are considered immigrants according to national terminology. Like Poles, who came to Denmark in the beginning of this century and whose offspring are no longer considered immigrants. There are other groups which the national idea separates now. (My translation from the original Danish, pp. 57-58) (Tr-4)

This not only reflects the national belief in which groups can(not) become Danish, but it also reflects government policy as written in the Ministry of the Interior's (1990) *Integration report*.

The *Integration report* defines immigrants as "foreigners who do not come from the Nordic countries, EU countries and North America and who do not have political asylum here in the country, i.e., are not refugees" (Ministry of the Interior, 1990, II, p. 7) (Tr-5). Therefore, immigrants are categorized by country of origin in Table 1, with one category

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[14] As Cowell (1998) notes, the overall number of foreign nationals residing in Denmark is lower than the European average: As of 1998, they only represented 3.7% of the overall population of Denmark: 5.2 million. (See section 4.2.1 for further discussion of Cowell's findings).

More recent figures, issued by *Danmarks Statistikbank* (2001-b), the Danish equivalent of Stats Canada, show the following figures and growth rates for the total number of Turks residing in Denmark:

1980	14,086	1985	18,806	1990	27,929
1995	34,967			2000	36,569

This indicates that the numbers climbed more during the period 1985-1990 than the other periods shown, but before and after that period, there was only a minor increase in the overall number of Turkish nationals residing in Denmark.

The figures issued by *Danmarks Statistikbank* (2001-a) for Turkish nationals aged 0-4 is as follows:

1980	2,205	1985	2,733	1990	4,372
1995	5,000			2000	3,926

As for children aged 0-4, numbers again climbed most between the 1985-1990 period, but they fell substantially between in the 1995-2000 period. This is not indicative of a staggeringly high birth rate and, therefore, is no cause for "alarm" even for alarmists such as the one reported by Rohrberg (1996).

deemed immigrants and one category deemed not real immigrants.

The report goes on to state that immigrants should be able to participate in Danish society on par with Danes "on equal footing with Danes" [*på lige fod med danskere*]) (Ministry of the Interior, 1990, p. 8). This term becomes something of a *leit motiv* as it is used synonymously with the rationalization behind distinguishing between immigrant groups: those perceived as being similar enough (culturally and linguistically) to Danes, or too different from Danes to successfully integrate into Danish society. The report implicitly states that immigrants from Scandinavia, EU countries, and North America are similar enough to Danes to successfully integrate (and become Danes), so they need not be referred to as immigrants. Clearly, "immigrant" is a loaded term in the Danish context.

Offenberg and Widding (1993) analyse the *Integration report* from the perspective of its implications for the Danish public school system. They comment on the view that integration is helped or hindered by a group's perceived cultural closeness to Danishness, a view they categorize as "culturalism" or "new racism": "When culture is made out, like this, to be the only characteristic of social groups and when, as is the case here, there is, at the same time, talk of making a hierarchy of cultures, the sociological term used is 'new racism.' " (p. 128) (Tr-6)

Schierup (1991) concurs with Offenberg and Widding on the topic of new racism, and notes the growing European trend to reconstruct Orientalist stereotypes[15] and present Muslim communities in Europe as a fifth column. He also notes the growing ideological trend towards culturalising the 'problematic' rather than problematising structural constraints (e.g., those which serve "to reproduce a repressed labour force among the young descendants of foreign immigrants," Schierup, 1991, p. 7).[16]

The orientation outlined and practices recommended in the report which impact on school-aged, ethnic minority children include the following: (a) Rather than starting from what

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[15] See Saïd (1978).

[16] For a more extensive discussion of the *Integration report* from the perspective of culturalism and new racism, see Schierup (1993).

the individual child knows, one of the principles of Danish education (Ministry of Education, 1990[17]), the report starts with ways to supplant what the child has (minority language and culture) with what the child does not know or has not yet mastered (Danish language and culture); (b) It views the main difficulty in whether immigrants integrate or not as not speaking Danish[18] and, as a result, encourages young children to learn Danish as soon as possible (e.g., in daycare settings, in clubs after school, etc.),[19] and discredits the value of mother tongue instruction, instructional time seen as time lost in the effort to learn Danish.[20] As Offenberg and Widding (1993) note: "Knowledge of the Danish language is thus perceived as a means to successful integration" (p. 129) (Tr-8); (c) Similarly, it recommends avoiding high concentrations of ethnic minority children for whom Danish is a second language by adopting quota systems and spreading them out (e.g., over other classrooms, other schools or other school districts). Desegregation is seen as expediting the learning of Danish by sheer contact with large numbers of native speakers; and (d) Finally, so that ethnic minority children are on equal footing with Danish children, language support teachers are only supposed to

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17 The Danish pedagogical tradition "is based on taking an individual's situation as the starting point" (Ministry of Education, 1990, p. 23). (Tr-7)

18 This is a simplistic view of a complex topic which ignores the work of major researchers such as that which is reviewed in Chapter 1, work which presents mitigating factors in minority language children's academic experiences, success in acquiring an L2, etc. The following are ignored in the view that all that is required for immigrants to "integrate" and meet success in Danish society is to 'speak Danish,' as if were so easy: Cummins' (1989, 1996) empowerment framework, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1995) work on linguicism, Wong Fillmore's (1991-a) model of language learning in social context, Leets and Giles' (1993) critique of contact theory, and Ogbu's (1978, 1992) work on variability in academic outcomes for minority students.

19 The view that minority children are lacking (i.e., a deficit view of their culture and language), and that they should start learning Danish by age three is also reflected in the proposal to change the *folkeskole* law which was issued by the Danish government years later, in 1995/96 (see related discussion in section 2.2.4, and Ministry of Education, Denmark, 1995/96).

20 For discussions of the theoretical weakness of this, and similar, (time-off-task) arguments, see Cummins (1989, 1996), and Cummins and Swain (1986); see particularly Cummins' (1981) linguistic interdependence principle (discussed in Chapter 1) which counters time-off-task arguments with the less-is-more hypothesis.

work with them if absolutely necessary after Grade 2 (i.e., if they continue getting "help," it is construed as them having an advantage over Danish children rather than being on equal footing with them). This time limitation in mother tongue instruction is in contradiction to the former EEC recommendation that immigrant children receive mother tongue instruction (European Communities, 1977).

As was noted with regard to Kemalism, the tact taken in the *Integration report* seems also to fall within what Cummins (1996) terms coercive relations as the tone of the report suggests that ethnic minority children are lacking (Danish language and culture) in comparison to their dominant group counterparts; that minority children are inferior (see Cummins, 1996, p. 14). See Offenberg and Widding (1993, p. 131) for further discussion of the implications of the tone and recommendations in the report. How recommendations made in the *Integration report* are reflected in my study is outlined in the next section and discussed in Chapter 4.

2.2.3 Educational Issues in Denmark

Discussed first are teaching philosophy, class size, and pupil age differences (i.e., differences between Denmark and Canada). Discussed next are cohort particularities, curricular details, assessment and educational expectations. Finally, the school day and academic calendar are discussed. As noted above, Danish pedagogical philosophy has historically stressed starting with what the individual child knows. Also noted above, the principle of democracy is very important in Danish education. As a result, one hour per week (called "the class hour" [Klassetimen]) is reserved to discussing and debating classroom issues, and to coming to a consensus over how to resolve issues.

The "*folkeskole*" corresponds to primary and lower secondary education, and the 'gymnasium' corresponds to upper secondary education. Class sizes in both institutions are smaller than their North American counterparts: There were 10.4 pupils per teacher at the *folkeskole* level in 1992-93 (i.e., Gr. 1-9 or 10, ages 7-16 or 17), and 8.2 students per teacher at the upper-secondary school (*gymnasium*) level (Grades 11-13 or ages 17-19).[21] Students are a year older than their North American counterparts at every grade level as they begin Kindergarten at age 6, not 5 (e.g., they are 11 in Gr. 5, not 10 as in Canada). Students do not

[21] For further related information, see Ministry of Education, Denmark (1996-a).

"fail" grades, but are automatically passed from one form to the next "irrespective of yearly attainment" (Ministry of Education, 1996-b, p. 1).

Students begin public school in a particular cohort and stay with that cohort and those teachers all the way up the system (e.g., their Gr. 1 Math teacher also teaches them Math in Gr. 10, and their classroom peers in SK are also their peers upon graduation--they do not get new teachers and classmates every September as is customary in North America). Staying with the same peers is referred to as the comprehensive concept, and staying with the same teacher is referred to as the class teacher system. The rationale behind adopting these systems is peers will have many shared experiences, and teachers will know the students and their home backgrounds very well, can act as counsellor, and home-school contact will be maximized (Ministry of Education, 1996-b).

Curricular topics taught at the *folkeskole* level include: Danish; math; music; physical education; art or textile design, wood/metalwork and home economics; science (biology and physics/chemistry later on); "Christian studies" [kultur], orienteering [geography/history], and foreign languages. As regards foreign language instruction, English is introduced first. It used to be introduced in Grade 5, but a project piloted for the Ministry of Education in 1994/95 ("early English") introduced English in Grade 4, a change which was accepted by 1996.[22] Other foreign languages taught at the *folkeskole* include German, which begins in Gr. 7, and a third foreign language (French or Spanish) in Gr. 8.

In Denmark, there is no formal testing in public school, either in class or system wide, but there are regularly scheduled parent-teacher interviews in which oral reports are made on the children's academic and social progress. Students do have to pass an 'exit exam' [*afgangsprøve*] to earn a high school diploma at the end of their nine compulsory years of

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It is ironic that this change awoke so much parental concern, with debate raging over whether introducing English a year early would negatively influence the development of Danish children's mother tongue competence, when the value of mother tongue instruction for minority language children is commonly scoffed at (see Just Jeppesen, 1995-a for discussion of the latter belief).

public schooling, from between the ages of 7 and 16.[23] The implications of this assessment tool for minority students are discussed in the next section as are their future expectations. As for ethnic Danish students, once they pass the exam and graduate, either at the end of Gr. 9 or 10 (an optional year), the vast majority of them go on to take an 'in-service or occupational training' [*efteruddannelse*] and become skilled labourers (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a; Ottosen, 1992).

At the school in which I conducted my study, the school day went from 8 a.m. to 1:40 p.m. or from 8:45 a.m. to 2:35 p.m. Ethnic minority children generally either had the early morning or later afternoon add-on class for mother tongue instruction or extra Danish instruction. While children in Denmark spend less time at school than their Canadian counterparts on an average school day, they have less time off for summer holidays (i.e., 6 v. 10 weeks), with the new school year recommencing in early August. Beginning the school year in August leads to friction between Turks and Danes, as is discussed in section 2.2.4.3.

2.2.4 Minority Educational Issues in Denmark

2.2.4.1 Assessment of minority students and future expectations.

When speaking of immigrants in Denmark, the term "second generation immigrants" refers to children of migrant labourers who came to Denmark prior to 1973 when there was an immigration halt (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 17),[24] children presently in the school system. The educational and job expectations for second generation immigrant children, particularly ones with Turkish citizenship (i.e., Turks and Kurds), are lower than for their Danish counterparts. Just Jeppesen (1995-a) places partial blame on the exit exam for this discrepancy. She notes that the majority of foreign citizens who are employed are unskilled workers who learn much

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Since the time of my study, the Ministry of Education has implemented the new School Act. Included in the Act are "regular internal assessment[s] throughout the whole span of school life, and [new] written statements" which give more details on the pupils' academic progress. Also, in 1996/97, a mandatory, interdisciplinary assignment became part of the *folkeskole* graduation requirement (Ministry of Education, 1996-b, p. 5).

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Since the 1973 immigration "stop," non-citizens have only been admitted to Denmark if they were refugees or qualified for family reunification (Just Jeppesen, 1993).

less than Danes and foreign citizens from Scandinavia, the EU countries and North America (the A-list). One reason for second generation Turkish immigrants being unskilled (hence, lower paid), is that they do not have sufficient Danish language competency to pass the exit exam and gain the Danish high school graduation certificate. Just Jeppesen (1995-a) notes that this is true of second generation immigrant children born in Denmark and those who came part way through their schooling, though more so for those not born in Denmark. Statistically:

> 1/4 of young [2nd] generation immigrants derive their incomes through unemployment or social security benefits. This applies to only about 1/8 of young Danes of the same age.
> Unemployment rates among the various ethnic minorities differ. Immigrants from Turkey . . . have the highest unemployment rates, more than 40 per cent.
> Among young [2nd] generation immigrants, the unemployed rates also differ. The majority of the young [2nd] generation immigrants come from Turkey, and they do not manage as well as [other] young immigrants . . . ; young people from Turkey have less proficiency in Danish, less schooling and are more likely to be unemployed. (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, p. 18)

Given the above statistics, in Ottosen's (1992) words "it will be some time before young immigrants can be said to manage on equal footing with a majority of young Danes" (p. 28) (Tr-9). The issue of "equal footing" is taken up again in the next section.

As it is language difficulties which often impedes second generation immigrants from graduating, going on to employment related training, and earning a better living, some Danes have raised the issue of the fairness of requiring these youths to pass the same Danish language exam as ethnic Danes; however, others have argued that an alternate, Danish as a second language test would be seen as watered down, second-class, and invalid, just as Danish as a second language is viewed by many as 'Danish-as-a-second- class-language' [*dansk-som-andet-rangs-sprog*] (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 53).[25] The issue of Danish as a second language is discussed further in section 2.2.4.3. As with so many issues regarding minorities in

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Holmen and Jørgensen (1993-a) note that languages are also categorized in Denmark. Danish as a second language is stigmatized in comparison to 'real' Danish (=Danish as a mother tongue), and immigrant languages are also categorized (i.e., rank-ordered): Languages spoken by 'non-immigrant' immigrants (from Scandinavia, EU countries and North America) are deemed more valid and worth preserving than those spoken by 'immigrants' (i.e., from Third World countries). This is an example of the process of linguicism described by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995).

Denmark, again the issue of language competency arises in this instance.

2.2.4.2 The equality principle and viewing L1 instruction as extra, not equal.

"The equality principle" [*lighedsideologien*] is best understood as the goal of equal treatment for all. As noted in the *Integration report*, common belief holds that ethnic minority children must be on 'equal footing' with their Danish peers to integrate. This belief also holds that providing mother tongue instruction to ethnic minority children means giving them something extra, something more than their Danish peers receive; hence, mother tongue instruction goes against the equality principle of equal treatment for all.[26]

Research, however, does not support the view that the practice of treating dominant and subordinated group students "the same" provides both groups with equal access to resources and equitable instruction (Biggs & Edwards, 1991; Noar, 1974); rather, adopting this tact is often associated with assimilationist educational policies. In practice, the "equality principle" or, "treating them all the same," often translates into minimal provision of the sorts of culturally responsive measures which minority language children need to gain second language proficiency and integrate into society (Andersen, 1992; Granum, 1990[27]). This view is also reflected in affirmative action initiatives since "formal equality can operate to entrench actual inequality and be discriminatory in effect" (Wilkie, 1990, p. 72).[28]

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It is also understandable how no "special" measures are provided to minority language children when their mother tongue is viewed as problematic, and its maintenance is viewed as even more problematic (Andersen, 1992; Martin-Jones, 1989; Ruiz, 1988).

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A member of the Ministry of Education stresses that adherence to the equality principle very much influences the view, and limits culturally responsive practices, of some educators: She notes that while some teachers conduct home visits and try to adapt curricular materials to meet the needs of ethnic minority children, others refuse on the grounds that these children and their parents should not receive any special treatment (Granum, 1990, p. 90).

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It is interesting to note the extent to which the Danish Ministry of Education (1995/96) goes to insist that their policy of dispersing minority children when Danish authorities deem that the population of these children is too 'concentrated' in a particular school is not discriminatory treatment. They argue that this policy does not fall under the European Convention of Human Rights or the UN Convention on Civil and Political Rights definitions of different treatment on the basis of national or ethnic origin, or language although it may seem to do so because the policy is being implemented in the best interests

Biggs and Edwards (1991) note that the practice of "treating them all the same" may lead dominant group educators to ignore minority discourses and form stereotypical or ill-formed classifications.[29] Furthermore, Biggs and Edwards (1991) suggest that practices which are based on the assumption that equal treatment leads to equitable instruction may "work to the detriment of minority children in the classroom" (p. 161). To explain, these authors suggest that when otherwise sensitive, aware educators operate under the assumption that the "equality principle" is the basis of culturally responsive practice, they may not question (unconscious) stereotypes or ill-informed views of ethnic or linguistic minority children (Biggs and Edwards, 1991, pp. 174-75). The aptness of this suggestion in the case of my study becomes apparent in section 2.2.5. Also, given the statistics regarding future expectations for second generation immigrants versus ethnic Danish children, it is apparent that "treating them all the same" does not have the desired "same" results for both groups of children.

2.2.4.3 Children-as-problem, language-as-problem, and Danish-as-a-second-language.

As noted earlier, fear of the loss of Danishness through growing numbers of "foreigners" (i.e., ones from the Third World even if "they" were born in Denmark) is growing in Denmark, and politicians are taking measures to deal with the "problem." These measures include: tightening up family reunification laws and laws concerning landed immigrants (primarily Turks) who wish to marry someone from their homeland to limit who can get in to Denmark even more than the 1973 immigration stop; a one-time offer to pay older immigrants $4000 to return permanently home to their homeland, and various measures/requirements to increase the learning of Danish.[30] Viewing immigrants as "problems" is one orientation to diversity, a view which holds that the immigrants themselves are problems, as are their children; hence, the preoccupation with growing numbers of these children in the national

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of the children: "in order to give the children a justifiable education" (p. 3). (Tr-10)

[29] See also Andersen (1992), Martin-Jones (1989) and Martin-Jones and Saxena (1995) for discussion of this issue.

[30] There are many articles on these topics in the April 1994 issue of *Etnica* (e.g., see articles by Quraishy, and Glerup).

school system.

Ways in which minority children (particularly, Muslims) are often portrayed as problematic include: (a) gaining parental permission for the children to take swimming lessons or participate in overnight school activities; (b) wearing religious head gear (e.g., scarves); and (c) returning late from summer holidays (i.e., Turkish children often return from summer holiday in Turkey in September, a few weeks after school starts in Denmark in early August) (Engelbrecht, Iversen & Engel, 1990, 1991). Kofoed (1994) notes how different schools target different issues (e.g., Muslim girls participating in swimming lessons) and really attempt to drive the point of the activity's importance home with minority parents. Generally, however, she notes that the view of immigrant children as "problem" crystalizes around the language issue.

Minority languages are viewed as problematic, and child bilingualism as more problematic still. Kofoed explains the connection between 'language' and 'problem' in terms of saliency and power. She views language as both 'a difference which makes a difference' (i.e., one which affects an individual's ability to navigate social circumstances, and is a marker which separates in- and out-group members), and a symbol of power (linguistic capital) which ebbs and flows depending on which cultural field the language is used in (see related discussion in Chapter 1).[31] Ruiz (1988) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) distinguish between various orientations to language, including language-as-problem.

The three orientations include language-as-problem, language-as-resource, and language-as-right. The first is based on the assumption that a mother tongue (an L1) which differs from the dominant societal language is a problem or handicap to be overcome. The second orientation posits that a common underlying proficiency exists between languages known by a bilingual person (see Chapter 1). Adherents of this model of bilingual proficiency endorse L1 maintenance as a cognitive tool which enhances second language learning. Language-as-right, the third orientation, places language rights in the larger context of human and educational rights, and makes the linkage between language-planning, and social and educational planning. At present, the orientation which prevails in Denmark is language-as-

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[31] See again Bourdieu (1977), Bourdieu [& Passeron] (1977), and Corson (1993).

problem. Just Jeppesen (1995-a) notes that vehement debate arises on which model of education is best suited to teach Danish to second generation immigrant children and hasten their integration. One popular strategy which reflects recommendations made in the *Integration report* is that of 'dispersing DSL students' [*spredning*], a strategy discussed in the next section.

Just Jeppesen (1995-a) further notes that the very idea of Danish as a second language (DSL) is novel and that, as a field, it is in its infancy (p. 52): As of 1994, new "curriculum guidelines" [*læseplaner*] were underway for L1 instruction, but were unheard of for DSL (pp. 21 & 52). In 1995, a DSL "teaching guide" [*vejledning*] was produced for the first time but, as of 2000, still no curriculum guidelines had been produced (A. Holmen, personal communication; August 6, 2000). Holmen (personal communication, September 21, 1993) notes that it would be unheard of for a *folkeskole* to not have a physics or German teacher, but in a school with a high minority population, it is not unusual to have no DSL or L1 teacher. She explains that this occurs because DSL "does not really exist" except, perhaps, in individual classrooms (Ethnograph; Lines 478-489).

Jørgensen (personal communication, September 21, 1993) in the same, joint interview conducted in English with Holmen, clarifies the assertion that DSL 'does not exist.'[32] He explains that it does exist for the authorities (i.e., the Ministry of Education and the largest school boards in Denmark), and that they have clear, though tacit, policies in place; however, their premise is that "Danish as a second language is, and can never be anything but, compensatory teaching for children of people who do not have the proper sense to teacher their kids proper Danish" (Ethnograph; Lines 541-560).[33] Therefore, the trend is for policies to downplay DSL so much that it appears to not even exist. Holmen (personal communication, September 21, 1993) notes that discussion has not reached a level where people talk about DSL and math, as they do in Norway, or of vocabulary development in DSL and geography, history, and biology (Lines 741-750). She also wonders why DSL for children has recently

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[32] All interviewee information is provided in Appendix B.

[33] This seemingly contradictory, 'no policy' policy relates to the policy of non-decision later discussed in section 2.2.5.2 .

been constructed as controversial, while DSL for adults has not, and why the very field of second language teaching is under scrutiny and fire in Denmark, when it is a legitimate field of study elsewhere, such as in North America:

> Danish-as-a-second-language has suddenly become controversial, and it has never been controversial before. Of course we have mentioned several times that it doesn't exist, there is something wrong with this, we should sort of become aware of that, that you can't just say Danish and have kids with Danish as mother tongue and Danish-as-a-second-language next to each other without sort of knowing what to do with that. You know, it must have implications for the teaching. And that we need all these sorts of developments of different kinds. But suddenly the very idea of Danish-as-a-second-language has become controversial.
>
> And they claim that this is something that they have invented at *Lærerhøjskolen* [the Royal Danish School of Education], which I think is extremely funny because of these four, five, six thousand people in North America working the second language acquisition. You know, imagine then, they ask people at *Lærerhøjskolen* what they should call that field? You know that's strange, isn't it? That this is something which has been invented here. But in this very, very provincial discussion about Danish-as-a-second-language, it has been redefined into Danish-as-a-"second-rate"-language. . . . And I think that another thing which is interesting, at least for me, because I am working with both adults and adult education and kids at the same time, is that it is not controversial at all in adult classes. There is no problem there. Of course it's a second language (Ethnograph; Lines 1198-1254).

Holmen's description of how a field such as second language learning can be marginalised to the point of being invisible supports Kofoed's (1994) assertion that language is a symbol of power. One manifestation of power is the power of definitions. In the Danish case, not only is DSL defined as inferior, it is also defined as non-existent.[34] This is a majority group power play.

How is it that the viewpoints described by Holmen have arisen in a country known for its expertise in teaching foreign languages? The answer has partly to do with language tolerance. Professor Robert Phillipson (personal communication, May 28, 1994) explains the discrepancy in terms of unease with Danish spoken as a second language. While it is common for anglophones to hear different varieties of English by speakers of English-as-a-second-

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[34] This parallels Kemalist ideology in Turkey which invisibilizes Kurdish and posits that Kurds are Turks who have forgotten their mother tongue, and that Kurdish is not a language in its own right, but is just a dialect of Farsi (see Hassanpour, 1992 & 2000, for related discussion).

language or -dialect as well as by Texans, Newfoundlanders, New Zealanders, etc., until recently it has been unusual for Danes to hear Danish spoken with an accent. With the exception of Greenlanders, the foreign workers who came to Denmark in the 1960s, and their offspring, there are few speakers of Danish-as-a-second-language. Danish is not the widely spoken language that English is, for example. Also, given who does speak DSL (e.g., Greenlanders and immigrants) and Danes' reaction to those speakers, DSL carries negative connotations to Danes (see Holmen & Jørgensen, 1993-a).[35] This view, which may be described as linguicism, is particularly common among Danes whose orientation to minority languages is language-as-problem.

2.2.4.4 Desegregation: thinning out "the problem."

While the official line is that dispersing DSL students, or desegregation, is the best way for minority children to learn Danish and integrate,[36] there is more to the issue. Certain municipal politicians are afraid of ghettoes springing up:

> If the concentration of foreigners in a district gets too big, I think you have to try to spread them. Because studies on ghettoes in big cities in other countries seem scarey, there's often criminality, many social problems, and "upstanding citizens" don't dare venture into ghettoes because they're afraid of being robbed or mugged. No, I prefer a homogeneous society with no ghettoes. They're more humane and better to live in. (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 43) (Tr-11)

Like-minded politicians would like to control not only how many minority language children are in a school, but how many of their families are in the politicians' municipalities. Yet, the problem of "overpopulation" of minorities in particular areas is not the minorities' "fault."[37]

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The issue of how to increase intercultural tolerance frequently arises in Denmark (see Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 10).

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Just Jeppesen (1995-a) notes that dispersing students is the latest integration method practised in Denmark, the aim of which is "to reduce the high concentration of bilingual pupils in a few schools and to obtain a more equitable distribution between the schools in a municipality" (p. 15).

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It is true that Turks and Kurds prefer to live in close proximity to one another, and that sometimes results in high ethnic minority populations as in the school described above (*Gasværksvej* School), it is also true that these groups must settle wherever they can to a certain extent (Andersen & Schütt, 1993). Discrimination in housing in Denmark has been addressed on Danish television, and is a problem

Just Jeppesen (1993) notes that desegregation methods suggested (and implemented) include: (a) bussing (such as is done in the municipalities of Albertslund, Brøndby, and Århus); (b) grouping students in small ethnic groups at different schools; and (c) placing reception classes in schools with few DSL kids in the hope that the children will stay in those schools once they have left the reception classes, even if they are not the children's neighbourhood schools (p. 42). Holmen and Jørgensen (personal communication, September 21, 1993) recommend developing appropriate language policies and curricular documents or guidelines rather than hiding the problem which they do not view as the children, but as pedagogy which does not meet their needs.

Often, schools with many ethnic minority children lose their ethnic Danish population as their parents choose "white flight." Desegregation is viewed by some as a means of avoiding both (a) the perception that the minority population of a school is high--that it is a 'black school' in a 'ghetto' area, and (b) dominant group parents taking 'flight,' and withdrawing their children from schools with high concentrations of minority children (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, p. 11). These topics arise in my interview with the Principal of *Trilleskolen* in Chapter 5.

2.2.4.5 Policy initiatives and program models in a decentralized system.

Education in Denmark is decentralized. Curriculum content is decided upon at the local level. In the 1990s, even more autonomy was passed down from the Ministry of Education to 'the school steering committee' [*skolebestyrelsen*] "to strengthen the influence of parents and

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frequently tackled by the "Danish Documentation and Advice Center for Racial Discrimination" on an ongoing basis (Ravn-Mortensen, 1993). In practice, "settling wherever they can" translates into minorities sometimes living in run-down areas which are only vacant because they are unacceptable by dominant group standards (Hundt, 1994); hence, Danish children may be under-represented in schools in those neighbourhoods (Finsted, 1994). In the past, housing complexes also recruited minorities into apartments which were bigger than Danish families cared to rent (Andersen & Schütt, 1993). In the 1990s, those same housing complexes began to express concern over the high "foreign" population and "minority problem" in their area.

In the early 1990s, some municipalities also complained about uneven concentrations of minorities from municipality to municipality. (See Jarlner, 1993; Sverrild, 1993 and Valgreen-Voigt, 1993 regarding the Summer '93 housing debate in Hvidovre municipality). The trend was for minorities to have better luck finding accommodation in poorer municipalities than in wealthier ones; a the trend reflected in the divergent statistics cited for the municipalities of Ishøj and Gentofte discussed in section 2.2.2.2.

pupils in the day-to-day running of their school" (Ministry of Education, 1996-b, p. 2). These committees are made up of the principal, five to seven parents of students attending the school in question, two teachers and two pupils from the school. Just Jeppesen (1995-a) notes that minority parents can be on the committee and that was the case of one parent member in my study.

Though decentralized, trends do exist with regard to policy initiatives and program models. These initiatives are decided upon in a bottom-up manner at the local school level. Reasons for this, along with the decentralized system, are the Danish traditions of democracy and "methodological freedom" [*metodfrihed*]. Jørgensen (personal communication, September 21, 1993) described the latter as extending beyond educators' freedom to select the methodology they wish to incorporate in their teaching: "It's not only methodology. It's also a freedom of choice of materials. Freedom of choice of subject areas, under the headline of the national curriculum which is stated in very broad terms" (Ethnograph; Lines 864-869). He also states that "*metodfrihed*" overrules any school policy (Ethnograph; Lines 852-53); therefore, policy-making in Denmark is marked not only by the decentralized nature of the school system, but also by the issue of "*metodfrihed*."

Kofoed (1994) describes how the Ministry of Education was careful to call the 1984 curricular document produced by a committee struck by the Ministry and in accordance with the Public School Law of 1975 on the teaching Danish a "guide" [*vejledning*], not a "mandated curriculum" [*læseplan*]: "Emphasis is placed on the fact that it is only a *guide*, and that in this sense it is not limiting with regard to teachers' methodological freedom (p. 94)[38] (Tr-12). The trend in the 1980s was to have bilingual/bicultural experiments, but as the national mood shifted and apprehension about immigrants grew, the trend in the 1990s was to split up those groups as part of the broader practice of 'dispersing minority students' [*spredning*]. Ironically,

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Holmen (personal communication; August 6, 2000) notes that there are three levels to curricular guides, each with a different status: a statement of purpose (*formål*) which bares obligations for municipalities and teachers to follow; an attachment (*fastlæggelse*) which outlines areas of knowledge and competence which must be included in course content and, finally, a guide (*vejledning*) which provides practical tips on methodology, but which is only advice, not obligatory. The guide in question was of the latter sort.

the argument underlying both approaches was to facilitate integration.

Jørgensen (1991, 1992) notes there are pros and cons to a decentralized educational system, especially where minority education is concerned. On the one hand, he views the politically motivated requirement to disperse children as setting research into bilingual education in Denmark back ten to fifteen years but, on the other hand, low profile programs can still exist in a decentralized system. This leads to other educators hearing the positive results of bilingual/bicultural programs, even in the 1990s, as long as politicians do not find out about the programs.[39]

Given the value placed on democracy in Denmark, policy-making must be consensual and, as consensus is not easily reached on hotly debated issues such as minority education, there are few related school policies. For example, there were neither top-down nor bottom-up, anti-racist policies in the school in which my study was based. That this was the case was viewed as natural by every interviewee whom I questioned on the topic--from Ministry representatives, to minority language researchers involved in teacher education, to minority representatives in government, to the school administrator, and to key educators at the school. This is a key issue in the study, and it is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

As noted then, policy initiatives are very broad and include "*spredning*." Most often, educational initiatives are labelled "experiments." They are short term projects which come up for evaluation after a given period of time. The trend in the 1980s was to have bilingual/bicultural experiments. These took place in three municipalities. One of the three is described at length in section 2.3.2. In the 1990s, focus and Ministry monies were placed on providing extra resources for teaching Danish to young children (at the preschool and early primary level).[40] More information can be gained on these "experiments" in evaluations and reviews done by Breuning (1989), Bugge and Jørgensen (1995), Engelbrecht, Iversen & Engel

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Jørgensen expresses these opinions in an interview printed in Engelbrecht, Iversen and Engel (1991, 1992).

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The focus on teaching Danish to minority children as young as possible, even three, is evident in the *Integration report* of 1990, and in the New *Folkeskole* law of 1994.

(1990/91 & 1991/92), Engelbrecht, Jensen and Engel (1989/90), Helkiær (1987), Moldenhawer and Clausen (1993), Sahl and Skjelmose (1983), and *Århus skolevæsen* [the Århus Board of Education] (1993). Those of relevance to my study are discussed in section 2.3.2.

As may be expected, the issue of which program model is best suited for schooling minority language children is highly contentious and how a municipality organizes schooling minority language children depends on numbers, willingness to earmark funds for those children, and general attitudes towards them, but the following are among the most prevalent integration models and "methods": (a) socially engineering the number of minority language children per cohort including, if the number of children outnumbers the quota for minority language speakers in a given cohort, spreading them out (to another classroom, or school, or school district)--options include placing one minority child per cohort of Danish children, making cohorts with even number of Danish and minority children, and following a "quota-system" in placing minority children in cohorts (e.g., 1/4 or 1/3 of a group may be minority language children);[41] (b) creating multilingual reception classes for the first year a minority child is in the Danish school system (e.g., mixing Turkish, Kurdish, Pakistani and Somali children), or creating linguistically homogeneous absorption groups (e.g., separating children by language and creating a Kurdish-speaking cohort, a separate Turkish-speaking cohort, etc.); (c) assigning language support teachers to a cohort for several hours a week, or giving them mother tongue teaching assignments inside or outside school; and (d) providing instruction in 'Danish-as-a-second-language' [*ekstra dansk*] (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, p. 15). A major trend in the 1990s was to disperse students in small ethnic groups (called quotas), commonly referred to as "*spredning*" (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, p. 15).

This was done in *Trilleskolen*, prior to the implementation of the bilingual/bicultural experiment. Helkiær (1987) outlines the models which preceded the bilingual program as

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Again, it should be noted that this is a simplistic solution to the complicated process of learning a second language as merely placing children in the same setting does not assure that dominant language children will interact with minority language children enough for the latter to acquire their second language, as is noted in Wong Fillmore's (1991-a) model of language learning in social context. That is, there is nothing to say that "quality" social contact will occur (see Leets and Giles, 1993).

follows: Minority language children were grouped in reception classes according to age groups and nationality (i.e., Kurds and Turks were lumped together, but separate from Pakistani children). After they were mainstreamed or 'integrated' (in both senses of the term: mainstreaming, but mainly social integration), they received some 'language support hours' [*støttetimer*] in a 'language clinic' from a Danish teacher. When they were 'integrated' into 'regular' Danish classroom,[42] it was done on the basis of 'the 2 rule' [*2-regelen*]; that is, a quota-system was implemented whereby there could be a maximum of two minority language children per classroom (pp. 1-2). Helkiær (1987) notes that 'dispersing' minority language children who would have broken 'the 2 rule' [i.e., the practice of "*spredning*"] to other classrooms or schools was considered "the best way to achieve integration" (p. 2) (Tr-13).

Later, reception Kindergarten classes were added, and children were again placed according to nationality. Around that time (i.e., the late 1970s/early 1980s), Turkish and Pakistani language support teachers were also employed. Also, the Kindergarten teachers believed that the minority language children were not as ready for schooling as Danish children were, and recommended that the former be placed in Reception Gr. 1 classes at the end of Reception Kindergarten class, so that they had longer to catch up to Danish children's school readiness. Integration took place mid-way through Gr. 1 or Gr. 2 at the latest, and in following with the 2-rule (Helkiær, 1987, pp. 2-3).

Helkiær (1987) adds that, once out of their ethnic grouping and in the mainstreamed situation, the minority language children felt alone and inadequate. Integration occurred on the physical level (i.e., Danish and minority children were grouped together), but not on the socio-psychological level. Furthermore, the academic support which minority language children received from Danish teachers in the language clinic was inadequate, and the children were not achieving academic success. The language clinic was seen as a bandaid solution, and the feeling

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Skutnabb-Kangas has often criticized the use of the word "regular" before the word English (in the North American context), or Danish (in the Danish context) as the connotation is that instruction in the language of the country is normal (hence, "regular") and instruction in a minority child's L1 is "special." She argues that L1 instruction for a minority language child is no more special than English instruction for an Anglophone child, or Danish instruction for a Danish L1 child, etc. (T. Skutnabb-Kangas, personal communication, many dates in 1993 & 1994). See also Skutnabb-Kangas (1984).

was that a new program model was in order (pp. 3-4). It was at that time that the *Du er ingen* report surfaced, a report which is discussed extensively in section 2.3.1.1.

2.2.5 Kurds in Denmark: 'Minorities in a minority'

2.2.5.1 Veiling Kurdish identity (language and culture).

In section 2.2.4.2, Biggs and Edwards (1991) argue that dominant group educators' practice of treating all minority and majority children "the same" can lead these educators to form stereotypical or ill-formed classifications of minority children. In the study which they discuss, they found that many educators made simplistic, "white/non-white" classifications (e.g., the educators referred to all Sikh and Hindu children as "Pakistanis"). Children from culturally diverse backgrounds are also erroneously seen as "the same" in Denmark, and their cultural and linguistic backgrounds get overlooked or misclassified. Specifically, this occurs with Kurdish children.

Just Jeppesen (1995-a) notes that, traditionally, municipalities were obliged to provide mother tongue or national language instruction to minority language children in Grades 1-9 if: (a) their parents so wished; (b) at least 12 children in the same municipality had the same mother tongue or national language; and (c) a qualified teacher was available. The wording of this requirement changed in the new *folkeskole* law of 1994, however, with the word 'can' [*kan*] replacing the words 'must' [*skal*] and 'had ought to' [*burde*] in describing how school boards can or must provide mother tongue instruction (Danish Parliament, 1995, 1996, p. 1).[43] Further blurring of the issue occurs in whether instruction is indeed in the child's L1 or the language of their country of citizenship.

In the case of the Kurds, the "national language" is defined as the official language of the country of origin (i.e., Turkish rather than Kurdish) (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, p. 16). There is no public outcry on this issue for several reasons. First, Danes view all Muslim immigrants with equal antipathy (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, p. 23). Second, "Turkish" immigrants in Denmark

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Wording in the Ministry of Education's earlier proclamation [*'bekendtgørelse'*] of November 20, 1984 stated that municipalities must [*'skal'*] provide L1 instruction, given that the requirements noted in section 2.2.5 were met. The wording changed to can/had ought to [*'kan/burde'*] in the New *Folkeskole* Law which was adopted in June 1993, and went into effect in August 1994 (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 20).

retain their Turkish citizenship. Kurdish children are registered as Turkish nationals in official status lists. As a result, many Danish officials view all children with Turkish passports as "Turks"--just as the British educators in the Biggs and Edwards (1991) study discussed above classified all children from Pakistan as "Pakistanis." Third and last, Table 1 shows that statistics compiled on minority language students discuss their countries of origin, not their ethnolinguistic background. Thus, the issue has not been raised as problematic and it is possible that Danish educators may completely ignore Kurdish children's 'minority in a minority' status.

It is ironic that the identity of Kurds who are, to some extent, Turkey's "hidden" minority should remain veiled in Denmark, but the issue of their identity in Europe is double-edged. On the one hand, many Europeans do not distinguish between Turks and Kurds, since both groups come from Turkey. Therefore, the discrimination meted out to both groups (of "Turks") in areas such as jobs, housing etc., is the same.[44] Kofoed (1994) notes that, on the one hand, shared experiences of discrimination from majority group members can lead to group solidarity which could lead some Kurds to feel more kinship with Turks in Europe than in Turkey (p. 52). On the other hand, Kurds out of Turkey are free to explore their cultural and linguistic heritage to an extent not possible in Turkey. On a related note, Leggewie (1996) notes the following twist to the scenario: Kurds residing in Germany are not accepted by the Germans so Kurds cannot integrate into German society; however, for the first time, they are free to explore their cultural and linguistic heritage (i.e., their "Kurdishness"). Thus, despite the

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[44] Wilkie (1990) notes serious areas of discrimination and the need for affirmative action in Denmark:

> In Denmark, a number of factors combine to effectively blind policy and decision makers to the need for affirmative action programs. First, there is the strongly held belief that formal legal equality is a sufficient guarantee of equality in reality. Second, there is a very real lack of raw data concerning the conditions of ethnic minorities and their experiences in comparison with those of Danes. However, what information exists, for example, concerning relative unemployment rates, strongly indicates that ethnic minorities receive less favourable treatment. Third, there is little detailed research and analysis and no ongoing monitoring of the experiences of ethnic minorities in Danish society. It is not helpful that there is little official recognition of the existence of ethnic minorities. Fourth, there is almost no consultation with ethnic groups at senior policy and decision making levels.
>
> While these factors combine to camouflage the reality of ethnic communities' experiences in Danish society and to mask any need for affirmative action on their behalf, they also operate to entrench inequality and discrimination (p. 76).

thrust to integrate foreigners which exists in Germany, like Denmark, in Germany many "Turks" become Kurds, not Germans.

Clearly, issues of ethnolinguistic identity for second generation Kurdish children residing in Denmark are complex. They are further discussed in Chapter 4.

2.2.5.2 The politics behind veiling Kurdish identity.

The possibilities presented in the previous section with regard to how Kurdish identity was veiled deal with relatively straight-forward, classification errors due to incompetent bureaucracy and over-generalizations of who is a 'Turk.' While these sorts of errors are not insidious, they are damaging, given the numbers: It is estimated that between 60 and 70% of all "Turks" residing in Denmark are Kurds (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 276), and that half a million Kurds live in Europe (Hassanpour, 1995). As in Turkey, Kurdish identity has largely been hidden in Europe which hides their plight from public scrutiny.

Still, another--possibly more insidious--reason for Kurdish identity being veiled in Denmark exists; namely, that Kurdish identity was hidden in compliance with Turkey's Kurdish policy. That is, Denmark may not have wished to complicate trade relations with a NATO ally. It is certain that the Turkish Embassy exerts pressure on what should be internal affairs in Denmark (e.g., education) where Turkish nationals residing in Denmark are concerned (Hassanpour, 2000). What is unknown is the extent to which Denmark complies with requests made by Turkish Embassy officials.

On this note, minority researcher Christian Horst (personal communication, June 1, 1994) states that ever since there have been Turks in Denmark, Turkish ambassadors have been active in 'promoting Turkish culture,' and in underrating Kurds and the Kurdish language.[45] He reports that the Turkish Embassy informed Danish municipality officials that Turkey would view teaching Kurdish as hostility against Turkey. Horst feels that Turkey's hold over Danish municipalities is linked to its links with Danish Parliament and its desire to preserve friendly relations with Turkey. Horst notes that when questioned, Danish politicians and civil servants

[45] Hassanpour (2000) supports Horst's assertion.

deny the link, but their actions respect Turkey's domestic Kurdish policy.[46]

Furthermore, Horst reports frequently hearing about Turkish Embassy officials indirectly threatening Kurdish parents. For example, an official can 'suggest' that it might be dangerous for relatives in Turkey if parents become politically 'active' by signing their children up for Kurdish language instruction in Denmark. This constitutes a threat. Horst feels that it is less common for Turkish Embassy officials to make direct threats now that Danish government officials are aware of them and have got involved, but feels that indirect threats are still made with regard to Kurdish language instruction in different municipalities. He notes that, as a result, many Kurds in Denmark keep a low profile (Ethnograph; Lines 367-421).

Horst attributes the extent to which Turkey is able to interfere in internal domestic affairs such as education to two phenomena: (a) He feels limiting Kurdish L1 instruction suits the Danish public as they are not interested in supporting L1 instruction any more than absolutely necessary--therefore, he feels that there is a consensus between what the Danish public and the Turkish Ambassador want with regard to Kurdish children receiving L1 education in Denmark; and (b) Silencing can be achieved by underplaying certain issues--the policy of non-decision. Horst notes that it is a political decision to ignore an issue (e.g., Turkey's meddling in education issues in Denmark). As addressing certain issues can open a can of worms, governments sometimes do not address them or underplay them, especially if they feel there are little gains to be made by tackling them (Ethnograph; Lines 425-452).

Horst feels that, on the one hand, Western governments see little reason to support the Kurds and aid in the creation of a free state--an oil-rich, Kurdish power-house--and lose their ally (and landing strip) in the Middle East, Turkey. Such a stance is not viewed as being of benefit to them. On the other hand, adopting a humanitarian stance and condemning Turkey's poor treatment of the Kurds is a useful bargaining chip and way of controlling Turkey's bid to enter the EU (Ethnograph; Lines 86-154).

Horst attributes the West's silence on these issues as due, in part, to their policy of non-decision, in part to their policy of conflict management, and in part to an obstruction of which

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[46] Hassanpour, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Chyet (1996) note that, in Germany, the federal government apparently has an even stronger "policy of appeasing the Turkish state" (p. 374).

issues get taken up such as Chomsky describes with regard to the West's under coverage of events in East Timor. The following extract from a book by Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) substantiates Horst's claims about Turkey's meddling in Denmark's affairs where Kurdish language instruction is involved and about the Danish government's policy of non-decision on the matter:

> We were given money by The Nordic Cultural Foundation to organize a course in Kurdish for Kurdish teachers from all over Scandinavia, a course which would teach them to write Kurdish. . . . The Turkish Embassy in Copenhagen tried to prevent the course by pointing out that the participants were still Turkish citizens and were thus not entitled to break Turkish law, whatever country they were in, and in Turkish law Kurdish is a forbidden language. . . . [T]he Danish lawyer acting for the course organizer . . . wrote a letter to the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, asking the Ministry to take an action so that the same type of incident where a foreign embassy interferes with cultural activities which are perfectly legal in Denmark would not re-occur. We still haven't even had a reply from the Ministry . . . (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, pp. 279-80).

This affair led Skutnabb-Kangas to question "which country's legal and educational system is to prevail?" (p. 278).

It is very interesting to note the discrepancy between tacit acceptance of a 'Third World' country's meddling in Danish internal affairs, and the low esteem in which nationals of that same country are generally held. It seems unbalanced that the Danish government should ignore a major event such as officials from another country threatening people residing within the Danish state, yet overreact when children start school late: Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) reports that Danish MPs and politicians have threatened to withhold welfare cheques from parents whose children came back from Turkey after summer holiday was already over in Denmark, and further threatened not to allow the late-comers to register for the following academic year (p. 341).[47] This imbalance (or double standard) leads one to question what Danish policies are on the issue of Turkish intervention in Danish affairs when Kurds are involved, and to view Horst's analysis of the situation as astute. The least which might be said on the topic is that many factors must be taken into account when assessing the Kurds'

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Were one to be cynical, one could suggest that no discrepancy exists because, in each case, it was "only" Kurds who were involved; therefore, how they were treated did not matter.

potential to develop a sense of Kurdish identity even outside of Turkey.

2.2.5.3 Educational implications of veiling Kurdish identity.

Most accounts of Kurdish children in the Danish public school system deal with Kurdish children attending Turkish "L1" classes (Ağacanoğlu, 1990; Aytimur, 1998). While the accounts are written by Kurdish educators who are trilingual and able to communicate with the Kurdish children,[48] they are accounts of Turkish classes. An exception is Kerim and Kizilocak's (1993) detailed description of the educational experience of a young Kurdish boy misclassified as a "Turk." The account describes how the child was misassessed due to the classification error.

The child's Danish Kindergarten teacher felt that he had 'behaviour problems' because the child misbehaved even when spoken to by a Turkish-speaking, language support teacher. When Kizilocak, a Kurdish-speaking educator, met the boy, he quickly diagnosed the problem: The boy was Kurdish and simply did not know Turkish. Therefore, he could not understand instructions given in his "L1," Turkish, and continued to act out because he did not understand any language spoken in the classroom--either Danish or Turkish. When spoken to in Kurdish, the boy's behaviour changed entirely, as did his Danish teacher's assessment of him. Thus, a serious misdiagnosis (and treatment) could have been made, one which would have negatively influenced his school experience and could have had long-term negative repercussions. Repercussions of veiling Kurdish identity are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

2.3 Micro-Context and Related Literature: *Trilleskolen*

2.3.1 The Bilingual/Bicultural Program

Discussed in this section are: program inception and implementation issues, and how Kurdish identity was masked. When I began my study, the fact that not all of the "Turkish" children were Turks was not initially clear. In fact, half of the "Turks" were Kurds, and Kurdish was their mother tongue--not Turkish. This indicates some of the paradoxes and contradictions which arose in my study once the gravity of the "minority in a minority"

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[48] Hassanpour, Skutnabb-Kangas and Chyet (1996) confirm that Kurdish is used by language support teachers in some Danish elementary school settings (p. 374).

situation became clear.

A brief examination of program inception and implementation is necessary to understand the problem of masking Kurdish identity. This examination follows in the next two sections.

2.3.1.1 Program inception.

Using measures of low self-esteem and academic failure as a corollary, Kurdish and Turkish children are among the language minority children who are the hardest hit by a ceiling-effect in education and on the job market, and by a rank-ordering of groups by perceived high or low status in Denmark (Holmen and Jørgensen, 1993-a; Moldenhawer, 1995; Sahl & Skjelmose, 1983; Schierup, 1993). These findings led to the design of an innovative, educational intervention in a few Danish municipalities in the 1980s: a bilingual/bicultural program. The classification problem was an unknown at the time of program inception. The intent of the program was to facilitate "Turkish" children's acquisition of Danish. The "minority in a minority" factor was an unforeseen complication. Program planners did not count on the presence of Kurdish-speaking children; neither did they plan on exposure to two non-native languages as a means to facilitate the acquisition of Danish. Rather, the bilingual/bicultural program was designed as an actual second language program (Moldenhawer & Clausen, 1993; Sahl & Skjelmose, 1983).

In 1983, two psychologists published an influential report on the psychological well-being and adaptation of Turkish students schooled in Denmark. The study focussed on 39 children of Turkish nationality, aged 11-17. The ensuing report, entitled *Du er ingen* [*You are nobody*], stressed that the practice of mainstreaming small groups of language minority children (the 2 rule) into classrooms with primarily ethnic Danish children resulted in the minority children feeling isolated, frustrated, angst, and despair, and developing a poor self-concept. Since they were in settings where no provision was made for their limited linguistic competence in Danish, they felt incompetent. Also, the norms they experienced at home and at school were very different. The children did not feel accepted by either their Danish peers or teachers, and were made to feel ashamed of their cultural backgrounds. While many "Turkish" children were born in Denmark and only knew of Turkey as 'fiction' (not first hand), they were

always represented as if they had just arrived and were archetypes of the country. Worse still, many teachers drew on Turkey as an example just to show how underdeveloped and primitive it was in comparison to civilized Denmark (Helkiær, 1987; Sahl & Skjelmose, 1983). The overall findings of the report were dismal and bleak.

The psychologists noted that the minority children believed they were what their surroundings made them out to be (i.e., lacking, defective, etc.). That is, they believed in their " mirror image" [*spejlbilledet*]. Sahl and Skjelmose found that the children's sense of identity was tied to their educational experience and how they were reflected [in '*spejlbilledet*'] or represented in their surroundings. As a result of the children's belief in the negative image of themselves which reflected back to them in their present setting, many were undergoing identity crises.[49] The children believed that the negative representations of them accurately reflected who they were; hence, the title *You are nobody*!

Recommendations which came out of the report included: (a) to create an educational setting in which minority language children's background was reflected so they could recognize themselves in it, avoid feelings of home/school conflict, feel 'secure' [trygge], and feel that they were as valuable and worthy of respect as their majority group peers; (b) to instill intercultural understanding in participants so they could cooperate with members of other ethnic groups in the future; and (c) to develop the minority children's cognitive capacity in their mother tongue so that it could be used as a tool for L2 learning, and to teach them Danish well enough for them to be successful in school and society. Helkiaer (1987) notes that both groups had lots of prejudices against each other, that racist conflicts often arose at school, and that they needed to learn each other's norms and values and gain empathy for each other (p. 6). What was needed was quality contact, in Leets and Giles' (1993) terms (see section 1.2.3). Finally, the need for multicultural education became evident, a necessary component of which was to view Danish norms critically, not just as the means and stuff of assimilation (Helkiaer, 1987, p. 6).

On a practical level, a further recommendation made in the report was to group

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[49] See Hetmar (1991, p. 127-28) for detailed discussion of the *Du er ingen* report and the subsequent design of the bilingual/bicultural program.

minority language children together in classroom settings rather than to place one lone minority child per cohort to avoid the child feeling isolated. The report suggested that Turks have a group personality and function better in pairs or small groups than individually. That the bilingual/bicultural program featured half Turkish and half ethnic Danish children was in partial response to this recommendation to group minority children together. Many of these recommendations were incorporated in the design of the program, as is discussed next.

At the time of program inception, it was believed that: (a) the program would feature mixed cohorts (i.e., cohorts which included equal numbers of language minority and majority children); (b) the minority children would all be speakers of the same mother tongue (L1); (c) initial literacy instruction would be through the medium of the L1; (d) two linguistic role models--one, a native speaker of Danish and, the other, a native speaker of Turkish and, more generally; and (e) extra resources would be poured into the classroom, there would be more cooperative work with parents than usual, pedagogical materials would be developed.

One assumption underlying the program was that Turkish-medium instruction would be phased out, and Danish-medium instruction would be phased in gradually, as the Turkish children became more proficient in Danish. In this sense, program goals at time of inception were in keeping with goals of transitional bilingual education programs elsewhere. In the United States, for example, ". . . the primary language [L1] is used for instructional support until students have reached satisfactory levels of English proficiency. . . . Students are expected to move out of a transitional program when they are capable of functioning in an English-only classroom" (Lessow-Hurley, 1996, p. 12). This was clearly the case in the bilingual/bicultural program, the stated goal of which was "to make the children bilingual so that they can use both languages and so that, eventually, more weight can be placed on Danish as the language of instruction" (Engelbrecht, Jensen & Engel, 1989, 1990) (Tr-14)

Since the program goals were in line with those of comparable programs, the error which muddied the theoretical underpinnings of the program did not occur at this stage of programming. The question of whether it arose in the implementation phase is examined next.

2.3.1.2 Program implementation.

An assignment error took place: Kurdish children whose L1 was Kurdish were

misclassified as Turks and misplaced in a Turkish "L1" program. Since my study began a decade later, the source of the error cannot be confirmed and my informants provided contradictory explanations; however, it can likely be attributed to the children's official status as Turkish nationals. One Kurdish interviewee, Atilla (personal communication, September 21, 1993) suggested that the plight of Kurds living in Turkey had not come to the fore in the Danish media in the 1980s, during the program inception and implementation phases. As noted in the previous section, Danish officials probably operated on the basis of the Kurdish children's citizenship (Turkish) since they had no other facts or statistics to go on, and registered them as such in the bilingual/bicultural program.

Another explanation for the Kurdish children's misplacement may be the L1 instructional requirements and limitations set out in the Council of the European Communities (CEC) (1977) *Directive on the education of the children of migrant workers* (see section 2.2.5). Interpretations of the directive varied from informant to informant, with some believing that L1 instruction was decided on the basis of "national" languages spoken in the country of origin, and others believing it only applied to instruction in "official" languages. Still others believed that Denmark was tacitly respecting Turkish language policy by not offering L1 instruction in Kurdish as, in Turkey, Kurdish is a national language, not an official language or a medium of instruction, and instruction in Kurdish would be against Turkish law: "No language other than Turkish may be taught as a native language to citizens of Turkey in instructional and educational institutions" (Constitution, Article 42/9; see Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 355).

Something Just Jeppesen (1993) writes suggests that authorities were aware of the problem and assigned both Kurdish and Turkish children to "Turkish" groups nonetheless: "In practice one has had to place Kurdish and Turkish-speaking children together with Danish-speaking children" (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 38) (Tr-15). She also notes the later role of Kurdish human rights groups in Denmark for promoting L1 instruction for Kurds and bringing the issue of Kurdish versus Turkish L1 instruction to the attention of educators (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 48). Whatever the cause, classification and placement errors occurred during the program implementation phase.

As is noted in Chapter 1, had the Kurdish children's ethnolinguistic backgrounds not been overlooked, the bilingual/bicultural program would have been a theoretically sound, transitional bilingual education program. The effect of the hidden "minority in a minority" aspect of the program was, however, to mask Kurdish identity and muddy the theoretical bases of the program. How this was done is discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3.1.3 Program characteristics.

Inspired by the recommendations of the *Du er ingen* report and modelled after earlier transitional bilingual/bicultural programs in Norway, the mandate of the transitional program at *Trilleskolen* was, as noted, to increase all participants' self-esteem and exposure to diversity, to facilitate the minority language students' integration into Danish society without destroying their identity and self-esteem, and to support the minority children in their development of high levels of L2 proficiency. Features of the program, which began in 1986, included: (a) mixed cohorts of language minority and majority children to assure that each group enjoy equal status; (b) initial literacy instruction through the medium of a national language (i.e., Danish or Turkish), a language assumed to be already known by the children--therefore, Turkish language instruction is part of the curriculum for language minority children; (c) the presence of two teachers, one a native speaker of Danish and the other a native speaker of Turkish, at all times initially though the role and presence of the Turkish teacher gradually decreases; (d) a gradual increase in the time allotted to Danish-medium instruction for language minority children; and (e) majority language children neither learn Turkish as a subject nor subjects in Turkish (Andersen, 1992; Moldenhawer, 1995; Sahl & Skjelmose, 1983).

Slight differences in program design existed in the various school districts which were becoming involved in bilingual/bicultural programming. For example, amounts of instruction in the L1 as subject and as medium of instruction in the first school years of the program varied from municipality to municipality (e.g., there was mostly Danish-medium instruction from early on in Hvidovre, and mostly L1 medium instruction in Turkish in Høje-Taastrup) (Just Jeppesen, 1993, p. 38). Regardless of these differences, the aims of the program were for the Turkish children to develop high self-esteem and L2 proficiency, and for the Danish children to develop interethnic tolerance (Sahl & Skjelmose, 1983).

Pedagogical characteristics of the program included theme-based teaching, and work on expanding the "zones of proximal development" of both minority and majority learners. To explain, the "zone of proximal development" refers to Vygotsky's (1978) theory of learning in social context. Vygotsky's theory focusses on the zone of proximal development, or the interface between what a learner can do alone as compared to under the guidance of a more expert "other" (Cummins, 1996). This approach builds on a student's prior knowledge when presenting new information (a practice which was highly recommended in the *Du er ingen* report); it entails extending a student's current level of linguistic or conceptual knowledge to a higher level of difficulty, to a level just beyond what an individual can accomplish unassisted. Vygotsky (1978) recommends that support be provided in the sense of a more expert "other" who can guide the learner. Vygotsky's goal of valorising and capitalising on a learner's prior knowledge, thus ensuring high quality contact, was often met in the bilingual/bicultural program, as is discussed in Chapter 4.

By way of background knowledge which will become useful in the next chapter, it is important to understand what kind of programming minority language children not enrolled in the bilingual/bicultural program received in 'parallel groups' [*parallelgrupper*]. Designers of this instructional model recommended that at least three minority language children of the same ethnic group, and a language support teacher, be attached to each cohort. They also recommended that a multicultural focus be incorporated into content teaching as this program was also designed after the findings of the *Du er ingen* report were released, and including minority language children's background knowledge had been found to be very important. The total number of hours which a language support teacher was attached to a cohort varied in accordance with the number of language minority children as the teachers were allotted two teaching hours per child. The language clinic was responsible for introducing DSL and for helping to teach the children to read in Danish.[50] As no time was set aside for the Danish and Turkish teachers involved with these cohorts to conduct joint lesson planning, and mother tongue instruction was not part of the obligatory curriculum, there was no connection between

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See Taylor (1997-b) for an empirical account of the extent to which these features were included in the parallel group observed in the study.

what was taught in Danish and Turkish. Extra instruction in Danish-as-a-second-language was only given from grade 3 up, and it was done on a withdrawal basis in the language clinic (Engelbrecht, Jensen & Engel, 1989, 1990, p. 4). Therefore, this program never had the mandate to be a Danish-as-a-second-language class as did the bilingual/bicultural program. The two options were consequently quite different.

2.3.1.4 Program evaluation.

The following summarizes four program evaluation reports made of bilingual/bicultural programs concurrently conducted in two municipalities (Engelbrecht, Iversen & Engel, 1990, 1991 & 1991, 1992; Engelbrecht, Jensen & Engel, 1989, 1990, and Moldenhawer & Clausen, 1993). Also included are comments on a confidential final report by the author of the report. Not included in this section is a report made by Helkiær (1987) which describes the process of writing up a proposal to design a bilingual/bicultural program, and the program proposal. It does not constitute a program evaluation as the program did not exist yet, and as such is not useful in this section; however, it does contain much useful background knowledge and has therefore been extensively referred to in previous sections of this chapter.[51]

The first report, by Engelbrecht, Jensen, and Engel (1989, 1990), deals with Danish instruction in the bilingual/bicultural program (i.e., the "Turkish" children's linguistic competence in Danish[52]). The purpose of the report was to see if the students were benefiting from the curriculum. There were three research questions: (a) What themes are used for instruction? (b) How does dividing the Danish class into two language groups work? and (c) How does the Danish class work out when the two cohorts are together? The only measure used was a test of Danish competence as the authors stated that they were unable to find a test of Turkish competence. Therefore, minority language children's "L1" competence could not be used as a yardstick to measure their "L2" competence.

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[51] See, for example, sections 2.2.4.5, 2.3.1, and 2.3.1.1 for reference to Helkiær (1987).

[52] No mention is made of Kurdish children in this report. They are subsumed under the categories: "Turks," "Turkish children," etc.

The report begins with a useful description of how Danish instruction is structured.[53] In answer to the first question regarding themes of instruction, the following themes were used in both Danish and Turkish in grades 1 to 4 during the year of the report: my classroom, school, housing, pets, traffic, work, seasons, Denmark and Turkey, fairy tales, reading comics, ads, theatre, etc. (p. 10). Examples are given of how the common theme "fairy tales" is developed during the following lessons: mother tongue instruction in Turkish, Danish-as-a-second-language, and Danish lessons with both groups present; information is given on both language and content taught. In answer to the second question regarding the logistics of dividing the two language groups for Danish instruction, very concrete examples of specific language activities are given and described, and the instructional goals listed. As for how the lesson works out when both groups of children and both teachers are present, the report describes instances when the whole cohort is kept together and the language of instruction is Danish, and when the two groups are separated and content is explained in both languages. Information on the Danish language test is not included in my version of the report.

Results of the study indicate that the Turkish students' linguistic competence in Danish

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Engelbrecht, Jensen, & Engel (1989, 1990) describe the organization of Danish instruction in the bilingual/bicultural program as follows:

> In a bicultural class, there is a Turkish teacher in all classes in grades 1 and 2. In grades 3, 4, and 5, there is a Turkish teacher in Danish, math, 'orienteering,' and the class hour. The background to this is that the Turkish children first have to learn to read and write in their own language, Turkish. In the common periods, the children are split up into two language groups, one Danish and one Turkish group, when new material has to be gone through. This happens to assure that everyone, both the Danish and Turkish children, can understood the content of the material to be learned. That places a heavy burden on the Danish and Turkish teachers to plan and coordinate their teaching so that, during common periods, when the two groups of children are together, they can build on a common background. . . . Therefore, a weekly conference hour is set aside for the classroom teacher and the Turkish classroom teacher.
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> The Turkish children in a bicultural classroom have four hours extra Danish-as-a-second-language instruction per week from grade 1 to 5. These hours are borrowed from the four hours of mother tongue instruction the children would otherwise have had outside the regular school day. Mother tongue instruction is given during split up periods, and are obligatory instruction while the Danish children have Danish. During Danish-as-a-second-language classes, the Danish teacher can work on providing linguistically responsive instruction at the level of the Turkish children's linguistic development, and they can go further with themes to be taught in common hours, for example. Furthermore, in those classes, there is also more systematic Danish instruction, (p. 4). (Tr-16)

is much lower than that of their native language peers (p. 25). The authors caution that these children still need mother tongue instruction, Danish-as-a-second-language, and teachers familiar with both Danish and Turkish to know what problems the minority language children will encounter when learning Danish. They also caution that the bilingual/bicultural program does not, by itself, work miracles and that extra resources are still needed (e.g., special education, a reading clinic, etc.). They note that the problems encountered in trying to 'integrate' the two groups are immense, and discuss the difficulties encountered when trying to "create a common set of norms"(p. 25) (Tr-17). Finally, they note an all too common problem in bilingual education: the shortage of qualified, bilingual teachers.

The second report, by Engelbrecht, Iversen, and Engel (1990, 1991), focusses on social integration--causes of strife and success. Discussed are sources of cultural conflict, particularly home/school problems, and difficulties the minority language children have understanding content instruction, usually by grade 4 or 5. First, they note that home/school conflicts usually arise because of the following: (a) 'camp schools' [*lejrskoler*]--they require students to sleep away from home which is deemed problematic by "Turkish" parents concerned with morals; (b) 'cabin trips' [*hytteture*]--this is also an activity requiring overnight stays away from home; (c) 'cohort parties' [*klassefester*]--minority parents are often concerned about their children accidentally eating pork in food prepared by Danish parents; (d) swimming--wearing bathing suits is viewed as too immodest by some minority parents; (e) physical education--some minority parents object to the obligatory shower which follows gym class for reasons of modesty; and (f) long summer holidays in Turkey--problems arise because school begins in August in Denmark, and in September in Turkey, and parents from Turkey prefer to stay in Turkey for summer holidays for what they view as the whole holiday, rather then return early for when school starts in Denmark. Danish educators become quite upset about the above practices.[54] Findings of the report indicate that there are fewer conflicts in these areas because,

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[54] To explain, Danish educators view overnight trips as useful for building community among classmates, and developing independence in children; they see gym and swimming as promoting healthy lifestyles; they equate issues of honour and of modesty with Islam, which they view as repressive and sexist; they dislike "Turkish" children missing school time as they view them as academically weak already, without falling further behind from time missed.

due to the program, there is closer home/school contact than is the norm and, as a result, parents place more confidence in the school and educators there. The report also suggests that the pro-active work done by the Danish and Turkish teachers is another reason why there is less conflict (p. 5).[55]

On the second point concerning minority children encountering difficulty when faced with content area instruction in Danish, usually in the junior grades, the report suggests by incorporating an experiential focus into instruction, educators in the bilingual/bicultural program have avoided the usual difficulty. They recommend that an experiential component continue to be injected into instruction even in the higher grades.

To conclude, they reiterate what was said in the previous report; namely, that the minority language children's linguistic competence in Danish was still not on par with that of their Danish peers, and that both mother tongue instruction and instruction in Danish-as-a-second-language needed to be continued. They noted that, compared to minority language children in other programs, the ones in the bilingual/bicultural programs were at an advantage in that they stayed involved, dared to ask questions when they did not understand, did not give up when they had to express themselves in Danish, and were more visible than their minority counterparts in other programs (p. 25).

Among other topics included in the report were English instruction, and the behaviour of Turkish boys. First, the report suggests that Kurdish students outperform Turkish students in English, and further suggests that this may be because Kurdish is an Indo-European language and Turkish is not (it is a Turkic language) and, thus, English is easier for Kurds to learn than for Turks (p. 17). Second, a very negative portrayal of Turkish boys is given by an anonymous educator in the bilingual/bicultural program (pp. 18-19).

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They tell parents that, by law, all children must participate in swimming lessons and in physical education; there are no religious dispensations. With regard to the compulsory nature of these activities, Ann Granum of the Ministry of Education is in agreement (personal communication; September 23, 1993). Therefore, the pro-active part of this issue is warning minority parents that they must comply. This stance seems contradictory in light of the multicultural mission of the program and the stated goal of taking both groups of children's cultural backgrounds into consideration. To me, it seems akin to telling the minority group parents that their beliefs and values are backwards.

The section is misleadingly entitled *A classroom teacher's experience with work in a bicultural classroom over five years and the problems that can arise with the boys* (Tr-18). What is misleading about it is that it does not refer to all of the boys in the cohort, but only to the Turkish ones. The wording is strong and, right from the first sentence, "the boys" are presented as "rowdy, with no powers of concentration, not independent and irresponsible with regard to their own education" (p. 18) (Tr-19). Their teacher blames this on their coming home late at night; not being accountable for their own actions, especially since their fathers are so beaten by the system (i.e., unemployed; treated disrespectfully since they cannot conduct their affairs in proper Danish) that they stay away from home so as not to be bothered by problem children when they are not up to dealing with additional problems; not knowing how to set limits because their fathers are not often home, and they lack a positive male role model anyway, given their fathers' dismal situations; not behaving responsibly, especially if there are married siblings in the home, not just the mother, and they do not participate in household chores, etc. The teacher suggests that while this kind of behaviour is acceptable in a Turkish village where all of the men share the same characteristics and they will eventually have to tow the line that is expected of them socially, it is not acceptable in Denmark; there, the expectations are quite different. Students must be self-controlled, able to see the consequences of their actions, and think before they act. The teacher concludes with discussing social and academic problems which arise because "Turkish" boys are "rowdy, with no powers of concentration, not independent and irresponsible with regard to their own education," and the role of working with the fathers to solve these problems. The importance of this representation of Turkish boys becomes apparent in Chapter 4.

The third report, by Engelbrecht, Iversen & Engel (1991, 1992), was written after the bilingual/bicultural program was cancelled. They examined whether the program achieved the goals set out in the *Du er ingen* report since the program was modelled after recommendations made by Sahl and Skjelmose, authors of the latter report. Therefore, mainly questions dealing with feelings and identity were asked. The research questions for this final report were: (a) How were the "Turkish" members of the cohort getting along with their Danish peers; (b) How did the "Turkish" children experience their educational experience; and (c) What sort of

experience did the "Turkish" and Danish children have with each other? With regard to the final question, the researchers wanted to know if the Danish children were less racist than their predecessors (e.g., those described in the *Du er ingen* report). The researchers noted that they could not investigate the real question (i.e., how well the "Turkish" children had integrated into Danish society because of the program) because the program had not been allowed to run its course; the cohort was disbanded before the nine years of compulsory public school education were completed.

The measure which the researchers used to evaluate student attitudes and feelings, etc. was the "Student self-report," a questionnaire produced by Danish Psychological Publishers. The questionnaire was written in Danish. Sample items were: I can follow lessons well; I'm usually happy. Students ticked an answer in one of three columns: "yes" [*ja*], "no" [*nej*], "don't know" [*ved ikke*]. Findings of the study indicated that both groups of students were happy and thriving in the program.

Specifically, the two cohorts in my study fared as follows: 84% of the older cohort gave positive answers ("*ja*"), and 76% of the younger cohort gave positive answers. When the children gave negative answers, they tended to be in the following areas: Girls were unhappy with their appearance, and boys were unhappy with their skill at sports. The researchers noted that all children, from both groups, gave positive answers to the following item: "The other kids want to play with me"(p. 14) (Tr-20). Therefore, the findings indicated that the "Turkish" members of the cohort were getting along well with their Danish peers and having a positive educational experience, and the "Turkish" and Danish children were having a positive experience being in the same cohort.

General results were also reported. These included the following: (a) The "Turkish" students' self-concept was much more nuanced than the findings of the *Du er ingen* report indicated; (b) Both groups appeared to be thriving in the school setting; (c) All of the children's self-concept was less tied to culture than to age, gender, and family circumstances; (d) There were still students with low self-esteem, but they were Danes as often as "Turks;" and (e) There were also children who were doing poorly who should perhaps have been in a different program (p. 16).

Combined, these reports do not seem to indicate a program in trouble; a program that should be cancelled. Why did that happen? The school board commissioned a report which was not published, but on the basis of which the program was cancelled. The author of that report informed me that she was asked to write a report on negative aspects of the program, and that the program was cancelled on the basis of her report. She was dismayed by this turn of events as it was her impression that the program was working very well. She felt deceived and manipulated because she had followed instructions, and if she had been asked to note the positive aspects of the program, they would have outweighed the negatives. She said that, in her position as civil servant, she was not at liberty to speak out, but was required to support party policy (e.g., decisions made by the municipal government); however, she felt that the time had come to speak out which was why she was telling me about how her confidential report was manipulated (Anne-Mette, personal communication; September 1, 1993). Clearly, this was a case of structural sabotage.

The last report to be discussed in this section deals with the final evaluation of a sister program conducted in a different municipality. The authors of this report were Moldenhawer and Clausen (1993). It is divided into two sections. The first deals with problematic or unclear aspects of the program, and the second deals with the program participants' academic success and linguistic competence. Challenges discussed in the first part include: ethnicity and integration, minority language teachers' roles in the integration work, multicultural teaching and the role of culture in teaching. Stressed is the complexity of dealing with issues such as culture, ethnicity, and integration, much less to find solutions to related problems. Also stressed is the fact that the problems and solutions varied per class, not only because of the diversity of instructional goals and techniques due to 'metodfrihed,' but also due to the individuals involved. Still, the researchers note that certain findings are generalizable, three of which they discuss at length.

First, the goal of 'integration' was not met, either from an academic or a social perspective. The researchers recommend that minority language children should not be placed in groups bigger than five per cohort so they will interact with Danes in Danish. These researchers (who do not ignore the Kurdish element in the program; they speak in terms of

"Danes" and "Turks/Kurds") note that the weight of integration should not lie solely on the shoulders of minority group members. They note that Danes must stop viewing "integration" in terms of "foreigners" adopting Danish norms; yet, they also note that this is a strong tendency, one which permeates society and has influenced educator expectations of minority language children. They also note that no special measures can force these children to learn more or better Danish. What they need to give them the courage and will to acquire Danish are better relations with their teachers, more academic success, and greater acceptance by Danish students.

Second, they noted that including a multicultural teaching perspective and making minority language students feel equal in value to majority group peers at that point in time was like swimming up-stream. They suggested that structural elements of a typical Danish *folkeskole* were working against them. They also suggested that educators needed to know how to make their minority students feel equally valued. As noted in Biggs and Edwards (1991), dominant group educators often do not notice when they are not treating children equally and, conversely, though minority group educators often do (see Sayers, 1991) but, as is discussed next, their voice is often not heard.

The third point deals with the goal of hiring minority language teacher, treating them "on equal footing" [*på lige fod*] with Danish teachers, and using them as an important resource in the integration work (p. 110). The authors note that rather than being treated equally, minority teachers are often relegated to the role of teaching assistants. They note that these teachers almost have to be twice as good as Danish teachers to be taken seriously as content teachers. On the other hand, they note that more qualification than being a native speaker of a language (e.g., Turkish or Kurdish) is required to be a teacher, minority or not. These researchers final point is that creating a multicultural school involves more than watering down culture to play down difference; they recommend allowing linguistic and cultural differences to come to the fore, and contribute to setting the agenda for school structures; however, they do not expect that this will happen in Denmark any time soon (p. 111).

The second part of the report discusses how eighty children from Kindergarten to Gr. 8 were tested to evaluate their academic success and linguistic competence. Measures used

included: a sentence-retell task; a cloze test, and a math test. The first task was based on Epstein's sentence-retell task, but translated into Danish and Turkish.[56] The cloze task was standardized and grade appropriate. It was a 400-word text. Every seventh word was deleted. Children had to replace fifty-five words in all. The math test was designed by individual classrooms teachers, and was based on concepts taught the previous month. It did not include problem-solving, only computational skills (pp. 123-127).

The authors report twelve findings, based on the test scores. Some are self-evident (e.g., Danish students read Danish better than minority language students), and are not reported here. Findings which are the most relevant to the present study include: (a) The best minority language students in the higher grades (e.g., Gr. 5 and up) did as well as their Danish peers in the sentence-retell task; (b) Many Kurdish students do better in Danish than Turkish students; (c) Turkish students do better in Turkish than Kurdish students; (d) Turkish students are not generally linguistically under stimulated or weak; (e) Though most Danish students read Danish quite well, very few read only relatively well, and a small group has difficulty reading; the majority of minority language students have just average reading skills in Danish, and many are very weak in reading Danish; and (f) The results do not indicate that Danes do better in math than the minority language children--in 3 out of 8 cohorts, the minority language children are stronger in math than their Danish peers and, in the other 5, the Danish children are stronger in math than their minority language peers (p. 138).

The results reported in both parts of this report suggest that, like its sister program, this bilingual/bicultural program was effective in teaching Danish-as-a-second language and subject content, as recommended in the *Du er ingen* report. They do not suggest that this was the penultimate program to be copied faithfully, but suggest that many valuable lessons can be drawn from it and incorporated into future attempts at designing culturally responsive models of schooling. Ironically, this report was also published after the program was cancelled.

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[56] The incomplete reference for this translation of Epstein's test is: Beyer [no initial given], & Lontoft, J. (1992). *Epsteins sætningsspændviddetest til brug for tosprogede elever* [Epstein's sentence-retell test for use with bilingual pupils]. Århus: *Nordgårds materialet, special pædagogisk forlag* [Nordgård's material, special pedagogical publishers]. (*Dansk og tyrkisk versioner* [Danish and Turkish versions]).

2.3.1.5 Program demise and the role of 'atheoretical' policy-making.

A few years into the program, municipal politicians cancelled it because they did not feel that it was meeting its mandate (Engelbrecht, Iversen & Engel, 1991; Moldenhawer & Clausen, 1993). Local politicians felt that the language minority children who participated in the program did not gain sufficient [amount unspecified] L2 proficiency, or sufficiently integrate into Danish society, for the program to continue. Two points should be noted with regard to program cancellation: First, the criteria for program cancellation was unclear and, second, educators involved in the program did not feel that the program failed to meet its mandate and did not support its cancellation (Taylor, 1997-a). They felt that the main problem was that the program objectives did not match (Social Democrat) party objectives: Legitimizing a minority language by including it in the curriculum was irreconcilable with the belief that bilingual children would integrate faster if taught only in Danish, not in their mother tongue (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a, p. 16). Indeed, local politicians later declared that Danish could not be a second language for children in Denmark, and that Danish was all children's first language.[57] Thus, the observation can be made that ideology prevailed over both theory and empirical evidence in this instance of decision-making.

Denmark is not unusual in operating this way. For corroboration of the fact that this manner of decision-making is common where minority language education is concerned, one has only to think back to Cummins' (1988) description of the atheoretical nature of policy-making on educational language issues which is mentioned in Chapter 1 whereby research and theory are only "applied to policy . . . in situations where there is a relatively high degree of consensus" on issues of language and education (p. 11). An educator attached to the program, Bodil (personal communication, September 16, 1993), poignantly illustrated the process of atheoretical decision-making in her description of the rationale behind cancelling the program.

Bodil authored two reports on the bilingual/bicultural program, both of which were financed by the Ministry of Education, although the program was sponsored by the municipality. She felt that, after all the Municipality had invested in the program, the local

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This was the message sent in a memo from *Trille* Municipality's Board of Culture ['*Kulturel forvaltning*'] on December 13, 1993. See Appendix C.

politicians did not listen to a thing written in the reports. To explain, Bodil gave the following example: Two politicians from the municipality attended a teacher's federation conference on immigrant children. It became apparent during the conference that neither politician was familiar with the reports even though they were the educational affairs representatives of their parties and were in charge of the education of immigrant education at the level of the municipal teacher's union. These were not theoretically informed experts. The educator's summary of the situation was:

> And that says something about the level of information and that it has absolutely nothing to do with knowledge or investigations or objectivity with this question [about minority education]. Decisions are made on the basis of some feelings or opinions; they don't pay any attention at all to things they start up. (Ethnograph; Lines 281-290) (Tr-21)

When questioned as to why the reports were commissioned in the first place, if they were just ignored, Bodil replied: "You have to do that in democratic Denmark. You have to question people, or get investigations under way or do things, don't you? It all has to be based on objectivity" (Ethnograph; Lines 354-358) (Tr-22). This illustrates factors other than grounded research which can influence decision-making and, in turn, shape minority children's educational experience.

As for program evolution, Bodil explains how the municipality requested a study on teaching minority language children to decide what program model to implement after the demise of the bilingual/bicultural program. The evaluation was done in October 1991. Committee members included Bodil, the teacher representative, other teacher representatives, the principal, Anne-Mette (the 'consultant for children who are speakers of a foreign language' [*fremmedsprogedeeleverkonsulent*]), early childhood educators from the Kindergarten, and the vice-president of the teachers' union. The committee made two recommendations. One program model fell within the financial limitations of the municipality with regard to schooling. The Municipality chose the other model because it had less of a bilingual focus. Even after the bilingual/bicultural program had been cancelled, the committee had tried to inject the positive aspects of the program into post-program educational structures (e.g., cooperative work with parents; L1 instruction), but signed and noted that no matter what new research project came

up, involving teachers, the committee or whoever was commissioned to do the research: "What it's all about is, they ask us to do a piece of work, but before we even begin, they know very well themselves what they'll end up doing. No matter what we say, they're going to do what they want; right?" (Ethnograph; Lines 342-348) (Tr-23) The committee's goal of maintaining an L1 component was at odds with the municipality's goal of eliminating that component.

Indeed, Bodil claims that no matter what reason the municipality gave for cancelling the bilingual/bicultural program, the real crux of the matter was the L1 component to the program which meant that the municipality was not towing party lines; a Social Democratic municipality, the politics of the bilingual/bicultural program did not reflect the focus taken by 'Christiansborg' (i.e., the Social Democratic sitting in power at Christianborg, the government); it did not reflect the tact taken in the educational component of the *Integration report*. Bodil explains that a general change in Danish society occurred during the 1980s and when then the committee first recommended the bilingual/bicultural program, local politicians basically told them to go ahead if they were "burning" to try it. Unfortunately, a year and a half later, the local Social Democrats realized that the program model adopted was exactly opposite to what the national party (at Christiansborg) wanted--"that it was absolutely not the policy they had at Christiansborg" (Tr-24) so local Social Democratic politicians in the county began to strongly oppose the program because 'Christiansborg' was absolutely not in favour of "such an inclusive view of integration" (Tr-25). Bodil had the distinct impression that the local town council was "banged into place" (Tr-26) and made to tow the party line. She based her opinion on the fact that, since that time, the city council has pushed harder and harder for an 'assimilation policy' [*assimilationspolitik*] (Ethnograph; Lines 363-384). To summarize, Bodil's observations clearly support Cummins' (1988) view that more is involved in policy-making than theory and research; indeed, quite often, it is atheoretical in nature.

It was after the program was formally cancelled that I started my participant observation at the school. Therefore, Chapter 4 presents the post-program configuration of the bilingual/bicultural program.

2.3.2 Logistics and Locale

2.3.2.1 Logistics.

The following is the principal (personal communication, September 21st, 1993) of *Trilleskolen*'s description of the school district, the make-up of the student population, etc.: There are 13 schools in the district, ten of which are big, and a total of 5000 students overall. *Trilleskolen* is one of the big schools with 550 pupils and 61 teachers. The teacher-pupil ratio at the school is 1:9, but the school is also a centre for Special Education which makes some classes very small and skews the teacher-pupil ratio a bit (e.g., some classes have only 3 or 4 students). The principal noted that a more normal teacher/pupil ratio in Denmark was 20-22 pupils per class. He also noted that some classes had up to 28 pupils, and that the bilingual/bicultural classes had as few as 10-13 pupils.

The principal also noted that about 20% of the district's 5000 children were minority language children.[58] As for *Trilleskolen*, he estimated that a quarter to a third of the schoolchildren were minority language speakers. He added that the figures were rising at the school and in the district overall due to housing patterns. Refugees were being moved in, and more and more immigrants were moving into the local apartment complexes.

The principal noted a large, nearby school where there had recently been problems which were reported on in the press: That fall, two Kindergarten classes had started up that "only" had four ethnic Danish children; all of the other children enrolled were minority language children. The principal noted that the Danish parents had 'taken flight' and enrolled their children elsewhere. He also expressed his fear that the same thing might happen at his school:

> And that means that those parents who should have had children in those classes, they have moved them to some other schools. That is, they wouldn't accept that it become completely foreign-language-speaking classes, and in a way that means a flight from that school, and we are very nervous about that here, you know, that at the same time people will maybe move the children away from here because there are too many

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It is interesting to note that over a year span, from Helkiaer's (1987) report in 1987 to 1993, the percentage of foreign students in the municipal school system had risen from 7.5% to 20%. There were less students in the system in 1987 (i.e., 5,984) than in 1993 (i.e., 5000). The figures indicate that the percentage of minority language children entering the school system is larger than that of ethnic Danes.

immigrant children or refugees overall. (Ethnograph; Lines 10-112) (Tr-27)

Indeed, that happened in one of the cohorts which I was following.

Over the course of summer 1993, four sets of parents had withdrawn their children from the older, Gr. 6 cohort. That meant that the number of children left in the former bilingual/bicultural cohort fell from 16 to 12 between Phases 2 and 3. When school started in August, there were 4 Danes and 8 "Turks," 4 of whom were Turks and 4 of whom were Kurds. Between Phases 3 and 4 (all during the 1993/94 academic year), a Kurdish girl moved because of a family feud, and two Danish children were placed in the cohort--children deemed behaviour problems. That left 7 "Turks" and 6 Danes.

As for the other cohort entering Gr. 5 after summer holiday, one Danish and one Turkish child were no longer in the program when school started again. Both had moved to better housing areas. That meant that the number of children left in the former bilingual/bicultural cohort fell from 15 to 13 between Phases 2 and 3. When school started in August, there were 7 Danes and 6 "Turks," 4 of whom were Turks and 2 of whom were Kurds. In the 1993/94 academic year, two Danish children left the program, one because of upward mobility and one because of program dissatisfaction, and one Turkish boy left out of sheer loneliness (i.e., he was the only Turkish boy in the cohort and had no friends). That left 5 Danes and 5 "Turks," even though one student categorized as Danish was Iranian, and led to trouble as is discussed in Chapter 4.

Student attrition had to do with some program dissatisfaction, mainly on the part of Danes, and some cases of upward mobility: the housing complex around *Trilleskolen* was considered a ghetto; a place to leave as soon as one found the means.

2.3.2.2 Locale: The housing complex around *Trilleskolen.*

In the late 1980s when the bilingual/bicultural program began, Helkiaer (1987) described the municipality in which the school is located as follows: the overall population of the municipality is 43,800 with a minority population of 2,420 foreign citizens, half of whom are from Turkey. That figure represents little more than 5% of the overall population, but is considered a high immigrant population. Of great interest is the fact that Helkiaer (1987) thinks to add the percentage of Kurds represented in the Turkish figure, and of even greater interest

that she estimates that a third to a half of the "Turkish" population are Kurds (p. 1).

As for where the minority children live, Helkiaer (1987) notes that there is a mix of private houses, townhouses, and public housing projects in the small town where *Trilleskolen* is located. She notes that the Turks live in two public housing areas at either end of the municipality, and that is where the two schools which housed bilingual/bicultural programs are located. She describes the apartments where the children live as concrete structures with large enough apartments to accommodate large families; having high rents, and a high turnover rate of Danish occupants. This is because the complex just was not a nice place to live. Just Jeppesen (1993) notes that minority language students often end up living near Danes with social problems (p. 44).[59] That was certainly true of the neighbourhood around *Trilleskolen* where the minority language children lived.

Miles (1989) notes that racism often surfaces in lower income neighbourhoods where 'integration' tends to play itself out more in the sense that minority and majority group members live side by side to a greater extent than in wealthier neighbourhoods. That is unfortunate, given the finding that people who do not feel good about themselves and their lives tend to be less tolerant of difference (Ziegler, 1980). This proved true of the *Trille* area housing complex. Children from the school noted that alcoholic Danes urged their German shepherd dogs to attack the Turkish children who tended to be afraid of dogs anyway, and that it was serious as the dogs would indeed bite the children sometimes (see Chapter 4 & Participant Observation Notes, Phase III, p. 67).

The consultant, Anne-Mette (personal communication, September 1, 1993), stressed that "normal" Danes did not live in that housing complex, only down-and-out ones. She considers the Danes living there as dysfunctional; 'tabere' [losers] of all sorts: drug addicts, the permanently unemployed, single mothers, Danes with mental problems, prostitutes. She does not view the Turks living there as dysfunctional, just poor. Anne-Mette does, however, feel that the Turks there can become dysfunctional for stress related factors: the racism to

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By that is meant impoverished elements of society. That is one area of discussion in which one does not get a H. C. Andersen/fairy tale view of Denmark. (See Blum & Porsager, 1987 for related discussion).

which they are subjected and the side-effects of racism (no jobs, no respect, loss of authority in the family). Overall, she feels that Turkish families are still more or less intact and functional.

This consultant feels that the Turks are exposed to such bad examples of Danish society, that they cling to their traditions like amulets to ward off the contamination and perversion of Western society. Furthermore, she feels this leads to the fossilization of the language they spoke before arrival in Denmark, the morals and religious beliefs they had before coming, and the phenomenon that Turks in Denmark sometimes become 'more Turkish than the Turks.' She feels that Turks in the area are out-of-step with life in Turkey in the 1990s, that by entrenching themselves in fossilized culture they have missed out on normal societal evolution. Indeed, Dilan, a Kurdish student's mother (personal communication, September 6, 1993) confirms this to some extent when she notes that she did not wear a kerchief in Turkey, but does in Denmark to conform to the "Turkish code" in the housing complex, and that she wore a bathing suit back home, but that would be too frowned on (by the "Turkish" community) in Denmark.

The younger cohort's math and Danish teachers, Preben and Vibeke (personal communication, August 30, 1993), noted that it is better to live in "Vesterbro," considered the inner city Copenhagen slum, than in the 'slum' around *Trilleskolen*, because at least in Vesterbro there had been a Danish presence for decades (if not centuries) and that there still was a strong tradition of Danish families living in the area, poor but functional families. The housing complex around *Trilleskolen* was, on the other hand, relatively new with no history of long-term Danish residents. In that sense, immigrants in Vesterbro were better off as they had better Danish models around them.

Vibeke frequently described the sorts of social problems which occurred in the *Trille* housing complex in the context of discussing the home lives of students in her cohort. Five such cases are summarized here. The first three involve Danish boys, beginning with Frederik whose step-father was an alcoholic. Frederik's mother was going to kick her husband out of the house at around the time a new baby was born, but then changed her mind. They ended up buying a house together which meant that Frederik was going to move and would have to change schools (which he did during Phase III).

The second case involves Preben, a Danish boy whose mother left home and whose father is an alcoholic. There is something odd in Preben's interaction with his father. When his father came in to show their Husky dog to the class, he and Preben never made eye contact and Preben seemed very defensive, though it may have been a mixture of fear and anger. This leaves one to wonder if this is a case of family violence. The third case involves a young Danish boy, Peder. He has a very bad case of diabetes and needs to take insulin injections twice daily.

Vibeke also discussed the cases of two Kurdish girls in her cohort. Dilek's father had a break-down when his wife, also a Kurd, left with another man, leaving Dilek's father with two young children. Vibeke also noted that things are getting better as he recently remarried and had another child, and babies are a source of pride in Turkish and Kurdish families. The second case she described involved Dilan's family. They had been having grave difficulties since her father was deported from Denmark back to Turkey. He and his brothers had been involved in a murder case, protecting the family's honour. Dilan's mother had to deal with the local community's score for not 'fulfilling her role' and following her husband back to Turkey; however, she chose to stay in Denmark so her children could have a better future.

These cases put a face to the slum depiction given the housing complex around *Trilleskolen*.

2.3.3 Educator Assignments and Duties before and after Program Cancellation

The role of the Danish instructors involved in the bilingual/bicultural program was to be the classroom teacher (i.e., the person responsible for the cohort), to provide a linguistic and cultural model to the minority language children, to develop pedagogical materials, to oversee the social integration of both minority and majority language children, to establish better than average contact with both groups of parents to trouble-shoot and maintain good relations, to ensure that the children learn enough content-matter, enough Danish, and enough about how to successfully integrate into Danish society and, if possible, to ensure that the children learn to like Danes, Denmark and Danish ways (Helkiær, 1987; Engelbrecht, Jensen, and Engel, 1989, 1990; Engelbrecht, Iversen, and Engel, 1990, 1991 & 1991, 1992).

When the bilingual/bicultural program was operational, the role of the language support

teachers was to participate in cooperative lesson planning with their Danish teaching partner,[60] to help students acquire language and content by explaining concepts in their L1, to give the students a sense of security, to be an authority figure the children could identity with, and to serve as a cultural bridge between students, teachers and parents (Helkiær, 1987, p. 8). They were also involved in developing pedagogical material.

These descriptions do not differ much from Just Jeppesen's (1993) summary of the roles of both groups of teachers: to help develop minority language children's self-esteem; to promote contact with their parents; to promote academic success among these children, and to foster the development of tolerance and positive attitudes in both majority and minority language children (pp. 10 & 29).

Helkiær (1987) outlines how much the language support teacher was assigned to the bilingual/bicultural program in the program proposal:

> From Kindergarten until Gr. 2, the Danish teacher and the language support teacher are with the cohort for all subjects. The language support teacher's hours are decreased after Gr. 2, and the Danish teacher is sometimes alone with the cohort. However, there continue to be two teachers in the following subjects:
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> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Gr. 3 | Class hour, Danish, math, orienteering (history and geography) |
> | Gr. 4-5 | Class hour, Danish, math, orienteering (history and geography) |
> | Gr. 6-10 | Class hour, orientering, physics + two extra hours spent in either math or Danish, depending on the need |
>
> From this point on, it is possible that children with particular difficulties can get help at the language clinic and, for Grades 6-10, for DSL instruction. (Helkiær, 1987, p. 11).

After the program was cancelled, language support teachers were assigned teaching hours to primary school cohorts on an hourly basis (i.e., four hours per every DSL child in the cohort).

In this new role, language support teachers did not participate in lesson planning, but could largely fill the rest of their earlier roles, especially as a cultural bridge when translating between groups at parent meetings. They were also given an L1 itinerant teaching assignment. The Turkish teachers interviewed enjoyed this part of their assignment, but the Kurdish teachers acknowledged that the L1 teaching assignment was nearly impossible linguistically, given the disparity of levels of the children's knowledge of Turkish (i.e., Turkish children were

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[60] The extent to which the minority and majority language teachers were equal partners in lesson preparation is questionable. (See Jørgensen, 1991, 1992, and Chapter 5).

native speakers, but Kurdish children were sometimes rank beginners).[61]

Both groups enjoyed the group solidarity portion of their L1 teaching jobs. This issue is raised with regard to educator role definitions in Chapter 4.

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See, for example, Aytimur (1998), & Atilla (personal communication, September 21, 1993). Difficulties encountered by Kurdish teachers who provided Turkish "L1" instruction are further discussed in Chapter 4 in comparison to Songül's pedagogical practices.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

There is a longstanding history of qualitative research methodology in Denmark.[1] My study, an ethnography, is no exception. The qualitative focus has, however, led to gaps in the research literature on minority language issues which quantitative studies could help fill. Indeed, Just Jeppesen, Senior Researcher at the Danish National Institute of Social Research, frequently raises the issue of the need for large scale (country-wide), quantitative studies in Denmark, studies which would address issues such as what minority language parents think about the medium of instruction their children are schooled in (e.g., L1 or L2-medium instruction), and what models of instruction they really want (see Just Jeppesen, 1993, pp. 10, 37 & 47). Ways in which a quantitative component to my research methodology would have informed the present study are discussed in Chapter 4, and again in Chapter 5 with regard to lines of future research.

Instead, I opted for an ethnography. That choice begs two immediate questions: What does such an approach entail, and why did I adopt it? Both are discussed next. Also discussed are: why I adopted a longitudinal study; the relationship between my focus on educator role definitions, educational structures and the methodology chosen; my sampling; data collection and analysis, validity;[2] generalizability of results, and ethical considerations.

3.1 Methodological Approach: Ethnographic Research

3.1.1 What Does an Ethnography Entail?

The following outlines a definition of ethnography, principles of ethnographic

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1 This was continually remarked on in my interviews with minority language researchers associated with the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies and the Department of Minority Studies at the University of Copenhagen.

2 As Yin (1984 p. 45) notes, reliability refers to conducting the same case over again, not on replicating results in another study. It would be impossible to conduct my study again, either in Denmark or elsewhere, given its uniqueness and aspects of timing (i.e., it evolved in a specific period of social relations in Denmark). Thus, I only discuss validity with regard to my study as useable corollaries of reliability do not apply.

research, conventions associated with various ethnographic genres, and a rationale for why I choose to be eclectic in genre selection.

3.1.1.1 Definition.

To begin, Watson-Gegeo (1988) describes ethnography as "the study of people's behavior in naturally occurring, ongoing settings, with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behavior" (p. 576). She describes the goal of ethnography as providing descriptive and interpretive-explanatory accounts of what people do and why, of the outcomes of what they do, and of how they understand these outcomes. She also outlines four principles of ethnographic research.

3.1.1.2 Principles.

The first principle is that ethnographic research focusses on the behaviour of a group rather than on individuals. Second, it is holistic (i.e., parts are described in relation to the whole). For example, the researcher begins by describing the microcontext, then goes on to relate that context to larger, more macro, contexts. Third, ethnographic data collection is based on a theoretical framework. As such, attention is directed to some aspects of a situation, certain research questions, and what is significant, but that does not limit the scope of inquiry as each situation must be understood on its own terms. Finally, ethnographic research is comparative: That is, having first built a theory of the setting under study, the ethnographer generalizes from that setting or situation to others. (This is further discussed in section 3.7 with regard to generalizability of results.)

3.1.1.3 Genres and conventions.

In Van Maanen's (1988) review of different approaches to ethnographic research, he identifies three main trends: realist, confessional and impressionistic accounts. He also briefly touches on critical ethnographic work (see Anderson, 1989, for a more detailed account of the latter).

3.1.1.4 Realist accounts.

Van Maanen (1989) suggests that realist accounts were the mainstay of North American ethnographic work until recent years, and lists four conventions which mark the genre: experiential authority, typical forms, the native's point of view, and interpretive

omnipotence. The first, experiential authority, is noteworthy for the absence of first-person narratives, omitted to reinforce reader belief in the author's objectivity: "[T]he diary is effaced from the account. The body of the ethnography reads as statements about the people studied rather than what the ethnographer saw or heard (or thought) about the people studied" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 48). Reader belief in research objectivity also encompasses belief in the author's scholarship and authority due to time spent in the field.

The second convention regards form. Details regarding categories and institutions are provided, not anecdotes, and generalizations overshadow particulars. The third convention, the native's point of view, refers to sprinkling a text with authentic quotations which represent the native's--rather than the ethnographer's--point of view. Finally, interpretive omnipotence refers to "the final word" on interpreting (and representing) native culture lying in an ethnographer's hands.

Van Maanen's main criticism of realist ethnographies is directed at the convention of experiential authority. He argues that researchers can never extract their own beliefs, interpretations and theoretical biases from how they record and present data, no matter how objective and authoritative their accounts seem.

3.1.1.5 Confessional accounts.

The second identified trend in ethnographic research is the confessional account. Characteristics of confessional accounts which distinguish them from realist accounts[3] are what Van Maanen considers "personalized styles" and "self-absorbed mandates" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 73). That is, confessional accounts reflect personalized (vs. distant, "objective") authority, the fieldworker's own point of view, and naturalness. Personal authority is reflected in use of the first person in confessional accounts which accompany realist accounts (by way of explanation of constraints and trials encountered in the field, etc.). The second convention, personal points of view, surfaces in the form of autobiographical asides explaining the researcher's evolution from outsider to insider, while emphasizing that

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Van Maanen (1988) suggests that European schools of thought (e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983) have strongly influenced ethnographic writing and resulted in researchers including confessional accounts in what may still be predominantly realist ethnographic work.

the researcher was not duped by her informants and did not romanticize the setting: "The attitude conveyed is one of tacking back and forth between an insider's passionate perspective and an outsider's dispassionate one" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 77).[4] Finally, the third convention, naturalness, refers to researchers' balancing act of having erred, but still managing to make valid observations and interpretations: That is, researchers stress that, though they intrude on cultures, they do not disturb them to the point of making research accounts unrepresentative; though they tap local expert sources, they also experience a great deal of the culture at first-hand and, though they commit gaffes and social blunders, they do not misread cultures to the point of invalidating research accounts.

Van Maanen (1988) lauds confessional accounts for how interpretations and representations of culture are dealt with in them:

> No longer is the social world . . . to be taken for granted as out there full of neutral, objective, observable facts. Nor are native points of view to be considered plums hanging from trees, needing only to be plucked by fieldworkers and passed on to consumers. Rather, social facts, including native points of view, are human fabrications, themselves open to social inquiry as to their origins. (p. 93)

The issue of how to deal with interpretations and representations is, as the reader will see, a recurrent theme in this dissertation.

Van Maanen views the way in which interpretations and representations of culture are dealt with in confessional accounts as a double-edged sword, and directs the following criticism at confessional ethnographic approaches: Along with the intense (self-) examination which is characteristic of confessional accounts comes the danger of ethnographic paralysis. Van Maanen describes this as the danger of an ethnographer no longer daring to express anything for fear of misinterpreting or misrepresenting the target culture. This issue is also

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[4] This convention underlies the approach to one ethnographic research technique, namely that of participant-observation advocated by Spradley (1980). He encourages researchers to:

> maintain a dual purpose . . . seek to participate and to watch yourself and others at the same time. Make yourself explicitly aware of things that others take for granted . . . take mental pictures with a wide-angle lens, looking beyond your immediate focus of activity . . . experience the feeling of being both an insider and an outsider simultaneously. . . . Engage in introspection to more fully understand your experiences . . . keep a record of what you see and experience. (p. 58)

revisited in the body of the dissertation.

3.1.1.6 Impressionist accounts.

Van Maanen views the third trend, impressionist accounts, as a sub-genre of both realist and confessional accounts: Impressionist accounts are an attempt to bring together the knower (described in confessional accounts) and the known (described in realist accounts). Impressionist ethnographic work is characterized by vibrant, imaginative, first-person stories. Conventions include: textual identity, fragmented knowledge, characterization and dramatic control.

Textual identity refers to chronological retelling of events without analytical asides. Readers are left to interpret events as they will, without the author interrupting the flow of the narrative which is presumed to be transparent. Fragmented knowledge refers to presenting events without the author's usual threading together of the significance of individual events. Readers are left to make sense of an incoherent whole in much the same way as the researcher experienced the events before having the advantage of hind-sight. Characterization includes both how the researcher is portrayed as she/he comes to understand the setting studied, and who key individuals are in the setting. The latter are not portrayed en masse (e.g., Turks do X . . .), but rather as individuals with motives, backgrounds and personal stories (Ali did X because . . .). Finally, dramatic control refers to holding an audience's attention by writing with verve. Van Maanen (1988, p. 105) summarizes the standards by which impressionistic work is judged as: interest (does the story attract?), coherence (does it hang together?), and fidelity (does it seem true?).

3.1.1.7 Critical ethnography.

Finally, critical ethnography is discussed only very briefly. Van Maanen (1988) describes this work as "strategically situated to shed light on larger social, political, symbolic, or economic issues" (p. 127) and notes that, where critical ethnographies diverge from their precedents is, indeed, in the accent put on the political, social and economic surroundings of the group represented. Thus, critical ethnographies draw on the principle described at the outset by Watson-Gegeo (1988) that ethnographies are holistic (i.e., links must be made between micro and macrocontexts).

3.1.1.8 Rationale for eclecticism.

With regard to the question of which ethnographic genre I adopted, the answer is: all of them. I adopted an eclectic approach and drew on aspects of realist, confessional, impressionist and critical ethnographies at different stages of this dissertation. Realist ethnography underpins the majority of the following chapters. Confessional ethnographic issues arise in Chapter 4, although the issue of representation and interpretation is omnipresent throughout. Similarly, the impressionist convention of not dealing with the group en masse, but as individuals with motives, backgrounds and personal stories, is evident throughout my work. Finally, my linking of micro and macro issues stems from the theoretical framework underpinning the study; hence, conventions of critical ethnography are unavoidable in my study.

3.1.2 Why Did I Adopt an Ethnographic Research Approach?

Van Maanen (1988) notes that, in ethnographic research, "accident and happenstance shapes fieldworkers' studies as much as planning or foresight:"

> In its broadest, most conventional sense, fieldwork demands the full-time involvement of a researcher over a lengthy period of time (typically unspecified) and consists mostly of ongoing interaction with the human targets of study on their home ground. . . . [T]he research is . . . virtually always transforming as the fieldworker comes to regard an initially strange and unfamiliar place and people in increasingly familiar and confident ways. (p. 2)

I was already involved in an informal "ethnography of Denmark" before I came to choose it as a formal research topic: I was living in Denmark and involved in a construction of understanding of Danish society and minority issues when I "discovered" the school in which I would conduct my ethnography. Therefore, I was already in a relatively "strange and unfamiliar place."[5] At first, I was supposed to stay for six of the nine months my scholarship covered and return to Canada to complete the ethnographic study I was in involved in there.

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While I had lived in Denmark some 17 years earlier, the Danish social climate had changed so drastically with regard to minorities, the area with which I was involved in my later visit, that I had difficulty recognizing the people who I thought of as Danes and characteristics that I considered Danish (e.g., their mentality); hence, coming back to Denmark was akin to what Van Maanen refers to as residing in a strange and unfamiliar place.

When I realized the richness of the research potential of a Danish school to which I had access, I decided to focus my dissertation research on the Danish context. I immediately saw that the intricacies of the school would only be understandable should I conduct a lengthy study there;[6] however, I did not know the extent to which "accident and happenstance" would shape my study. Certain details in the research setting lay well beneath the surface and some social facts, including native points of view were, if not human fabrications, misrepresentative of certain situations. These facts and details only came to light after conducting a long-term study, the need for which is discussed next.

3.2 Longitudinal Research

Woods (1996) emphasizes the need to conduct longitudinal ethnographic research and, in fact, distinguishes between outsider and insider views which come from having been in a setting for long or short periods of time. He associates longitudinal work with insider views, and outsider views with short term work (sometimes referred to as ethnography [blitzkrieg]; see Watson-Gegeo, 1988). Woods (1996, p. 17) characterizes outsider views as formal views which shed light on surface events, and insider views as functionally oriented views which got to the deep structure of events (e.g., how they function and their connection to participants' goals, assumptions, intentions and beliefs). With regard to classroom studies, Woods (1996, p. 15) notes that the deep structure of a classroom setting is only visible to researchers familiar with classroom culture; hence, longitudinal research is preferable in complicated classroom settings such as the ones in which I conducted my research.

If I had not conducted a longitudinal ethnographic study, I would have missed many details needed for me to construct an understanding of events.[7] Thus, I not only adopted an

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6 See Chapter 2 which deals with contextual details for information on the various programs operating in that school.

7 One example discussed in Chapter 4, is how speaking to one informant (Nayif) at a later point in my study provided me with crucial background information on a main informant (Songül). This discovery led me to question the validity of certain insider views and to uncover more of the hidden (and misrepresented) part of my study: the Kurdish factor.

ethnographic approach, but a longitudinal one, to construct a solid understanding of my participants (e.g., their own interpretations and agendas); that is:

> the context that the teacher and learners bring to bear in terms of their knowledge, assumptions and underlying beliefs, and their perceptions about how classroom events play a role in accomplishing (or failing to accomplish) the teaching and the learning. (Woods, 1996, p. 16)

Had I only conducted a short-term study and gained an outsider view of the study, I might have come away with a partial view or misrepresentation of events.[8]

A further advantage to longitudinal studies is longer time spent in a particular field permits researchers to grasp the history of a situation, a history which brings sense to seemingly incoherent events. Coherence comes from grasping the bigger picture by identifying recurring patterns in a classroom over time, knowing how the patterns evolved, and knowing how the patterns function in accomplishing the teaching/learning which occurs in the classroom (see section 3.6, and Woods, 1996, p. 16).[9]

3.3 Connecting Theory and Methodology

The purpose of this section is to relate the theoretical framework to the research methodology. I argue that an ethnographic approach was best suited to capture the nuances of a study framed on Cummins' (1996) empowerment framework and, specifically, to capture the research problem: How to unravel conditions of practice to understand the educational experience of Kurdish children in this setting? I link theory and methodology by reviewing previously identified tenets of the theoretical framework and principles of ethnographies, then explain how an ethnography (rather than other research approaches) was best suited to develop the theoretical framework and provide an answer to the research problem.

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[8] Indeed, in Andersen's (1992) study, she never cites the fact that many of the "Turkish" children she describes are, in fact, Kurds though she is describing one of the cohorts of my study.

[9] That is not to say that there are not also advantages to outsider views, or that insider views are infallible (see Footnote 7 for an example of the fallibility of insider views). For example, teachers may misjudge classroom happenings or not see discrepancies between their stated beliefs (e.g., their role definitions) and their behaviour. This is further discussed in Chapter 4.

3.3.1 Tenets of the Theoretical Framework

To begin, the main tenets of the theoretical framework were agency and individuals' individual will and potential ability to challenge educational structures, defined as policies, programs, curriculum and assessment (Cummins, 1996, p. 18). Individual will and the potential to challenge educational structures were related to educator role definitions, defined as individual educators' mindsets, assumptions, expectations and goals with regard to minority language children (Cummins, 1996, p. 18). The interplay of educator role definitions and educational structures was examined at two levels: micro and macro contexts. The focus in the microcontext was on direct, teacher-student interaction which occurred in the classroom or larger school setting. The focus in the macrocontext was on conditions in broader society (e.g., sociopolitical and sociohistorical contexts).[10]

Ogbu (1992) suggests that an ethnographic approach is best poised to capture the breadth of study needed to look beyond micro to macro circumstances to understand minority group underachievement. Why? To understand this, it is necessary to turn back to the principles of ethnography outlined by Watson-Gegeo (1988) earlier in this chapter.

3.3.2 Ethnographic Principles

The four principles identified by Watson-Gegeo (1988) were: group focus, holistic overview, theoretically based data collection, and comparative purpose. While other research approaches may include a group focus and yield theoretically based data collection, ethnographies are privileged forms of research for holistic, comparative studies. As is described next, the principle of holism described by Watson-Gegeo meshes well with the micro/macro connection which Ogbu argues is necessary to understand minority language students' school experience, and which lies at the heart of Cummins' theoretical framework. Also explained next is why data-rich ethnographies are best suited to meet the joint purposes of providing points of comparison and unravelling the conditions of practice such as referred to by Candlin (1986).

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In fact, it is the need for a macro-focus which makes respecting conventions of critical ethnography (e.g., accentuating the political, social and economic surroundings of the group represented) not only à propos, but unavoidable in my study.

3.3.3 Comparability

Watson-Gegeo (1988) describes the movement from understanding teacher-student interaction which comes from conducting an ethnographic study to analysis of this interaction as being:

> embedded in a series of concentric rings of increasingly larger (more "macro") contexts. If we move from the microcontext of the interaction outward, these rings might include other interactions during the lesson, the lesson taken as a whole, the classroom with its characteristics and constraints, the school, the district . . . , and the society. (p. 577)

To provide a focus such as this, a descriptive overview of the broader social context is necessary. The topic of describing contextual factors brings us to the issue of comparability.

While contexts of schooling and social context are clearly unique and, by definition, incomparable, they must be described to understand conditions of practice from setting to setting. The thick description characteristic of ethnographies is a boon to a study in which contextual factors must be thoroughly documented so that conditions of practice are well understood. Once setting-specific factors are understood, readers may proceed to a higher level of analysis: that of the comparability of factors in the setting described to settings with which readers are more familiar. While Watson-Gegeo (1988, p. 581) recognizes that "direct comparison of the details of two or more settings is usually not possible," she also observes that "comparison is possible at a more abstract level." This observation is further discussed in section 3.7. I discuss my sampling next.

3.4 Sampling

Included in this section are how I selected my population and cohorts (teachers and students), how I established my time-line, and how I selected key informants and documents.

3.4.1 Population and Cohorts

3.4.1.1 Population.

While on scholarship in Denmark, I was enrolled in four courses at the University of Copenhagen and Roskilde University Center. At the University of Copenhagen, I was in the Department of Minority Studies; at Roskilde, I was in Language and Culture. One of the

courses in which I was enrolled at the University of Copenhagen was a second language teaching methods course taught by Dr. Holmen. A component of the course was to observe second language teaching (namely, Danish as a second language [DSL]) in various settings around Copenhagen. I observed an adult (continuing education) DSL class, and DSL in a public school setting.

Trilleskolen,[11] the public school that I observed, offered a wealth of DSL settings. On my first visit, conducted to complete Dr. Holmen's assignment, I observed two cohorts which had participated in a pilot bilingual/bicultural (Danish/Turkish) educational program and a reception class, and spoke to the school consultant-cum-civil servant.[12] I chose *Trilleskolen* as the school population I wished to work with, in part, because of the openness of the educators I met and their enthusiastic response to my proposal to conduct a long-term study there but, mainly, because it featured a bilingual education program designed to improve the educational experience of minority language children. That focus made the program not only novel and innovative for Denmark, but for most western countries. As noted in the Introduction, whether the "clients" of a bilingual program are minority or majority group members is strong indication of whether the program will be viewed as tendentious. *Trilleskolen* fell into the "tendentious" category as one of the explicit goals of the bilingual/bicultural program offered there was (as noted) to improve minority language students' educational experiences.[13]

Since the program was called a "Danish/Turkish" bilingual/bicultural program, I assumed that individuals involved in the program were Danish- and Turkish-speaking children,

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Trilleskolen is not the real name of the Danish public school where I conducted my participant-observation. Neither are the names of teachers, students, parents or other informants whom I mention their real names unless the informants were connected with the government (e.g., Ministry of Education) or academics who knew that I would cite them by name.

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In Denmark, school-based consultants in charge of minority language children are also civil servants with offices and office hours in the local municipal government building. Their other duties include paying home visits to all foreign citizens who move into the municipality to explain school practices and direct them to integration authorities and offices.

[13] See the *Du er ingen* [*You are nobody*] report reviewed in Chapter 2.

educators and parents. I was interested in this make-up of participants because so much of the minority literature I was reading and hearing about in my other courses at the University of Copenhagen dealt with Turks, a group with whom I was quite unfamiliar since I came from Canada where Turks do not have a strong presence. I had also done a fair amount of reading about issues related to the Turkish minority in the rest of Europe. Therefore, I was very pleased to work with Turks as a target population at *Trilleskolen*, and to have gained easy entry to that school.[14]

3.4.1.2 Cohorts.

I focussed on two main cohorts, the same ones as I observed on my initial visit. At that time (Phase I of my study), there were five bilingual/bicultural cohorts: the oldest group was in Gr. 7 and the youngest was in Gr. 3. The groups I observed were in Grades 4 and 5. I intended to begin observing the Gr. 6 cohort, but decided to focus on just two and supplement those observations with additional observations to gain an overview of the school.

Included in my additional observations were: (a) shadowing students from my two main cohorts when they attended mainstream classes not included in the bilingual/bicultural program (i.e., where they had teachers other than the two main educators, one Danish and one Turkish, attached to the class); (b) shadowing students from my two main cohorts when they attended Turkish "mother tongue" lessons and English lessons; (c) shadowing the Turkish teachers on their other assignments (namely, language support and Turkish "mother tongue" teaching; especially the language support which Songül provided for a Gr. 2 cohort formed after the bilingual/bicultural program was cancelled and for a Special Education cohort); (d) shadowing the Danish teachers on their other assignments; (e) following the progress of students in the reception class I viewed on my first visit; (f) observing an older cohort of children in a reception class; (g) observing the progress of a Kindergarten cohort formed after the bilingual/bicultural program was cancelled; (h) shadowing a Kurdish teacher on his language support and Turkish "mother tongue" assignment; and (i) shadowing an English

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[14] That is, Dr. Holmen arranged my initial visit, and the Danish and Turkish educators and Danish consultant at the school offered me carte blanche in the way of return visits and a long-term study.

teacher who taught the Gr. 7 bilingual/bicultural cohort. These additional observations ranged from one-time to a maximum of five-time shots.

I also observed: a school governance meeting when the topic was language issues relating to minority language children; beginning of the year "Meet the Teacher" evenings; student get-together evenings, and a post-"trip to Turkey" evening after I travelled to Turkey for a week as a chaperone for the older cohort. I also conducted a day of classroom visits in a sister bilingual/bicultural school in a different municipality, interviewed the principal and consultant for minority language children there, and shadowed another Kurdish teacher in that other municipality for a day while he taught Turkish "mother tongue" classes and conducted bilingual support duties. Finally, I also observed public school reception classes and a mandatory adult DSL class for refugees offered by the Integration Department in Copenhagen and in a different province (Odense on the island of Fünen), and interviewed minority language educators and consultants in both locations. This was in addition to informal interviews which I conducted with my former Danish host family and friends, most of whom were involved in various levels of the Danish public school system.

3.4.2 Time-line

My five phase, three year time-line included an initial school visit in March, 1993 (Phase I), weekly follow-up visits to the school from May to the end of term in June, 1993 (Phase II), school observations four days a week from August-October, 1993 (Phase III), school observations from late April to June, 1994, during which time I participated in a week-long school trip to Turkey (Phase IV), and final school observations over a two week period in August-September, 1994 (Phase V). Thus, my observations spanned three academic years: March-June, 1993 (Year I), August, 1993-June, 1994 (Year II), and August-September 1994 (Year III). During those three years, the older cohort moved from Gr. 5 to 7 and the younger cohort moved from Gr. 4 to 6.

This extended time-line allowed me to view student attrition first-hand, an attrition rate which was relatively high (for reasons explained in Chapter 4). In the older cohort, there were 14 students in Gr. 5, but only 12 by Gr.7 even though two Danish students (labelled "behaviour problems") had been transferred in to bolster the cohort's numbers in the interim.

In the younger cohort, there were 12 students in Gr. 4 and 9 by the time they reached Gr. 6 (see explanation of student attrition in Chapter 2).

The way my time-line was established also had to do with what Van Maanen (1988) describes as "accident and happenstance" (p. 2) which shape fieldworkers' studies as much as planning or foresight. I was already in Denmark on scholarship when I "discovered" my school site in Phase I (March 1993). My scholarship spanned Phases I and III, but my observations were interrupted by the six-week long Danish summer holiday period (mid-June to the end of July). While it had always been my intention to return to Denmark to conduct Phase IV follow-up research in the spring of 1994 since I was eager to accompany the older cohort on their trip to Turkey, I did not anticipate conducting additional research when I left Denmark at the end of Year II, at the beginning of summer holidays. However, a proposal which I submitted to give a paper at a conference held at Christiansborg Palace in Copenhagen was accepted. As a result, I returned to Denmark in August 1994 to present the paper. The conference was held a few days after the commencement of a new school year (Year III) which allowed me to conduct a final phase of school observations and conduct interviews (in Phase V). Though unanticipated, Phase V was beneficial in two ways. First, it allowed me to see yet more changes in cohort sizes (e.g., attrition), teaching assignments, and the overall climate of teaching minority language children in Denmark. Second, it allowed me to conduct final member-checking activities (see section 3.6.2.2).

3.4.3 Key Informant and Document Selection

3.4.3.1 Key informants.

I had four main key informants: the two Danish and two Turkish teachers attached to my two main cohorts. Other key informants (formerly) attached to *Trilleskolen* included: Merete, the minority language consultant; Ali, a male Kurdish refugee who had formerly taught in the bilingual/bicultural program, and Arif, a male Kurdish refugee hired in Year II to teach Turkish "mother tongue" classes and work as a bilingual support teacher. Another key informant involved in public school education, but not employed at *Trilleskolen*, was Atilla. He was another male Kurdish refugee who taught Turkish "mother tongue" classes and worked as a bilingual support teacher in a different municipality. He had also taught in the

sister bilingual/bicultural program in that municipality until their program was cancelled as well.

Other informants whom I interviewed were: Danish, Turkish and Kurdish children in my two main cohorts and several of their parents;[15] other Danish and Kurdish educators at *Trilleskolen*, including the principal;[16] Nayif and Atilla in their additional capacity as members of two different Kurdish political organizations; (the aforementioned) consultants in other municipalities and provinces; a representative from the Ministry of Education;[17] seven Danish professors actively involved in minority (language) issues in Denmark;[18] a Pakistani journalist who was a member of the Immigrant Advisory Group to the Minister of the Interior, and a

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15 Danish, Turkish and Kurdish children whom I interviewed in Phase II/Year II included: Hanan, Ugurtan, Leif, Dorthe and Jonna from Gr. 6, and Frederik, Farhid, Mehmet, Elmas and Dilan from Gr. 5. Danish, Turkish and Kurdish parents whom I interviewed included the following Gr. 6 parents and family members: Jonna's mother; Hasan's father; Bünyamin's mother; Ugurtan's father; Zeki's older sister, and the following Gr. 5 parents: Dilan and Peder's mothers. Parent interviews followed the Interview Protocol when conducted in Phase II (i.e., they were more open interviews), but did not when conducted in Phase III (i.e., they focussed more specifically on Kurdish issues). Phase II parent interviews included: Jonna' mother, Hasan's father, and Dilan and Peder's mothers. Phase III parent interviews included: Bünyamin's mother; Ugurtan's father; Zeki's older sister, and Dilan's mother (again).

16 Educators at *Trilleskolen* whose interviews I taped and which, therefore, followed the Interview Protocol (see Appendix D) included: the Principal; my four key informants in the two bilingual/bicultural cohorts I followed--Bodil, Songül, Vibeke and Emine; Cem, a Kurdish Kindergarten "*pædogog*" [early child care instructor]; Lissi, a Danish teacher of English to the older cohort and a classroom teacher for the 2nd oldest bilingual/bicultural cohort, and the consultant, Anne-Mette. These interviews were conducted in Phase II. Taped interviews of educators at the sister bilingual/bicultural school included: Atilla, a Kurd who taught Turkish mother tongue classes; the consultant, and the principal. These interviews were conducted in Phases II and III. Other educators interviewed during Phase II at *Trilleskolen*, but whose interviews I did not tape (and which did not follow the Interview Protocol) included: Birthe, a Danish Kindergarten teacher; Arif, a Kurdish language support/Turkish "mother tongue" teacher; Åse, a Danish Gr. 2 teacher, and Hanne, a Danish teacher of English to the pilot group of the bilingual/bicultural program.

17 Ann Granum was the Ministry of Education representative.

18 These included Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Robert Phillipson, Anne Holmen, Jørgen Gimbel, Jens Normann Jørgensen, Helen Krag and Christian Horst.

Pakistani professor who was also employed as a journalist with Danish national television.[19]

3.4.3.2 Document selection.

I conducted extensive document analysis. Many of the policy documents which I analysed (e.g., from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of the Interior or the Danish Office of Civil Rights) were reviewed or alluded to in Chapter 2. Other documents analysed included: research documents written by Danish experts on minority (language) issues; reports on the bilingual/bicultural program which either referred to the program at *Trilleskolen* or to the sister program in the other municipality--these included reports written by some of the teacher participants in my study; pedagogical materials written by some of the teacher participants in my study; Nayif and Arif's course papers on the education of Kurdish children in the Danish public school system; curricular documents and materials; samples of children's work; notices sent home to parents; weekly information sheets distributed at *Trilleskolen*, etc.

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Included in my study were three data collection techniques: participant-observation, interviews and document analysis. Who and what I included in my sampling have already been discussed above (see section 3.4). An explanation of how I analysed the data gained from my participant-observation, interviews and document analysis follows a brief explanation of how I implemented these techniques.

3.5.1 Data Collection

3.5.1.1 Participant-observation.

Spradley (1980) lists five characteristics of participant-observation which distinguish it from ordinary observation: (a) its dual purpose (one watches and participates); (b) a researcher's explicit awareness of ongoing observations; (c) the situation is viewed with a wide-angle lens that looks beyond the immediate focus; (d) a dual (insider-outsider) perspective (refer back to section 3.1.1 for Van Maanen's discussion of this topic); and (e) a

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The journalists referred to were Bashy Quraishy and Mustafa Hussain. Another minority group spokesperson interviewed was Eric Tinor-Centi of the Center for Documentation on Racism.

record is kept of what is seen and experienced (see Footnote 4). My own participant-observation included all five of these characteristics.

Ways in which I participated while observing were by chaperoning the older cohort of children on their trip to Turkey in Phase II, attending special events held at the school in the evening over Phases I to III, and supervising students when Danish educators were alone with a cohort and needed to speak to a student on an individual basis outside of class (Phases I-III). I was not requested to teach formal lessons, but was asked to co-teach or interact with the English teacher as a language model for brief periods during the half dozen or so times I conducted participant observation in each of my two main cohorts' English lessons.

3.5.1.2 Ethnographic and in-depth, phenomenological interviews.

The vast majority of the interviews I conducted were ethnographic ones (Spradley, 1979). I asked holistic questions while making descriptive observations, particularly in Phase I. My holistic questions became more focussed at the end of Phase II when I followed an interview protocol to gain an understanding of educator, student and parent views of language, educator role definitions and educational structures (see Appendix D for the interview protocol). In the latter part of Phase II and throughout Phase III, my questions focussed increasingly on the Kurdish factor in the bilingual/bicultural program as I tried to corroborate different versions of the history of the program and unmask its Kurdish dimension.

In a few instances, I also conducted in-depth (though informal) phenomenological interviews. Van Maanen (1988) loosely defines phenomenological interviews as interviews with the following characteristics: (a) the lines between subject and object are often blurred; (b) the relationship between the knower and the known is viewed as problematised; and (c) they defy absolutes as multiple interpretations may be made of the interview data and the resultant ethnographies are open to controversy and debate. The informal nature of these interviews may be explained by their nature and origin: For the most part, they just "happened" and more closely resembled disclosures than interviews. For that reason, they were not taped and the participants did not see me keep a record of what they said in writing. They were, however, among the most poignant of all my interviews and, although I did not

record them verbatim, I still remember them vividly because they were so sorrowful that they were etched in my memory. With one exception, they all involved minority language educators: Songül, Emine, Arif and Atilla.[20] The one exception to this rule was a female Kurdish parent (Dilan's mother).

In all cases involving educators, the informants were very enthusiastic about my study and wanted me to relate their views and experiences in a manner which could be heard by the Danish public and, hopefully, change (then) current educational structures and positively influence the educational experience of minority language children, particularly ones labelled "Turks". In keeping with phenomenological interviews, these educators related their life history, contemporary history and interpretation of experiences to me.

Woods (1996) discusses the advantages of phenomenological interviews in which informants express beliefs (veiled) in "stories" which they choose to disclose. The main

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For example, Songül described her experience fleeing Turkey following the 1980 military coup. Her husband was a Communist Party member, and escaped before her. She was obliged to leave her 6 month-old daughter with her mother because she would have looked suspicious if she were leaving the country with a baby and the officials would have checked her records more closely. She describes the choking fear she felt as the airport official checked hundreds of hand-written pages to see if her name was on a "most wanted" list. (There were no computer generated lists back in 1980.) She had to change planes in Vienna. For the whole flight between Istanbul and Vienna she was terrified that the authorities would find her name and send her back on a flight to Istanbul. To be caught meant imprisonment and possible death (see Taylor quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000.)

It was two years before she was reunited with her daughter. By then, the child had come to think of her grandmother as her mother. When Songül left her mother's home to bring the toddler back to Denmark, the child screamed as though she was being torn away from her mother. Songül noted the horrible emotions that incident made her feel and how hard it was to get her child to bond with her, a virtual stranger, when they got back to Denmark.

A "disclosure" made by Arif, while different, was no less poignant and heartbreaking. It speaks volumes on the phenomena of "colonized consciousness." Though he had a Danish teaching certificate, he explained why he did not feel he could ever be a classroom teacher: He did not have any hesitations about his Danish, he just felt that he was not good enough. He felt that he was not as good as Danish educators because they had experienced more enriching childhoods than him. Since he had read about child development and pedagogy, he felt he knew what sort of enriching experiences children needed and felt that he had not had them, whereas his Danish colleagues did. Therefore, he did not feel good enough to be a classroom teacher on par with Danes. One can only imagine how second generation immigrant children feel about themselves if an adult, male Kurd who graduated as an engineer before fleeing to Denmark and gaining refugee status there had so interiorized Danish society's view of him (a "Turk") as inferior. . . .

advantage which he cites is that beliefs expressed in this manner are more likely to be authentic (read: valid) than ones articulated in response to abstract, less contextualized questions. Certainly the pain expressed was real and it was for that reason that those "stories" remain etched in my mind.

3.5.1.3 Documents.

Yin (1989) cautions that, when analysing documents, their contents must be taken with a grain of salt for many (e.g., government documents) may reflect a party line and are not neutral. Corson (1990) further cautions that an absence of documentation on a subject is also significant. In the case of my study, the fact that the Ministry of Education was just beginning, in Phase II, to develop policy guidelines on mother tongue instruction, and had not yet struck a committee to work on DSL guidelines was noteworthy. This absence of policy was even more striking in light of the massive amount of coverage DSL children were receiving in the press, in the research literature, etc. at that time. As is discussed in Chapter 2, focus was placed on "the problem" with DSL children, and how to get rid of the problem (e.g., by bussing them to schools where they would be less numerous; hence, the problem would be less visible) rather than on meeting their educational needs--by developing appropriate language policies and curricular documents or guidelines.

3.5.2 Data Analysis

Analysing data culled in qualitative studies has been referred to as an attractive nuisance by Miles (1979), and Hopkins, Bollington and Hewett (1989) suggest that the problem with qualitative data analysis is that guidelines on data analysis are scarce and disputed. Hopkins, Bollington and Hewett (1989) do, however, provide some broad guidelines for data analysis; namely: (a) anticipate the study (i.e., develop a research question and study design); (b) immerse oneself in the data to discover modifications or refinements that can be made to the theoretical framework on the basis of data culled, coded and reduced; (c) validate identified themes; (d) interpret the data; and (e) write a final report. Woods (1996) provides the following guidelines which apply more specifically to ethnographic studies: (a) examine explicit statements; (b) be wary of explicit statements--treat them as hypotheses to be (dis)proved, based on subsequent evidence (events); (c) note recurring themes which may be

indicators of underlying beliefs; (d) examine the dynamic substance of (ever changing) beliefs and the relationship between beliefs; and (e) keep revisiting the data to gain better understanding of it and increase the validity of the study. I conducted my data analysis with both Hopkins et al. (1989) and Woods' (1996) recommendations in mind.

Though I originally planned to use the data analysis software called "The Ethnograph," it proved unsuitable for handling the scope of school-based events which I targeted. My focus on events and relationships was best handled by manual coding of data as becomes clear in Chapter 4, with regard to the various (Preben, Ali, etc.) "affairs." I did print out my interview data using the Ethnograph formatting, however, as it gave me a useful manner of line-numbering by which to reference interview citations, dates, etc.

3.6 Validity

Woods (1996) compares learners' and educators' perspectives on the same classroom: "There are different sets of criteria and different types of validity (theoretical and personal) related to each perspective" (p. 14). He notes how learners may view their educational experiences as successful, based on their own corollaries, regardless of how others view them, and how educators may view their teaching as successful, independent of outside evaluators' and students' views. Given that learners and educators may well judge success by different criteria, Woods urges researchers to adopt a multi-faceted approach to data collection as, while learners' and educators' views may be in opposition, neither are inherently wrong.

This again raises the issue of interpretation and representation, and ways of evaluating whether a researcher's take on a situation is valid. The validity of both data collection and analysis are discussed in this section, beginning with data collection.

3.6.1 Validity and Data Collection

Two ways of achieving validity in data collection are by including saturation and triangulation.

3.6.1.1 Saturation.

There are at least four ways of ensuring saturation (also referred to as member-checking). The first generally involves cross-checking two or more informants' views or

versions of events (Woods, 1996). As becomes clear in Chapter 4, different factions of my informants held widely divergent views on common topics. Generally, minority language informants' self-representations and interpretations of group actions differed from representations of them and interpretations of their actions made by dominant group informants.[21] Had I not member-checked (i.e., compared dominant group "truths" about minority group members to minority group opinions), I would have come away with an invalid take on the issue. Thus, saturation was necessary to understand disputed "truths." Also discussed in Chapter 4 is why saturation was necessary to investigate the multiple versions of the genesis of bilingual/bicultural program which I heard (e.g., why there was no Kurdish component to the program).

Woods (1996) recommends a second use of saturation: to investigate the validity of answers respondents give to interview questions. He recommends that researchers compare discrepancies between what respondents say and do. This amounts to member-checking which does not go beyond the level of the individual. This validity "test" also arises in Chapter 4 with regard to the "Preben affair." A third use of saturation, again at the level of the individual, involves comparing the answers which respondent give to interview questions to the, in this

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An example of this were differences in how the Danish media and dominant group educators viewed "Turkish" parents' long-term educational goals for their children. The widely accepted view among Danes was: "Turks" plan to retire back in Turkey and, thus, do not take their children's education in Denmark seriously since they do not plan on staying. Every single Turkish and Kurdish parent interviewed stated, however, that they do not plan on returning to Turkey or, if they ever do so, it will be when they are elderly and their children will continue to live in Denmark, where they were born. Ugurtan's father gave the example that, while on summer vacation in Turkey the previous summer, Ugurtan was homesick for Denmark after a while because that was "home;" Dilan's mother stressed that, Dilan was different from her cousins in Turkey because she was not fully Kurdish in her ways, having been raised in Denmark. Dilan's mother was doing everything she could to stay in Denmark where she felt her children's prospects were much brighter than in Turkey, even though her husband had been deported back to Turkey and the social pressure on her to rejoin him there was great. Furthermore, every Turkish and Kurdish parent interviewed stressed the importance of their children gaining a good education in Denmark as that was where their children's future lay. Therefore, dominant group society's presentation of how "Turks" viewed the importance of their children's education in Denmark was clearly inaccurate. It did, however, have the power of "fact" as it was taken as a given. This raises the further issue of who has the power to define a given situation, power that usually lies in the dominant group's hands.

case, unsolicited "stories" they gave; stories in which their beliefs shone through (see Footnote #20).

A final view of saturation is that researchers must stay in the research setting until they are confident that they have nothing more to learn.[22] At the end of conducting a long-term, multi-phase study, I was confident that I had a firm grasp on the complexity of my research setting.

3.6.1.2 Triangulation.

Triangulation involves gaining three vantage points on a topic, generally by including three data collection techniques in a research design (Jonkman, 1991). My study includes triangulation. I also combined triangulation and saturation by incorporating (and comparing) three points of view on minority language issues and how best to school minority language children: views held in the micro setting of the school, in the macro setting of Danish society, and in the even larger macro setting of the international language research community.[23]

While researchers generally agree on the advantages of triangulation to ensure construct validity (Yin, 1984, p. 42), related issues do arise. These include the issues of "observer effect" in participant-observation and asking 'leading' questions in ethnographic interviews (Woods, 1996). The former refers to unnatural participant behaviour caused by an observer's presence, and the latter refers to attributing unnatural insights to participants, insights they would not have had without the aid of leading questions. My long-term study largely precluded "observer effects." I was there too long for participants not to revert to natural behaviours which, as Woods (1996) notes: "indicates the importance of the longer term study in getting a more valid picture of . . . momentary processes"[24] (p. 38). With regard

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[22] Personal communication with Dr. Swain in 1991.

[23] This becomes clear in discussing the issue of "spredning" (spreading, or desegregation) which arises in Chapter 4, with regard to the "Preben affair."

[24] Woods' (1996, p. 38) observation confirms Van Maanen's earlier comment (see section 3.1.2) regarding the importance of conducting long-term ethnographies to gain solid understanding of a research setting.

to asking 'leading' questions, that may have occurred if my major focus was to gain information on the Kurdish issue during interviews I conducted, but since that was not my main focus during the major interview period (Phase II), it was not an issue. Indeed, not asking more questions about the Kurdish issue was more of an issue, as is discussed in Chapter 4.

I would not say that my line of questioning led participants to have insights which they would not otherwise have had, but it did occasionally raise issues that participants followed up on. An example was how Emine reacted to my questions regarding "Kultur" class which she assumed dealt with world religions and which I understood to be a class on Christianity, a class which the Muslim children were obliged to attend. Emine took it upon herself to further investigate the content of the course after I raised the question. Furthermore, when I raised the question of racism, Songül invited me to her home for an afternoon so that she could give me a more in-depth interview on the topic; however, she had many "stories" which she wanted to share. Thus, her insights were pre-formed and it was not a case of my interview questions spurring her to think of things which she might not have thought of otherwise.

3.6.2 Validity and Data Analysis

Three noteworthy issues arise when discussing the validity of data analysis: (a) emergent patterns; (b) categories and relationships, member-checking; and (c) the use of interpreters.

3.6.2.1 Emergent patterns, categories and relationships.

While, as noted in Watson-Gegeo's (1988) principles of ethnographies, theory underlies ethnographic studies, researchers must also let patterns, categories and relationships emerge when analysing data. As Van Lier (1988) explains:

> The ethnographer is always on the lookout for patterns and regularities, and, beyond that, for underlying patterns that connect. This means that both in-depth study and global scanning are needed; metaphorically speaking the ethnographer needs both microscope and telescope, and uses them alternately to view the same landscape. The classroom researcher inspects a here-and-now process. However, the ultimate aim is to show cumulative language development, and this means that classroom research must ultimately become longitudinal. The microscopic, here-and-now analysis and description is essential to provide depth and substance to longitudinal work which would otherwise skate over the surface. (p. 16)

Woods (1996) supports Van Lier's observation that the goal in ethnographic analysis is not just to identify topics (e.g., educator beliefs), but to capture relationships between identified topics (see Woods 1996, p. 43 comments on the same topic). Thus, when analysing educator role definitions and educational structures, the goal is to identify patterns and relationships between identified beliefs, structures, etc..

3.6.2.2 Member-checking.

One way to member-check (and ensure construct validity) when analysing ethnographic data is to have participants read a researcher's analyses. This strategy proved unfeasible given the multilingual nature of my study. To explain, with few exceptions, my language of communication with participants in my study (i.e., administrators, educators, students and parents) was Danish for the duration of the study. Of the participants listed in Notes 15-19, the only ones I conversed with in English were Drs. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, and Bashy Quraishy. Since, however, Danish is my third language, it would not be reasonable to expect me to translate findings which I have published into Danish (e.g., Taylor 1998-a, 1998-b, 1997-a, 1997-b, 1995). Neither could participants in my study who knew some rudimentary English read the original version of my work when I showed it to them.[25] I therefore had to devise another means of member-checking.

Means employed to avoid the language barrier in member-checking included: summarising key findings in my interviews with the seven academics located in Denmark who were experts in the area of minority (language) issues there (see Footnote 18), and summarising findings without naming names when discussing issues with all of my other informants. Furthermore, I participated in an AILA '96 symposium organized by Danish experts in the field of minority language issues, a symposium which included a panel of Scandinavian researchers in the area. The session was largely attended by Scandinavian researchers, and my work was well received. Since then, it has gone through a peer review process in Denmark, as has a paper on a different aspect of my thesis, and both have been

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I showed Taylor (1995) to Bodil, Arif and Atilla in its conference form when I was in Denmark in Year III of Phase V for a related conference. They were unable to read an article written in academic English.

published in a journal (*Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism*) published by the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies (Taylor, 1997-a & 1997-b). In both cases, the editors were again Danish experts in the field of minority language issues. This was one way of accomplishing member-checking: by locating people actively involved in my field of study in Denmark who could read my analyses in English, people who were also my respondents.[26]

3.6.2.3 Interpreters.

A final issue concerns the use of interpreters in research into multilingualism. As noted, although I conducted virtually all of my research in Danish, it is my third language. This was not problematic when interviewing Danes as they had native-speaker knowledge of Danish which allowed them to "see through" my non-native accent and understand me. Neither was it a problem with the Turkish or Kurdish participants in the school setting: Turkish and Kurdish educators and students were exposed to my Danish for over a year and a half and always understood me. Difficulties arose, however, when I conducted an interview with a Kurdish parent in Phase II (Dilan's mother). Therefore, I returned to her home to conduct the interview again, but with a Kurdish interpreter present in Phase III.

Faries (1991) stresses the need to find a good interpreter for interviews to be valid. Atilla (mentioned in section 3.4.3) was a friend who was very used to my Danish. He was helpful as an interpreter not only because he knew Danish, Turkish and the dialect of Kurdish spoken by the parents, but also because of his past teaching experience in a bilingual/bicultural program offered in a different municipality. Thus, he was familiar with the program I was inquiring about, and familiar with the gist of my questions.

Since returning to Canada, two other Kurdish friends have listened to several parts of the interviews Atilla helped me with in Denmark. After I (orally) translated into English for my friends in Canada what I had asked Atilla to translate from Danish into Kurdish for my

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A final safeguard taken in Taylor (1997-a) was to provide the original Danish version of extracts translated and cited in English in the body of the text. These were presented in full at the end of the text (in an appendix) and included all four main participants' educator role definitions.

respondents in Denmark, my friends confirmed that Atilla had correctly translated my Danish into Kurdish. They also confirmed that my Kurdish respondents had indeed said (in Kurdish) what Atilla told me they had said when he translated their responses into Danish for me at their homes. Thus, I again member-checked to verify the validity of Atilla's interpreting services.

3.7 Generalizability of Results

The main "limitation" to my study was that, since it was an ethnography, its focus was limited: It focussed on only one school, two main cohorts, and four main teachers (out of what seemed like a cast of thousands). It was an unique, unreplicable situation. However, this limitation of ethnographic research does not render my study invalid as ethnographic research is judged in terms of transferability (Donmoyer, 1990), comparability (Watson-Gegeo, 1988), making connections (Woods, 1996), and its potential to contribute to theory building (Yin, 1984; Cummins, 2000).

Donmoyer (1990), Watson-Gegeo (1988) and Woods (1996) attempt to get at the same notion (qualitative generalizability) from the viewpoint of different terminology. For example, what Watson-Gegeo calls 'comparability,' Woods refers to as 'making connections,' though the gist of both of their terms is to make comparisons between otherwise incomparable settings "at a more abstract level" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 581). Woods explains that once processes at work in one setting are understood in their entirety and complexity as a result of data-rich studies (i.e., studies rich in contextual data and findings), readers can extrapolate and make connections with settings closer to home with which they are more familiar. Woods argues that a study's external validity can be judged in terms of whether 'connections' can be established between it and a study conducted in another setting. That is, insights gained as a result of reading a data-rich study conducted in one setting can inform a reader's understanding of another setting. Yin (1989) and Cummins (2000) view this form of 'insight' in theoretical terms, and argue that whether a theory holds true in two different settings is useful in informing research.

Yin (1989, p. 43) views relating research findings from one unique setting to another

and, ultimately, to a theory, as a qualitative form of replication which establishes external validity. He refers to the processes involved as "theoretical replication logic:"

> The external validity problem has been a major barrier in doing case studies. Critics typically state that single cases offer a poor basis for generalizing. However, such critics are implicitly contrasting the situation for survey research, where a "sample" (if selected correctly) readily generalizes to a larger universe. *This analogy to samples and universes is incorrect when dealing with case studies.* This is because survey research relies on statistical generalization, whereas case studies (as with experiments) rely on analytical generalizations.
>
> In analytical generalizations, the investigator is striving to generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory. . . . However, the generalization is not automatic. A theory must be tested through replications of the findings . . . where the theory has specified that the same results should occur. Once such replication has been made, the results might be accepted for a much larger number of similar [targets], even though further replications have not been performed. This *replication logic* is the same that underlies the use of experiments (and allows scientists tc generalize from one experiment to another). . . . (Yin, 1989, pp. 43-45) [original italics]

Though Cummins' (2000) main focus in the following is on research findings based on bilingual education programs, he touches on the issue of replication logic (to use Yin's terminology) in his explanation of why many of the "research based" arguments made by opponents and supporters of bilingual education have been methodologically flawed: Their arguments have not considered the role of theory:

> In complex educational and other human organizational contexts, data or 'facts' become relevant for policy purposes only in the context of a coherent theory. It is the *theory* rather than the individual research findings that permits the generation of predictions about program outcomes under different contexts. Research findings themselves cannot be directly applied across contexts. . . . [when] certain patterns are replicated across a wide range of situations, the accumulation of consistent findings suggests that some stable underlying principle is at work. This principle can then be stated as a theoretical proposition or hypothesis from which predictions can be derived and tested. (pp. 204-205) [original italics]

This explains how an accumulation of studies in isolation (unique, unreplicable situations) can be related to "a broader set of findings in contexts where a variety of other unique conditions may be present" (Cummins, 2000, p. 215). Though he does not use the terms 'replication logic' or 'comparability,' Cummins explains in a parallel fashion how a (unique, unreplicable) study becomes significant in theoretical terms: "If the predictions that derive from hypothesis

X are confirmed across . . . diverse contexts, then the credibility of hypothesis X increases significantly despite the fact that control group comparisons may not have been carried out" (p. 215).

To conclude, as Watson-Gegeo (1988) suggests, ethnographic studies may be considered generalizable if the details of two or more settings are examined at an abstract level. In summary, data-rich ethnographic studies have their own form of external validity. To attain it, contextual data and related findings must be clear and fully presented. For these reasons, context details and empirical findings are well documented in the present dissertation.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

For purposes of this study, protecting the interests and anonymity of all of my participants was my main goal. Thus, I endeavoured to exercise "all reasonable precautions" to ensure participant anonymity and avoid explosive issues (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 372). It is important to remember that informants may be recognized by people close to my study and thus their names, schools and locales have been changed. Furthermore, "informed consent" is relative given that many informants are unfamiliar with research procedures and may not ask critical questions (Eisner, 1991). In light of these issues, I took the precaution (described in section 3.6.2.2) of member-checking as much as possible, including being open to the reactions of Danish minority language researchers with regard to how my work would be taken up in Denmark as they are familiar with the political nature of the "debate" in Denmark. Further precautions which I have taken, in following with Lincoln and Guba's (1985) recommendations, include: considering the informant first; safeguarding the informants' rights, interests and sensitivities; protecting the privacy of the informants, and making reports available to informants (to the extent possible).

Research findings are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Findings and Discussion

The last chapter discussed the rationale for providing extensive information on contextual variables: to be able to view school-based (micro) phenomena in relation to what is happening in the broader (macro) societal trends, occurrences, tensions, constraints, and forces. I also explained the role of this practice (i.e., describing parts in relation to the whole) in terms of the requirements of ethnographic research. Its purpose is to make sense out of a study, uncover its generalizability, and grasp its pertinence to theory. To use Watson-Gegeo's (1988) metaphor, classroom events should be viewed as the nucleus of concentric circles which ripple out ever wider into society and, yet, which take place in a pool of bigger, related events.

In this case, the field which this study informs is that of bilingual education. The question of how to capture valid reflections of the whole and its parts was discussed in Chapter 3. Overviews of the "whole" were presented from different angles in previous chapters. In the present chapter, key events are identified and analysed to make sense of their ripple effect and the extent to which they are influenced by a bigger pool of related events.

Before presenting these findings under the category of educational structures, I present data analysis techniques which resulted in my overall findings, observations about life in Denmark that pertain to my topic, and findings specifically in the area of educator role definitions. To begin, I describe the process of preliminary analysis (culling, coding, and sorting) which resulted in identifying trends and representative events.

4.1 Summary of Data Analysis Techniques Employed

Various levels of preliminary analyses were conducted throughout the present five phase study. These included culling, coding, and sorting. At the end of the first site visit,[1] I

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[1] Professor A. Holmen made the initial contact with the school for me as part of my course with her at the University of Copenhagen (*Sprogpædagogik* [Language pedagogy]). Phase I lasted one day. I conducted observations at *Trilleskolen* on March 11, 1993 from 8:00-2:35 and, in that short time, took the equivalent of eleven typed pages of participant-observation notes. The richness of the data amassed

reviewed these themes that had arisen, and decided the setting looked rich in potential data collection. Themes which arose in that phase were: (a) the effect of programmatic structures on the learning atmosphere; (b) educator advocacy roles; (c) the role of local politicians in shaping programmatic structures; and (d) shifting ideological tides. These topics seemed well suited to Cummins' (1994) socioacademic achievement model.[2] The framework was also able to capture themes which arose in the second phase of observations:[3] (a) course content, including culturally responsive curriculum;[4] (b) educator role definitions; (c) the Danish and English proficiency of the children in the cohorts chosen for the study; and (d) pedagogical approaches. In the end, the themes fell under Cummins' (1994)[5] two broad categories of educator role definitions and educational structures in all five phases.

The main data collection phase was Phase III which extended from August 1993 to October 1993. I attended the school four days per week during that phase, and conducted evening and weekend interviews.[6] The copious data collected during that period of time was culled, coded, and reduced to the following sixteen themes: participant observation activities,

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from a one-day visited suggested that the school was a potential source of interesting observations and findings.

2

Cummins' (1994) socioacademic achievement model is the same, in essence, as Cummins' (1996) empowerment framework, the framework which underpins the thesis.

3

This phase went from May until the end of the school year in June, 1993. (Phases I and II were also conducted during that academic year). During Phase III, I conducted participant-observation at the school once a week.

4

See Taylor (1998-b) for a description of culturally responsive pedagogy observed in the school setting.

5

I refer to Cummins' 1994 work versus his 1996 or 2000 work because my study (1993, 1994) preceded the publication of either of the latter two works.

6

Almost my every waking hour went into the study in Phase III, especially since the school was a fair commute from inner-city Copenhagen where I lived, and I used my travel time on commuter trains and buses to write up daily participant observation notes. As a result, my notes from this period are very detailed and extensive (i.e., 90 typed pages, single-spaced).

ethics, zone of proximal development, Kurdish language, information pertaining to Kurdish students, academic success or failure, educator role definitions, racism and its manifestations, 'Danish is all children's L1,' social problems and the feeder community to *Trilleskolen*, the Preben affair, the Ali affair, contradictions, contextual information, trilingualism, and the Beren affair.

The three "affairs" were noteworthy as they drew on or subsumed, and made sense of, the other themes listed above. They are later discussed in terms of educational structures which influence how educator role definitions play out in practice. A fourth event of some significance relates to the identified theme of 'Danish is all children's L1.' These topics are treated as events which is in keeping with Van Lier (1988) and Woods' (1996, p. 43) recommendation that ethnographers do more than just identify topics; that they see how relationships play themselves out in the field. Consequently, my goal in analysing educator role definitions and educational structures was to identify patterns and relationships.

Many of the above-noted themes constituted contextual information, and were included in Chapter 2 (e.g., poverty and social problems in areas where minorities live, including the feeder community to *Trilleskolen*). Others were either subsumed under the category of "educator role definitions" (e.g., contradictions) or of "educational structures" (e.g., zone of proximal development, Kurdish language, information pertaining to Kurdish students, academic success or failure, educator role definitions, racism and its manifestations, and 'Danish is all children's L1'). Three themes were too small to include and too different to subsume under another topic: participant observation activities, ethics, and any purely linguistic study of Kurdish-Turkish-Danish trilingualism.[7] The theme of trilingualism is discussed in terms of the larger issue of veiling Kurdish identity in section 4.2.3.2.

By Phases IV and V, hypotheses previously made were tested, as my data collection techniques included member-checking and seeking negative evidence. Phase IV lasted from

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It may seem illogical that the topic of trilingualism never arose in a study dealing with trilingual children, but that is because they were generally viewed as (Turkish-Danish) bilinguals. The fact that they were Kurds or spoke Kurdish sometimes arose, but almost never in connection to the fact that the Kurdish children were trilingual.

April 1994 to June 1994, and Phase V just went from August 1995 to September 1995. Phases III and IV were in a second academic year, and Phase V was conducted at the beginning of a third academic year. Overall, the five phases extended over eighteen months. In Phases IV and V, I substituted the broad lens format of my earlier observations, and zoomed in on the Kurdish aspect of my study. That entailed peeling away layers of confounding variables that had largely been veiled during the first phases of my study. At the same time, I put emergent patterns, categories and relationships to the test, thereby establishing validity.

Thus, I did in fact follow Hopkins, Bollington, and Hewett's (1989) three step approach to data analysis to establish my findings: (a) I developed a research question and study design; (b) I immersed myself in the data to discover what modifications or refinements could be made to the theoretical framework, and (c) validated identified themes. I also followed steps outlined by Woods (1996) for analysing ethnographic data (e.g., I was wary of and examined explicit statements, compared educators' stated role definitions with their actions, grouped recurrent themes which had the potential of indicating underlying beliefs, and examined the dynamic substance of beliefs and their inter-relationships). I did all of the above from the viewpoint of constraints and contradictions, as is discussed in section 4.3. Before taking up the Discussion, however, findings which resulted from data analysis techniques described above must be presented. This is done in the next section.

4.2 Findings

The following primarily includes findings based on interview data and participant observation conducted at *Trilleskolen* since pertinent documents were outlined in Chapter 2. Before presenting these data, brief comments are made on findings arising from my participation in Danish society over an extended period of time, findings which prepare the reader for subsequent, school-related findings. In all cases, data were culled to select representative events which, to use Candlin's (1986) terms, best illustrate "accounts of participants' reactions to the process of bilingual education, sensitive to the ethnic and social variation characteristic of the domain" (p. xi). Therefore, I selected events which illustrate (a) individual educators' agency, (b) constraints imposed on educator agency at both micro

(school-based) and macro (broader society) levels, and (c) student reactions to individual educators' practices.

4.2.1 Observations about the Danish Experience

The following data are intended to exemplify how the Turkish and Kurdish community were disempowered, and their identities constricted, in broader society. It is presented to introduce the reader to the Promethean task faced by those educators in this study who chose to advocate on behalf of Turkish and, in some cases, Kurdish students. It is also presented to contextualize some of the contradictory behaviour described later in this chapter. The first of four examples follows.

This example deals with anti-Muslim discrimination in Denmark today. I related my dismay at observing blatant anti-Muslim sentiment in Danish society to Helen Krag (personal communication; June 3, 1993), Head of the Center for Minority Studies at the University of Copenhagen and a specialist in Holocaust research. She made the following analogy: In the 1930s, when the notion that Jews could not be dentists was first introduced, it seemed odd and met resistance. Gradually, however, the idea became accepted as 'natural' ("of course Jews can't be dentists") and, from there on, the situation escalated until discriminatory beliefs and anti-Semitic measures also became commonplace. Krag suggested that the same phenomenon was repeating itself in present-day Denmark as, increasingly, blatantly discriminatory remarks about Muslims were gaining acceptance, and negative attitudes were becoming 'natural.'[8]

Even while residing outside of Denmark, I continued to follow socio-political developments regarding the Muslim minority. One way of doing so was to subscribe to the largest Danish newspaper (*Politiken*) from abroad. I did so, and received *Politiken Weekly* on a weekly basis. As a result, I kept abreast of social change and minority issues such as the

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[8] Svane Hansen (1992) compares the Nazi representation (demonization) of Jews with anti-Muslim representations in Denmark: Just as the Nazis described Jews as "un-German" [*utysk*] (i.e., not fitting in), the Danes now describe Muslims in Denmark as "un-Danish" [*udansk*] and a threat from within. Among the prominent individuals who had already begun the trend of creating "images of the enemy" [*fjendebilleder*] in the 1980s were Pastor Søren Krarup, and Per Madsen–Mayor of Ishøj and a Social Democrat. The issue of "*fjendebilleder*" arises in other sections of this chapter.

following: The party platform of *Venstre*,[9] the main opposition party in Denmark at the time, and the party with the largest membership nationally, was changed to legitimate religious discrimination.

Lund, Marcher, and Damkjær (1995, September 27) quote a member of *Venstre* as saying that non-Christian newcomers should not try to influence societal structures in Denmark which is a Christian society, and that "non-Christians have nothing worthwhile to contribute to fellowship in Danish society" (p. 8) (Tr-28). The issue of the future religious character of the party was voted on at a national meeting in a motion proclaiming that Christianity would unequivocally be the only religious premise for party policies. The motion passed with little debate by a wide majority. This was not only highly significant because of *Venstre*'s high membership rate and status, but also because, historically, it had long been considered a political meeting place for people of different beliefs.

The new *Venstre* party platform did not reflect either Denmark or Scandinavia's reputation as a champion of human rights. The *Venstre* politician interviewed in the news article stated the following reason for changing the party platform: to counter Danes' feelings of "drowning" in religious diversity.[10] She explained: " . . . the foreigners who come to Denmark must respect our beliefs. They cannot come and hit us over the head with their value systems" (Lund, Marcher & Damkjær, 1995, p. 8) (Tr-29). Therefore, the motion was symbolic. It was intended to bolster a shaken sense of national identity and combat the feeling of being threatened from within.[11]

Attitudes and Danish identity issues similar to those presented above frequently arise

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Though *"Venstre"* translates as "left," it is a marginally right-wing party. Cowell (1998) describes *Venstre* as a "center-right bloc," and the ruling Social Democrats as "center-left." *Venstre* is much less right-wing than the "*Den danske forening*" [the Danish society], for example, the political party described by Sampson (1995) in Chapter 2.

10

The *Venstre* member interviewed stated: ". . . today we are drowning in all possible forms of religion" (Lund, Marcher & Damkjaer, 1995, p. 8). (Tr-30)

11

See Chapter 2 for discussion of national identity (Kofoed, 1994), and feeling threatened from within (Sampson, 1995).

in my findings. For example, when the mother of Jonna, a Danish girl participating in the bilingual/bicultural program, (personal communication, September 6, 1993) was asked what advantages her daughter had derived from participation in the program and close contact to Turkish and Kurdish children, the mother angrily replied that 'Danes had nothing to learn from them.' This reflects *Venstre*'s position, and the evolution of the view that minorities have nothing to contribute to Danish society as 'natural.'

Feelings have not changed since 1995. If anything, they have strengthened as Cowell's (1998, March) coverage of the 1998 Danish election for *The New York Times* indicates. He describes the rise of the extreme right-wing on the basis of an anti-immigrant platform in that election. Cowell quotes the leader of the right-wing Danish People's Party, Pia Kjærsgaard, as saying that she does not want immigration as: "They must not be allowed to integrate into Danish society." Cowell notes that Kjærsgaard is viewed by some Danes as playing on people's fears; namely, older and less wealthy Danes' fears that foreigners from outside the European Union have begun to "overwhelm" medical services and schools. Cowell points out how effective this brand of fearmongering is: While the ratio of foreigners in Denmark from outside the European Union is one of the lowest in Europe (3.7 % of the population of 5.2 million, as is noted in Chapter 2), and though Kjærsgaard only stood to win 7% of the vote in the 1998 election, the Danish People's Party platform was influencing *Venstre* to the extent that its leader pledged to introduce more restrictive border controls and measures to send refugees home more quickly if he won the election. Cowell also notes that the Social Democratic Party's policies are not very far apart from those of its major opponent, *Venstre*.

My third observation involved awareness of current and potential physical danger to Muslims in Denmark. A documentary aired on Danish national television in the fall of 1993 presented details of vast amounts of arms being stockpiled by Danish Neo-Nazis and of plans to kill minorities. When I mentioned the program to the mother of Peder, a Danish boy in my study (personal communication, September 10, 1993) during the course of a home interview, she commented that 'nobody likes them [the "Turks"], but neither would anybody like it to go that far' [i.e., as far as killing 'them']. Another example of dangers faced by Muslims in Denmark was given by two Kurdish and Turkish children in my study, Ugurtan and Hanan

(personal communication, September 20, 1993). During the interview, they informed me that anti-minority sentiment extends to urging dogs to attack minority children, and that it had happened to them.

Fourth and finally, anti-minority sentiment begins young. While visiting old friends on the island of Fünen, their three year old son, a strikingly beautiful child, piped in with the question: "Why can't they speak Danish?" ["*Hvorfor kan de ikke snakke dansk*?"] when I asked his mother about the one non-Danish looking child in his daycare class (see Participant Observation, Phase III; September 13, 1993, anonymous child). While asking his question, a look of hatred crossed his face, a hatred linked to language and difference that he could not understand. Lost was the look of beauty of a few instants earlier.[12]

Despite societal changes such as the growing wave of anti-immigrant sentiment in Denmark in recent times, I met Danes whose view of social justice included minority rights. Among them were the four educators whose role definitions are presented in the next section. In it, I describe their attempts to foster positive identity development in their minority language charges in spite of disabling contextual constraints (such as those described above and in Chapter 2), constraints which disempowered "Turks" in the broader society and constricted their children's identity development at school. I also note contradictions that sometimes arose between the way these educators explicitly defined their roles and their behaviours.

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The image of 'lost beauty' sums up my experience with Denmark during my study. I was disappointed in the Danes for letting their standards of social justice slip, standards that I had learned about and taken as my ideals while living in Denmark in my adolescence. I found the tone of anti-immigrant sentiment ugly and offensive. This view was shared by a Jewish-American journalist. In a letter to the editor of a large Danish newspaper, the journalist explains how he had vacationed in Denmark for years because he had great admiration for what the Danes did for the Jews during World War II. He describes the surprise, horror and sorrow he felt in his last trip to Denmark.

While driving from the airport to his host's home in the Danish countryside, he saw swastikas painted on many barns. In a society dinner held that same evening, he questioned an elite group of Danes about what he considered a shocking new development. He noted the displeasure he felt when his concerns were summarily dismissed and the phenomena rationalized by members of the dinner party. He concluded his piece by saying that the Denmark of yesterday was no more, and that he would never return.

4.2.2 Educator Mind Sets and Role Definitions[13]

What follows is a reply to the question of how the dominant and subordinated group educators attached to the two bilingual/bicultural program cohorts followed defined their roles; that is, "the mindset of expectations, assumptions and goals" that they "[brought] to the task of educating culturally diverse students" (Cummins, 1996, p. 18; see Chapter 1). First, key aspects of these educators' mind sets are presented to add a layer of meaning to the formal role definitions which they subsequently give. An all-encompassing view of all four educators' mind sets is necessary to understand their interpretive processes.

Woods (1996) concurs with Cummins' (1996) emphasis on teachers' interpretive processes (i.e., their mind sets). Indeed, Woods suggests that, in order to understand educator actions "inside out," researchers must investigate why teachers make certain decisions and structure things as they do. He also suggests that educator interpretations of what they are doing may not reflect reality as seen by an outside observer. Yet, both views are necessary since "[there] are different sets of criteria and different types of validity (theoretical and personal) related to each perspective" (Woods, 1996, p. 4). In following with Woods' recommendation, my approach is to first present educator interpretations of their role definitions, then compare their interpretations to their actions and, finally, discuss (in)congruencies between the two.

4.2.2.1 Bodil.[14]

The Danish educator attached to the older bilingual/bicultural cohort was Bodil. Like Songül, the Turkish teacher attached to Bodil's cohort who is discussed in the next section, Bodil had personal, practical and theoretical knowledge in those areas of educational linguistics most closely related to bilingual education. She had given in-service courses at the county level and at the Royal Danish School of Education, lectured, and co-authored program evaluation reports. She was also a natural leader and one of the driving forces behind the

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[13] See Taylor (1997-a) for in-depth discussion of educator role definitions in this context.

[14] For purposes of practicality, the full text of the original Danish versions of the actual educator role definitions are included in Appendix E.

program and minority issues in the school.

In the present chapter, different aspects of her mind set are presented than those presented in Chapter 2 (e.g., her views on atheoretical policy-making). Before presenting the way she expressly defined her role, a glimpse into other aspects of Bodil's mind set is provided, with topics ranging from (a) her job, (b) affective, linguistic and negative influences on the potential successfulness of minority students' educational experiences, (c) structural issues, (d) multilingualism, and (e) school language policies.

Beginning with her job, whenever discussion centred on the latter, terms such as "fight" or "struggle" [*kamp*] invariably arose: She discussed how she had long fought to improve programming for minority language children and lamented the fact that her (pro-minority) side was losing ground in the ongoing struggle. She saw resources (such as the bilingual/bicultural program) eroding, and felt that things were backsliding (e.g., into earlier, less culturally responsive programming). She said one gets tired when one cannot see any progress being made, and that to teach minority language children in Denmark:

> requires some type of commitment and, on a human level, one cannot stick with it if one's commitment does not lead to a few successes. Then people can't stick with it and keep putting so much energy into it. And if things don't develop, then I think people lose interest. (Ethnograph; Lines 461-468) (Tr-31)

She noted, with sadness, that one of the authors of the *Du er ingen* report had just been fired--a clear indication of the changing social climate. Furthermore, local politicians had declared Danish 'all children's first language' and, in this atmosphere of Danish! Danish! Danish!, they were going so far as to insist that there must be compulsory Danish language classes for mothers[15] so they would begin speaking Danish to their children at home.[16] Yet, in

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[15] The suggestion to 're-educate the mothers' also arose in the American context in the 1960s at the time when restricted codes were felt to be a cause of school failure in many children, and certain classes of mothers were viewed as providing an improper language model to children (Romaine, 2000).

[16] Bodil noted that, at the national level, politicians were perhaps more cunning in their choice of words (i.e., than to proclaim Danish all children's first language), but she said that even top politicians would agree with the gist of the proclamation--that DSL students must learn Danish as quickly as possible:

> They must learn Danish, Danish, Danish, and we must see to it that their mothers understand how they must raise their children to be Danes as quickly as possible. You can get any Social

spite of all the set backs, Bodil felt that enough new things and people[17] kept popping up to make it all still seem "exciting" [*spændende*] (Ethnograph; line 471).

With regard to affective, linguistic and negative influences on the potential successfulness of minority students' educational experiences, Bodil most frequently describes student success in terms of the affect. She often speaks of her students' "sense of security" [*tryghed*], and equates mainstreaming minority children into primarily Danish cohorts with minority children feeling "insecure" [*utryg*] and, consequently, doing more poorly academically than when they are in a cohort with minority peers. She bases the latter observation on her past experience with how children in reception classes she taught succeeded academically after being mainstreamed in accordance with the "2-rule" (Ethnograph; Lines 432-436; see description of the "2-rule" in Chapter 2).

Bodil also discusses other influences on minority children's educational experiences. In discussing the case of Bünyamin, for example, she raises linguistic and other issues which may shape the degree of success he meets in the course of his schooling. Bodil notes that Bünyamin was schooled in Turkey until coming to Denmark and joining the cohort in Grade 2. She thought that he was relatively disadvantaged compared to his minority language peers in the cohort since he had been exposed to 3.5 less years of academic Danish than them, but had an advantage in being schooled first in Turkish, a language he knew. Several times, Bodil alluded to Bünyamin having a better chance at developing CALP in Turkey before coming to Denmark, which she found advantageous to his learning of Danish. Like Songül and Vibeke, she did not use the terms BICS and CALP but, by her comments and reasoning, she had

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> Democrat to say that, no problem. That's what they think is the way one must proceed. So it's possible that it was a bit clumsy. They were a little clumsy in their choice of words by saying 'Danish must be all children's first language,' and they didn't bring forth any suggestions about how one, on a purely practical level, would organise such continuing education, but that particular thought behind it, you can find it all the way up. (Ethnograph; Lines 722-743) (Tr-32)

When asked whether there existed any form of top-down censorship of dumb statements made by Town Council, Bodil's response was: "absolutely not" ["*slet, slet ikke*"]. (Ethnograph; Lines 749-753)

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Bodil noted my study in her classroom as a positive example of new people "popping up," since I clearly was in favour of a bilingual education program.

knowledge of the constructs and their implications. She did not tread into the murky waters of the implications of Bünyamin speaking Kurdish as an L1 on whether he was at an advantage, having received some primary schooling in Turkish, but did note that he was in something of a linguistic predicament, as he was faced with four languages at the present time: "And he's a Kurdish child who has learned Kurdish, Turkish, Danish and now English, right? And all of it pretty simultaneously, you know?" (Ethnograph; Lines 1081-1084) (Tr-32). In spite of the challenges presented by Bünyamin's multilingual experience, Bodil found that he was intelligent and could still succeed if he was not crushed by other, negative experiences.

Bodil summed up the negative influences which Bünyamin might fall prey to as some Danish educators' negative attitudes toward "Turkish" children:

> It's a lot, all at once. But he's a very clever boy so if he, if he doesn't get the impression that he isn't good enough, then I think he can [make it], if he gets enough time, because he's such a clever boy, you know, but if they get a teacher that tells them over and over that he isn't good enough, then, on the contrary, that is, I think he'll be one of the ones who never learns, you know? (Ethnograph; Lines 1086-1096) (Tr-33)

The latter text describes the harm which meeting negative educator attitudes toward minorities can do to minority children. Bodil sees it as a real and present danger, and hopes Bünyamin will not succumb to it, if he encounters it.

On the topic of what structural changes Bodil would have made to the bilingual/bicultural program at the micro (school-based) level, she said that she thought everything had been fine, and would not have recommended altering anything: "In the end, that is I think, all things considered, that the structure we had was really quite good" (Ethnograph; Lines 1176-1178) (Tr-34). The one structural problem that she did identify was at the macro-level; namely, negative public opinion. She said that if she could have changed anything about the program, it would have been public opinion towards it.

On the issue of multilingualism, Bodil notes that one would be hard pressed to find a monolingual Danish educator, and stresses the importance of having had to learn another language oneself. When asked about child multilingualism among minority language children, she informed me that she knew of several Danish teachers who had learned from three to six languages, but who still had negative attitudes towards minority language children; who saw

minority language children as handicapped (Ethnograph; Lines 1014-1015 & 1028-1055). Not surprisingly, the tacit language policies practised in the classroom by that group of educators constricted minority language children's identity development.[18]

Bodil noted that individual educators' own classroom policies on the use of Turkish in the classroom ranged from allowing children access to both languages, to using Turkish on a "last resort" basis, to banning it outright and developing a spy network whereby Danish children report on peers 'caught' speaking Turkish. She summed up the situation as to whether Turkish was tolerated or not in any particular classroom with a 'luck of the draw' analogy, and decried both the lack of consensus among teachers and the absence of policy on an issue of such magnitude and relevance to their school. She also noted that lack of policy, while in accordance with the tradition of methodological freedom, could be a political weapon used to condone extreme forms of intolerance to minority language usage (Ethnograph; Lines 1234-1353). She did not feel that it would be possible to develop policies with regard to the minority language children since, according to her, nothing led to more conflict among the teaching staff at *Trilleskolen* than any discussion relating to minority language children. She summed the situation up by saying: "the education of immigrant children brings things to the boiling point in our school" (Ethnograph; Lines 171-172) (Tr-35). Thus, the consensus needed among educators to begin policy development was not close at hand.

The attitudes presented above are an indication of what Bodil's mind set was when she gave the role definition presented next. Her explicitly stated role definition follows next. In defining her role, Bodil delimited her answer to her role teaching a bilingual/bicultural cohort. She was however also assigned to other teaching duties (e.g., other cohorts that were not part of the program). Bodil primarily saw her role with the minority language children in the bilingual/bicultural cohort as: (a) fostering positive identity development and self-esteem in them; (b) being there to advocate for them; and (c) sharing responsibility for their school success. These themes arise from the following text:

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By that, I mean that no L1 usage was allowed, their L1 was not validated, and they did not blossom; their identity was constricted.

Well, of course, what's important when one works with those children is, above all, that they get a sense of self-worth; that, that there's somebody who thinks they're worthwhile, and that there's a system that thinks they know a few things, and that some systems or representatives from the system who can make them believe that they know something that we can use somehow.

Besides, one gets, when you're dealing with those kids, or as a Danish classroom teacher, then one gets a completely special relationship to those children; they develop a special relationship to you, you know? It doesn't turn into a mother-child relationship, but it's a little like that, isn't it? It gets to be that if they feel under attack out on the school grounds, in the system, well, they know that they can always come to their classroom teacher and talk about it. So it has been important for me to always make it clear to those kids that if there was anybody, if they had any complaints having to do with racism or with racist taunts, or if there were attacks on their ethnicity, that there would always be some representatives in the system who would deal with their complaints at a moment's notice.

And as a result, that doesn't mean that they [teachers] have always gone out and fixed things for them [the minority children], but discussed with them: "What happened?" "What could we have done differently?" and I have often gone out to get the ones who said it [racist slurs to the minority children] and discussed it, confronted them with it [what was said] and, in that way, the children got the impression that there was a representative of the system who wouldn't go along with that sort of attack.

And it has of course also been very, very important for me too, that they got a good education and became clever [learned things]. So I work really hard at developing a shared responsibility between them and me. That meant that they had the desire to perhaps work a bit harder then they would have done, you know? And therefore, that is--yeah, that's more or less it.[19]

Lines 1-5 deal with the theme of fostering positive identity development and self-esteem; Lines 6-20 deal with the interconnected roles of being a trusted adult, a teacher-advocate, and a role model for dominant society; Lines 21-25 describes how Bodil and the minority language children share responsibility for their academic progress. These roles are in harmony with, and reflect, the positive attitudes which Bodil holds towards minority education, as noted at the beginning of this section. Both are further discussed in section 4.3.

4.2.2.2 Songül.

In this as in the previous section, the mind set of Songül (personal communication, September 9 & 12, 1993) the Turkish educator attached to the older bilingual/bicultural cohort, is presented before presenting her role definition. Hers was an extensive and revealing

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Since this is a long text, I refer to the line numbering added in the left-hand column. However, the reference for line numbering in Ethnograph format is as follows: Lines 839-962. This simpler format of line numbering is used for all four educator role definitions presented in this section.

two-part interview, and an unusual case. Of the four educators featured in this study, Songül's behaviour was the most controversial, as will be discussed in section 4.3. For that reason, a more detailed look at her mind set is presented than is the case with the other educators. Views expressed by Songül range from (a) bilingualism and related issues in educational linguistics to (b) the impact of politics on minority education, (c) Kurdish identity, (d) incipient minority resistance, and (e) the potential for policy development at *Trilleskolen.*[20]

Beginning with Songül's views on educational linguistics, as was noted in the previous section, she too had extensive knowledge of many aspects of the field, particularly those related to the area of bilingual education. This very knowledge base was one of the reasons why Songül's case was so interesting. She had also provided various forms of in-service education including lectures, courses, etc. for several years (e.g., Songül taught a course on mother tongue teaching to minority language speakers studying to become *folkeskole* teachers at a local *seminarium* on an ongoing basis).[21] Thus, she had theoretical and practical knowledge of the role of mother tongue development in second language acquisition, BICS and CALP,[22] misassessment problems that arise when educators cannot distinguish between these two aspects of second language development, functional bilingualism, relevant reports (such as *Du er ingen*), and linguistic human rights.

Songül's knowledge of the role played by L1 competence in L2 acquisition was evident in the way she formulated her views on the presence of Kurdish children in the bilingual/bicultural program. To support her view that it would have been preferable for the Kurdish children to receive mother tongue instruction alongside Danish rather than Turkish instruction, Songül drew on knowledge of the literature: "researchers say. . . " [*forskerne*

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[20] Other relevant views are presented in sections 4.2.4.1 and 4.2.4.5 (the Ali affair and 'Danish is all children's first language').

[21] In Denmark, a *seminarium* is a College of Education for pre-service *folkeskole* teachers.

[22] See section 1.2.2 for discussion of these terms. Though Songül did not refer to the terms "BICS" and "CALP," the language phenomena she described fell under those categories and reflected awareness of the constructs.

siger . . .] (Ethnograph; Line 98), and on her own theoretical convictions about the connection between SLA and L1 development: "I am getting that from, so to speak, my own theoretical understanding, of course" (Ethnograph; Lines 308-310) (Tr-36). She felt that having to learn two new languages from the time they began public school placed the Kurdish children at a disadvantage, compared to either the Danish or the Turkish children:

> Of course, in Mother Tongue class, I mean it's often Kurdish kids who ask what something means. I mean, it's easier for Turkish kids to follow a difficult text. They can guess what it means from the context. Maybe they don't know what every single word means, but when they read [something] in context, then they can guess something: "THIS word means THAT," but the Kurdish children aren't that lucky. They want to know exactly what that word means because they don't have the same [background] as Turkish kids, because the Turkish kids have Turkish as their mother tongue. They can guess ahead, even if they don't know a particular word, but the Kurdish kids often ask: "What does that mean?" Then they get an explanation for it, of course. (Ethnograph; Lines 318-337) (Tr-37)

Clearly, the supports in place for the Turkish children were not in place for the Kurdish children misclassified as Turks. Turkish children got L1 instruction for all subjects right from the beginning (i.e., senior kindergarten): "In the bicultural classes, Turkish support is always used in the early grades, even music, Physical Education, math and all the other subjects" (Ethnograph; Lines 255-258) (Tr-38). Kurdish children were disadvantaged in that they did not receive L1 support; rather, they were in a situation of double immersion from the very beginning of their school experience[23].

Songül further decried the Kurdish children's situation, especially given her belief in linguistic human rights. She began her argument about the need for L1 instruction in Kurdish by agreeing with the commonly held Danish view that immigrants must learn Danish, but added that most Danes had no idea how languages were acquired. She expressed the feeling that: "they must learn Danish through their mother tongue"(Ethnograph; Lines 1194-1195) (Tr-39). She then went on to state that not only should immigrant children learn their L1 in order to learn their L2, Danish, but also because it was their right to do so: "They must learn their language because it is a human right" (Ethnograph; Lines 1194-1195) (Tr-40). Based on

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[23] See Taylor (1992) for more detailed discussion of double immersion.

the above extracts, it may be said that Songül's knowledge of issues in educational linguistics related to bilingualism was extensive.

Songül did not leave the discussion at the theoretical level, or at a level based merely on principle either; she reflected on what the Kurdish children's actual linguistic experience must be like. She hazarded the guess that it would have been easier for the Kurdish children to bypass Turkish altogether and just learn Danish for reasons cited below. She also suggested that the Kurdish children may be suffering from "language confusion" [*sprogforvirring*] as a result of their trilingual experience:

> But, in my opinion, the Kurdish children run the risk of language confusion because they must learn Kurdish or they speak Kurdish at home and so when they begin playing with other children, they learn Turkish, but a limited Turkish vocabulary, only the language of play, and so when they come to school, then they have to know Turkish and Danish which are both foreign languages to them. And I think it's a hard situation for the Kurdish children to learn three languages at once, and it often leads to confusion because Turkish is a structurally different language. If it was direct from Kurdish to Danish, it would be easier for them to learn because structure, structurally, they're the same language group; that is, Indo-European languages. I don't know how they manage it. Do they think in Kurdish when they speak Danish, or do they think in Turkish? Because if they do it in Turkish, they'll get all confused because their mother tongue is an Indo-European language, but if they begin and think in Turkish, then things will get all confused. But I don't know. (Ethnograph; Lines 187-224) (Tr-41)

Therefore, Songül was aware of issues related to veiling the Kurdish children's ethnolinguistic identity, especially veiling their true mother tongue. Indeed, she discusses yet another disadvantage faced by the Kurdish children when enrolled in her Turkish "mother tongue" class: "They learn the technique of reading very quickly, reading and writing, because Turkish is a phonetically easy language, but they have a hard time with content. Especially after grade 3 because words, concepts, and abstracts are missing" (Ethnograph; Lines 227-233) (Tr-42). While the suggestion that Kurdish children may experience language "confusion" seems to echo earlier, negative views of bilingualism,[24] the very least one may say is that, due to structural particularities, theirs was a complicated educational experience.

Secondly, Songül was also quite politically aware. She voiced opinions as to how the

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[24] See Hakuta (1986).

misclassification error occurred, attributing it to political reasons and Kurdish 'cultural baggage:' (a) She suggested that there must be some sort of implicit agreement between the Danish and Turkish governments for the Danes to continue classifying Kurds as Turks, even in Denmark (Ethnograph; Lines 364-386); and (b) suggested that a possible reason why the Kurdish parents did not complain about their children's (mis)classification as Turks and enrolment in the program may have been related to their fear of incurring the wrath of Turkish authorities who even keep a watchful eye on Kurds outside Turkey. A possible retaliatory move could be, for example, to make life hard on the children of parents who speak up about being Kurds when the children are fulfilling military service in Turkey--a mandatory requirement in order to maintain Turkish nationality (Ethnograph; Lines 416-429).

She also made astute political analyses with regard to interconnected issues which led to the bilingual/bicultural program being cancelled. For example, Songül pieced together the following: Since the majority of immigrants in Denmark are Turks, and since it is not possible to have dual citizenship in Denmark, and since the majority of Turks retain their Turkish citizenship, they do not have the right to vote in national elections. Since they do not have the right to vote, they have no political clout: Political parties afraid of losing popular support do not want to appear immigrant friendly and, thus, develop policies which are not in the best interests of immigrants.[25] Songül feels that if the Social Democrats, for example, had acted in the best interests of the Turkish minority, the program would not have been cancelled.

Songül also noted that anti-immigrant sentiment had sharply risen since the fall of the East Bloc. She described the situation as an ideological war between leftists and Social Democrats, with leftists greatly weakened by recent global political events:

> Danish must be spoken, integration must take place, and there can't be any Turkish language support or mother tongue instruction: Danish! Danish! Danish! It's an ideological war between leftists and Social Democrats in [*Trille*] municipality, and they were so lucky as to be able to close the [bilingual/bicultural] class because if they

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Bodil not only concurs with Songül's assessment of the situation, but adds that certain political parties actually table anti-immigrant motions just to win votes (Ethnograph; Lines 791-794). The principal agrees with both educators on this issue, and the relationship between his observation and programming are discussed in section 4.2.4.2.

> had read all the reports–have you seen the reports? Then they would have been quite pleased with [the program], but they didn't read [them] and said anyway: "No bicultural classes." (Ethnograph; Lines 990-1002) (Tr-43)

In this extract it is clear that Songül, like Bodil, draws the line between, and speaks in terms of, "them" versus "us," with "us" representing pro-minority forces and "them" representing anti-immigrant forces. Also like Bodil, she suggests that the "anti" forces are gaining ground quickly, a development which she found very unsettling: "It's just going so fast and dangerously–[a] dangerous development, that's what it is"[26] (Ethnograph; Lines 1289-1291) (Tr-44).

In contrast to the situation which Songül described in the Danish setting, Songül found the minority situation more positive in Germany where the people had vowed "never again;" that is, after the Holocaust, they vowed to never persecute a people again (Ethnograph; Lines 1142-1154). In Denmark, however, she noted an eery silence with few Danes speaking up for minority rights: "As long as they [Danes] don't say anything, then one doesn't know what they think, you know? But surely there are some [pro-minority Danes], but I don't think there are many" (Ethnograph; Lines 1154-1158) (Tr-45). Thus, she interpreted majority group silence as tacit acceptance of discriminatory trends.

Third, Songül linked politics and programming to poor academic success among immigrant children. While she believed that the Kurdish children had been disadvantaged by not receiving mother tongue instruction, she nonetheless felt that they benefited from the program. Its primary advantage, when compared to the alternative (the quota-system described in Chapter 2), was its focus on second language instruction. She commented that minority language children in the older grades were able to follow instruction as a result of the L2 focus in the program. She contrasted this with the situation of children who had not been in the cohort, did not understand the language of instruction, and gave up: sitting smiling so the Danish teachers thought all was well and did not become irritated over having to exert

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[26] Again, Bodil concur with Songül on the point of a rapidly changing social climate in which there was much less support for minorities than in the 1980s (Ethnograph; Lines 90-108).

extra effort to explain things to second language learners (Ethnograph; Lines 487-490).[27] She observed that few "Turkish" children went on to get any form of higher education as they could generally not follow Danish-medium instruction in the senior *folkeskole* classes.

Fourth, Songül raises identity issues pertaining to the Kurdish children. Songül observed that Kurds are misidentified as Turks largely because they are holders of Turkish passports and, hence, citizens of Turkey. She also suggested that Danes do not differentiate between Third World minorities--they are all considered "*perker*."[28] She argues that Kurdish identity issues, issues concerning the Kurdish language, and even minority languages in general have no role to play in Denmark and are generally dismissed. If Turkish instruction is seen as useful at all, it is just from the point of view that it is useful for "Turks" to speak it "back home" in Turkey, and the hope is that all the Turkish immigrants will eventually "go home." Otherwise, Songül feels that Danes only see the usefulness of Danish, English and German--not minority languages. Thus, they have no qualms about denying mother tongue instruction to minorities from the first day their children enter school. This is in contrast to the Danish practice to delay the introduction of English-as-a-foreign-language instruction until Danish children's mother tongue is firmly in place. Songül attributes the conceptual discrepancy to the following belief: ". . . in practice, it is felt that the mother tongue hinders

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Bodil's comments echo Songül's on this point; Bodil also found that Danish educators had no objections to Turkish children being in the classroom if they sat still, functioned like native speakers of Danish, and did not create any extra work (Ethnograph; Lines 132-143).

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Anne Holmen described how this pejorative term has taken on a life of its own. Used originally to describe all 'black haired, black eyed' immigrants, often of Middle Eastern origin (Persians [*perser*], Pakistanis [*pakistaner*], and Turks [*tyrker*]), the term "*perker*" was coined. A term based on the latter was also coined for "*perker*'s" language--"*persisk*." A. Holmen said she overhead a teenager use the term "*persisk*" (which combines two languages--"*persisk*" and "*tyrkisk*"--the Danish words for Persian and Turkish), in a neutral way to describe a language he did not understand (Ethnograph; Lines 648-656). Though sometimes insulting, the term is evolving, becoming more neutral, and gaining acceptance in broader society.

The term "Perker," on the other hand, is highly degrading. J. N. Jørgensen said: "If it just rings 'nigger in the back of your head when you hear it, you get the right [XX interrupted by another speaker]." (Ethnograph; Lines 638-640)

the learning of Danish"[29] (Lines 1177-1179) (Tr-46), even if there is never any indication as to how Danish is to be taught or what learning it entails.

Fifth, Songül notes some incipient minority resistance to discrimination such as attempts made by Danish educators to violate minorities' linguistic human rights (i.e., the right to speak their mother tongue). She describes how, when her daughter's teacher requested that the girl not speak Turkish at school, or at least not yell it from one end of the classroom to the other, Songül agreed that her daughter should not yell (in any language) in class, but flatly refused to tell her daughter not to speak her mother tongue. When the educator in question continued to disallow Turkish in the classroom, Songül's daughter resisted as is described in the next quote:

> . . . and if she [the teacher] is unhappy with [my daughter]--she speaks such lovely Danish. Of course she has the right [to speak her mother tongue]. What does she do then? At recess she gathers all the Turkish children together and they listen to Turkish music. As long as one keeps on oppressing, you know? So you get just the opposite. Just the opposite. So she gathers all the Turkish children and listens to Turkish music and speaks Turkish. She speaks Danish very well. But sometimes they want to be visible: "We're here even if you're against it, and we exist," you know? (Ethnograph; Lines 862-878) (Tr-47)

The latter passage raises many issues, including visibility ("we're here, we exist"), discrimination, (bilingual/bicultural) identity, resistance, and linguistic human rights. A further sign of resistance which Songül noted in her daughter was to speak Turkish in public, rather than Danish, although she was raised in Denmark and had flawless Danish.

Finally, with regard to the potential for pro-minority children policy development at *Trilleskolen* (e.g., anti-racist policies, language policies, etc.), Songül noted that it would be very hard to get her teaching colleagues to reach the consensus on minority issues needed to begin policy development: "It's hard to reach a consensus . . . because I know quite well that many teachers in our school wouldn't go along with it. [It's] difficult]" (Ethnograph; Lines 755-759) (Tr-48). She suggested that many Danish educators in her school would just not be willing to take the time required to develop policies, just as they were unwilling to get

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[29] This harks back to the old, behaviourist view of second language learning. See Brown (2000) for related discussion.

involved when racist incidents occurred. Instead, they let such incidents and other injustices go by unchallenged because they were unwilling to take the time to sit the Danish students down and ask what they have against Turkish students, etc. (Ethnograph; Lines 740-744). It was on this note that Songül took up the topic of her role definition.

In contrast to Bodil, Songül's role definition does not merely encompass her work with the bilingual/bicultural cohort. After the bilingual/bicultural program was cancelled, Songül provided three different services to minority language children. First, she continued to teach Turkish-as-a-mother-tongue to the "Turkish" half of the older bilingual/bicultural cohort and to a younger bilingual/bicultural cohort (which was not followed in the study). Second, she provided language support during content lessons which the Danish, Turkish and Kurdish children in the former bilingual/bicultural cohort had together. Finally, she provided language support to younger subordinated group children in two quota-system cohorts.

Songül's role definitions are formulated with all three groups in mind. Songül views her most important role as (a) acting as a cultural broker, but also describes her role in terms of, (b) being a cultural representative ('one of them'), (c) providing 'safe haven' to minority children, and (d) challenging negative stereotypes about "Turks." These themes arise from the following text:

On the one hand, when children come without proper Danish, it's reassuring to the children that there is someone they can turn to and say what they want to say: just to be able to talk and express themselves because, otherwise, they just to have to sit without saying anything for many months before they dare say anything. But now they have that opportunity, of course. They can come and raise their hand and say it in Turkish if they don't know it in Danish. I think that means a great deal to the children.

On the other hand, the most important thing is, of course, that they also get their mother tongue instruction. And they relax in mother tongue class. When they come, they are really happy and hurry into class. They ask every day: "Do we have mother tongue class today?" So I say: "No, not every day; every other day!" Then they get all happy.

But I think that the most important part of my role is contact; that is, my work as an interpreter for the Turkish parents [as a broker] . . . [to] bring about contact. Because, before, the Danish teachers complained that the Turkish parents weren't coming to the meetings: not to parent meetings or school activities. But now they do because they are well aware that there's a teacher who can talk, or who can rephrase it.

[As for my role for Danes], [they] never think that a Turkish woman can look like this [like me]. They have, the whole society believes Turks are like Cem's mother--every single one, no exceptions. I have even, we lived in a housing complex in XX-ville. Well, for many years [daughter's name] played with a girl from the neighbourhood. After many years,

the girl finally came and asked me: "Where do you come from?" So I said: "But, we come from Turkey." "No, that can't be right. You come from the US," she said. So then I said: "No, we come from Turkey." And then she said: "Well, I'll be!" She really wouldn't believe that we were Turks.

Many people believe that we became like we are because we came to DK: 'I was like Cem's mother when I was in Turkey.' Then they say, for example: "My, you are so . . . " For example, one time Emine heard, when she invited some teachers over to eat, some teachers from our school. And so when she went into the kitchen, those two were saying: "My, how quickly she learns. She learned how to set a table" [i.e., to eat with cutlery]. They thought she had learned that in Denmark; that she didn't know how to do that when she was in Turkey. Even the teachers!

I think West Europeans' handicap is that they have a more or less homogeneous society. Everyone looks alike. They don't [look alike] in Turkey because Turkey is a mosaic society. [30]

Songül's first role definition, outlined in Lines 1-10, deals with the importance of being a cultural representative for minority language children--even if she is not exactly of their own ethnolinguistic group, as is the case for the Kurdish children. Lines 1-6 deal with how she fulfils her role as bilingual support teacher during the few hours a week she works with two cohorts who did not participate in the bilingual/bicultural program. Due to her presence, these subordinated group children can express themselves in their "mother tongue" (or ascribed mother tongue) without fear of stigma, and "relax," even if their L2 skills are limited. Lines 7-10 refer both to children who have and have not participated in the bilingual/bicultural program as she delivers "mother tongue" instruction to both groups. Both Turkish and Kurdish children react equally positively to mother tongue classes with Songül because Songül also fulfils the role of providing a "safe" environment (i.e., a safe haven) (see Lines 7-10).

Second, in Lines 11-15, Songül describes what she considers her most important role: that of cultural broker--a school-community intermediary capable of bridging two cultures, whose aim is to improve the school experience of minority language children. Finally, in Lines 16-33, Songül discusses her role in challenging negative stereotypes about "Turks."

4.2.2.3 Vibeke.

While Bodil only discussed the bilingual/bicultural part of her teaching load, Vibeke,

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[30] In Ethnograph format, this text is found in Lines 1451-1527.

the Danish teacher attached to the younger bilingual/bicultural cohort (personal communication, September 9, 1993), does discuss other aspects of her load, as did Songül. Vibeke just mentions the language ability of her Gr. 10 Math class in passing, but she refers to her Reception class a few times. Primarily, though, Vibeke's answers focus on her role teaching the bilingual/bicultural cohort. She never raises the issue of the presence of Kurdish children in the program or the implications of their presence.[31] Neither does Vibeke discuss her role definition in as direct terms as do her colleagues, though she does define it indirectly in various passages, with examples following the presentation of her mind set.

Vibeke differs somewhat from her colleagues in that her attitudes and opinions are often expressed in terms of values. These values, which include the value of (a) learning Turkish herself, (b) providing Turkish L1 instruction, (c) exposing Danish children to cultural and linguistic diversity, and (d) having a (language-across-the-curriculum) bridge between L1 and L2 instruction, are presented next. First, Vibeke found it highly worthwhile to have taken an introductory Turkish course. She felt it gave her insight into how the minority children's language was structured, and greater understanding of their cultural values. She also found it practical to be able to speak a little Turkish to children who had recently arrived from Turkey, were enrolled in her reception class, and could not express themselves in Danish at all yet (Ethnograph; Lines 93-107). She found it advantageous to have grouped "Turkish" children at her school because she felt that, in a school with a more heterogeneous student population, a teacher could not learn all of the children's different languages, not even the small amount of Turkish she had learned.

Second, Vibeke found the Turkish L1 instruction that the "Turkish" children in the bilingual/bicultural cohort received invaluable for the following reason: She suspected that other Turkish children (those not in the program) may have just as good a Danish accent and intonation, and as big a vocabulary as her students,[32] but those other students may not have

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[31] It should be noted that I did not specifically raise the issue either.

[32] Vibeke noted that both groups had identifiably non-Danish accents that would identify them as "Turks," regardless of participation in the program or not.

learned as many concepts or have as deep an understanding of concepts as did the "Turkish" children in the bilingual/bicultural cohort. Her students had received enriching L1 explanations all throughout their schooling, and she felt that made a difference: "So it becomes sort of more superficial Danish those other children who weren't in the bicultural program, they have sort of more superficial Danish" (Ethnograph; Lines 262-266) (Tr-49). This example may be taken as evidence that, in a sense, Vibeke too has some sense of the BICS/CALP distinction.[33]

Third, Vibeke discussed how valuable it was for Danish participants in the program to know Turkish children as individuals, rather than just as "Turks," knowledge which she believed would lead to heightened tolerance of diversity. She voiced the opinion that the Danish children in her bilingual/bicultural cohort did not mind hearing Turkish classmates speak Turkish whereas Danish children unaccustomed to close contact with Turkish children and hearing Turkish felt threatened by it:

> [If] Turkish is spoken in our class, then it normally isn't the case that any of the [Danish] pupils experience, that there's anything wrong in it. And it is more my experience that other [Danish] children who are not so used to Turkish being spoken think: "That's weird. Why are they speaking Turkish? They live in Denmark. So why aren't they speaking Danish?" And problems can really arise on account of that, you know, because the Danish children perhaps think that they [the Turkish children] are talking about them [the Danish children] when they speak Turkish, and I can sure understand that when they aren't so used to hearing it. That is, that they can believe that. But our [Danish] children in this class are used to hearing it and don't feel like they [the Turkish children] are necessarily talking about them or like it's a threat. We don't really find anything unusual about it and we have got them [the Turkish children] used to us always asking them what they're talking about, and so they tell us in Danish what they're talking about.
>
> Otherwise, then, for sure you can also get some Danish children who also think it's exciting to hear another language. They have often asked: "How do you say that in Turkish?" and asked Emine a few things. They would really like her to say things in Turkish sometimes. They really like hearing another language and, I think, you know, that's really exciting. (Ethnograph; Lines 735-795) (Tr-50)

Thus, Vibeke values a classroom in which "Turkish" children's home language and culture are

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[33] Thus, Vibeke, Songül and Bodil all showed awareness of the concepts underlying the terms BICS and CALP (discussed in section 1.2.2) and the language phenomena associated with them, if not the terms themselves.

valued, respected, and present. She also hopes to instill tolerant attitudes in the Danish children by exposing and accustoming them to diversity.

Finally, Vibeke valued the collaborative planning she had done over the years with Emine, the Turkish teacher attached to the cohort. She felt their collaboration enabled her to adopt a language-across-the-curriculum approach to instruction. She noted that, in the past, both teachers had sometimes worked on the same theme in social studies, the same literary genre (fairy tales), and the same grammatical point (punctuation), which allowed them to compare how the children were doing in the two different languages.

The overriding impression one gets in listening to Vibeke is that she cares. More frequently than not, she calls the pupils "my children" and worries about their well-being, for example how they will fare when faced by societal discrimination in the future. That is particularly clear when the topic of future expectations for the children is raised. Vibeke expects most of the minority children to learn a trade, but even with specialized training:

> It can be unbelievably difficult to get ahead and get that kind of work [i.e., trades]. Particularly when one comes from Turkey, it can be very difficult, and so when one "isn't a Dane" [said ironically], you know, sort of by statistics, that it is, I mean, that is to say, it's very hard to get work. I surely hope that won't stop my children. (Ethnograph; Lines 211-220) (Tr-51)

Thus, Vibeke acknowledges that, for minorities, even completing an education does not guarantee access to jobs, a view about minorities in Denmark shared by Romaine (2000).[34] Therefore, Vibeke's mind set includes a preoccupation with nurturing and protecting her minority language charges as well as a pedagogical focus.

With regard to Vibeke's role definition, as the last quote indicates, a theme which frequently arose during the course of conversation with Vibeke was that of discrimination. She noted that the "Turkish" children were presently faced with it, and would continue to be faced with it in the future (e.g., in the work force) even if they completed some form of higher education (e.g., business courses or trades). Given this recurring theme and Vibeke's preoccupation with nurturing and protecting the "Turkish" children, it is not surprising that

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[34] Romaine (2000) notes that, between 1975-1978, "not a single child of Turkish or Pakistani origin (the two largest minority groups in Denmark) finished secondary school" (p. 206).

Vibeke indirectly defines her role in terms of the following: (a) preparing minority and majority children to deal with societal discrimination and, thereby, (b) playing a role in counteracting societal racism. She also defined her role in terms of (c) counselling subordinated group parents.

Beginning with her role in counteracting societal discrimination, Vibeke notes that, when questioned about her job, the school, etc., she tries to take advantage of the "teachable moment" and persuade people who are not violently opposed to diversity to accept the role of Turkish in the Danish public school system (Ethnograph; Lines 890-934). Still, Vibeke mainly views her role in counteracting societal discrimination in terms of preparing Danish students to go against the norm when taking up their position in a society where diversity is not celebrated. Vibeke notes:

1 There's a lot of racism going around DK, isn't there? And I think that, probably, that it [being
2 in the bilingual/bicultural program] might mean that these particular [Danish] children, who
3 know some Turkish children that they really like and that they feel secure with, that it can
4 mean something to them. So that, when they grow up and get older, that they won't be so . . .
5 I mean, I think a lot of people can feel unsure and scared of people from another culture, of a
6 foreign people. And I hope and believe that my children will sort of be more secure with that,
7 because they know people who originally came from another country.[35]

In this passage (Lines 1-7), Vibeke expresses the hope that she can counteract the effects of societal racism in Denmark on the dominant group students in her care. To cite Cummins (1996), she has a vision of "the society [she hopes her] students will form" (p. iv).

Later in the interview, Vibeke expresses the view that her role also consists of supporting minority group parents (see Line 8, below):

8 I think they feel they can come to me and ask my advice on different things.

Thus, Vibeke's caring relationship also extends to the minority children's parents.[36] To conclude, Vibeke's is a varied role definition with an emphasis on advocacy.

4.2.2.4 Emine.

A major difference between Emine (personal communication, September 9, 1993) and

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[35] In Ethnograph, this text can be found in Lines 834-848 & 990-992.

[36] This point is elaborated upon in the next section on educational structures.

the other educators discussed so far is that the Turkish government sent Emine to teach Turkish in Denmark, and she had done so for fifteen years by the time of our interview. Her salary was paid by Turkey, not Denmark. Apart from that difference, she raises many of the same issues raised by her Turkish colleague, Songül, in the course of conversation (e.g., linguistic human rights--the right to speak one's mother tongue). Like Vibeke, Emine never raises the issue of the Kurdish factor or its implications.[37]

Greater insight into Emine's mind set can be gained by examining her views on the following topics: (a) the need for educators to become aware that they hold different expectations for Danish and Turkish students, and that L2 learners' have particular needs; (b) side-effects of not speaking native-like Danish; (c) the deteriorating social climate for minorities in Denmark; and (d) the possibility of developing anti-racist policies. The first topic deals with Emine's view that Danish educators need to become aware of two particular issues relating to the education of minority language children. The first involves differential expectations for Danish and Turkish students. Emine feels that majority group educators have lower expectations of minority language children than of Danish children, and that these educators are unaware that there is a discrepancy. She does not think that they should be satisfied if minority language children are just able to read, speak and understand Danish; she would rather see minority language children achieve more than that: "I would not be satisfied, if I was a Danish teacher, with saying: "She can read well. She can speak well. She understands well." Instead, I would set the same demands as I set for Danish children" (Ethnograph; Lines 102-110) (Tr-52).

She also suggests that Danish educators prefer docile ('smiling') L2 students who do not pose too many discipline problems or require L2 provisions (e.g., comprehension checks), which raises the issue of the need to become aware of and meet the linguistic needs of L2 children. She feels that under the present (quota-) system whereby there can be as few as three L2 children per cohort, their L2 needs tend to get overlooked. To remedy this situation, Emine recommends that: (a) A Turkish language support teacher always be assigned to the

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[37] Again, it should be noted that I did not raise the issue either.

classroom; (b) L2 children receive "Danish-as-a-second-language provision" [*ekstra dansk*]; and (c) the "home-room teacher" [*klasselærer*] stay aware of minority language children's L2 competence through ongoing conferencing with the children's L1 teacher (Ethnograph; Lines 102-140).

Second, Emine notes two side-effects of minority language children not having native-like skills in Danish. It leads to (a) some Danish educators labelling the children as "dumb," and (b) problems for the children when it comes time for them to form friendships with Danish children. She surmises that the reasoning of those Danish educators who negatively label minority language students as "dumb" must be as follows: "Are they so dumb that they can't learn to speak Danish and they have been in Denmark for so long?" (Ethnograph; Lines 485-487) (Tr-53). After years of teaching, she has witnessed the side-effects of this labelling process:

> If you got labelled as dumb, even if you didn't believe it, then you'd fly into a rage all the time and be angry and maybe even aggressive. We have also experienced that with many children. And, sometimes, children even choose to be rather violent since they must, after all, have some sort of status in the classroom. How can they get it? It's a big problem for the children. And some children prefer to be quiet, and they don't want to be noticed, and they will make themselves invisible in class, you know? Nobody is supposed to notice them. Some children become sort of a bit more violent and aggressive because they want to be a part of things and it's generally the bright ones who choose that route, who get into fights and pull all sorts of stunts, you know? Because they don't accept it.[38] (Ethnograph; Lines 202-211 & 231-240) (Tr-54)

Thus, children may lash out in anger at the injustice of being branded with such a moniker, or quietly implode and remove themselves psychically from the painful situation.

A second side-effect is that they may not form friendships with Danish children, the very forms of social interaction that would help them learn Danish.[39] Emine explained the role of language in children's play patterns as follows:

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[38] My interpretation of "it" (i.e., what the children don't accept), is being an "ingen": a nothing or a nobody, as is discussed in the *Du er ingen* [*You are nobody*] report which deals with feelings of low self-esteem, worthlessness, being "without an identity" [*identitetsløs*] because the children are ashamed of their group identity and not accepted by the group whose identity they come to view as superior.

[39] See a related discussion of Wong Fillmore's (1991-a) work in section 1.2.3.

> And it's also that the Danish children won't play with them if they don't know the [Danish] language. It's not fun to play with someone who doesn't understand what's being said. Children aren't that patient. And it's quite fine that they must have fun when they play or else they find some other playmates already in Gr. 1. And they keep playing with the same children. Of course, they might pick someone else at a certain point, but they still tend to keep [their old friends] for a long time. And it can become a habit, whoever they play with. (Ethnograph; Lines 215-229) (Tr-55)

Thus, not having native-like Danish can lead to negative labelling and subsequent unacceptable social behaviours (lashing out, trying to disappear or become invisible), and can interfere with the kind of interaction that fosters the development of native-like Danish.

The third point raised by Emine deals with the deteriorating social climate for minorities residing in Denmark, a view shared by all four educators. She noted her displeasure at coming home from summer holiday in Turkey, looking at the mail that came while she was away, and seeing the negative headlines about immigrants in all the newspapers. She was even more upset when she saw what the Danish Prime Minister had been saying about minorities over the summer: "not very positive things" (Ethnograph, Line 265) (Tr-56). In the following passage, Emine assumes the role of a Danish journalist, and gives an example of the sort of negative press minorities receive. She then comments on the tenor of the allegations:

> 'Why should immigrants be so visible? And why do we have to hear their language when they're minorities, you know, and they only come here so they can find work? It's not their country, so it's not acceptable. They have to become Danes, don't they?' The end! And that's why Danish is their first language.'
>
> It's like, we think that's inhumane, you know? (Ethnograph; Lines 270-278) (Tr-57)

Thus, Emine finds the social context in the Denmark of the time disapproving of minorities, if not downright hostile.

Emine laments the trend, which she views as worldwide but, at the very least, European, to discriminate against newcomers--especially Muslim newcomers. She further comments that one would have expected discrimination on the basis of religion to have run its course in the Middle Ages since now people understand that "people are the most important. It isn't language or religion or nationality or race, right? But now it's becoming important again" (Ethnograph; Lines 294-297) (Tr-58). She also comments on how far out of hand anti-

Muslim witch hunts have become: In Denmark and Germany "one burns people to death because, that is, one has a different nationality or one has a different religion" (Ethnograph; Lines 302-305) (Tr-59).[40]

Fourth and finally, on the subject of the possibility of developing anti-racist policy in the school, Emine was first dubious, then cynical in her reply. She first noted that no official policy had ever been developed for dealing with "racist attitudes" [*racistiske holdninger*] or incidents at school (Ethnograph; Line 413). Rather, she said that individual teachers were left to deal with situations as they arose (and they invariably did). She then scoffed at the idea of developing school-based policies, saying:

> But, of course, then it should be a national policy, shouldn't it? A country-wide policy which gets implemented in schools. You can't have that kind of policy in schools as long as there isn't [sentence not completed]. We don't even have an immigrant policy here in Denmark. (Ethnograph; Lines 431-437) (Tr-60)

It was Emine's opinion that if racism was not addressed at the state level, one lone school could not hope to develop anti-racist policies that could counter social trends.

With the above attitudes in mind, Emine's role definition is more understandable. Emine defines her role in terms of (a) providing (symbolic) 'safe haven' to the "Turkish" children, (b) countering negative stereotypes about "Turks" among Danish educators and students, and (c) serving as a cultural broker. Beginning with her formal role as a Turkish language support teacher in quota-system classrooms, she notes:

1 Well, the children always get happy, the Turkish children, when I come into their classrooms.
2 That's because it's the sort of teacher who comes from their country, or a teacher who has
3 the same nationality, or who can speak the same language . . . .

In Lines 1-3, Emine does not discuss her academic role in the classroom, but the psychic support she provides (i.e., her role in providing an emotional "safe haven").

Second, Emine describes her roles as the embodiment of negative evidence (about

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Emine was making reference to fire bombing incidents described in the next section (section 4.2.3). At the time of the interview, they had recently taken place in Solingen, Germany and Helsingør, Denmark. In both incidents, right-wing extremists threw fire bombs into the homes of sleeping Muslim immigrant families–with the intent to kill, and indeed they succeeded in Germany. See Taylor (1998-b) for further discussion of this form of "witch fever."

cultural stereotypes), and as a cultural 'broker' between the school and subordinated group parents:

4 There are some [teachers] who don't even think I'm a Turkish teacher. Then, maybe some
5 still see me as a representative for immigrants. But when I'm used as a link between the
6 school and parents, I think both parties are happy to use me because I--even though I come
7 from Turkey--I behave like a teacher; I have a teacher's role. I speak for the school; often
8 take the school's side because I personally think it's important for school to be the most
9 important thing in a child's life. But, then, when I speak to parents on their own terms, then I
10 can explain to the Danish teachers: why they did this; then, why they behave like that; why
11 they say: "No." Then we sort of find, we sort of reach a compromise . . .
12 It looks like a bridge connecting the two [cultures], but they can reach each other,
13 obtain each other [searching for the right verb] [laughter].

Lines 4-5 and 5-13 outline the dual role Emine plays in countering negative stereotypes (and 'educating' Danish educators) and bridging two cultures which, as often as not, are mutually unintelligible. Emine also describes her role in challenging negative stereotypes which the Danish children hold about "Turks:"

14 . . . I often experience that Danish children accept me, even if they have some negative
15 attitudes at first, when I work in someone's class. Then, after a while, they accept me
16 because I wear the same clothes [as Western women] and I speak Danish. And I have also
17 heard children arguing that I can't be a Turk. 'Surely, I'm a Dane, aren't I?' Even though I
18 talk with an accent. Then, it's not so important for them, to sort of talk with a bit of an accent.
19 Then, they can say: "Well, yeah. You know, she looks like us!"[41]

In Lines 14-19, Emine notes that her dress and fluency in Danish are at odds with dominant group children's preconceived images of Turkish women. In dressing in a way which Danes consider "modern" (and she considers normal as she also dressed that way in Turkey), she challenges the children's stereotypes and gains their acceptance.

In the next section, the interplay between educational structures and key events are first summarized, then compared to the mind sets outlined above. In that way, comparisons can be made (e.g., do these educators challenge disempowering macro-interactions by orchestrating interactions which affirm subordinated children's worth?).

4.2.3 Educational Structures

As discussed in Chapter 1, Cummins (1996) defines the term "educational structures"

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In Ethnograph format, the three texts which outline Emine's role definition are found on Lines 325-331, 331-353, 357-359, & 364-379.

as "the organization of schooling in a broad sense that includes policies, programs, curriculum, and assessment" (p. 18). The focus of this section is, as was earlier noted, to compare how the beliefs related to their actions as events played out in the field, and to ascertain the degree of agency the educators were able to establish within a given number of micro and macro constraints, including the educational structures which framed the bilingual/bicultural program. To accomplish these purposes, I provide representative examples of the four educators' reactions to the program from the viewpoint of actions rather than words in this section.

The educators' reactions to the program touch on a variety of facets of the program, including macro (societal) pressures and micro-interactions with students, their parents and the community. The educational structure referred to most often is curriculum in the broad sense which includes educators' approaches to curriculum (i.e., their pedagogical style). Reference is also made to advocating for better programming, and to tacit policies the educators adhered to or which served as pedagogical parameters. Examples of micro-interactions are presented in terms of 'goods' and 'bads.' They are not divided up in this way to present value judgments of individual educators' pedagogical styles, but to indicate how choices educators make with the best intentions can nonetheless serve either to enable or to disable minority language students.

4.2.3.1 The 'goods.'

Bodil

Two good parts of Bodil's pedagogical style are presented in this section. The first involves her approach to curriculum and the second involves advocating for better programming. In both cases, events presented were selected on the basis of representativeness.

To begin, the motives underlying Bodil's curriculum planning were exemplary. She planned instruction to promote second language learning in the minority children, heighten tolerance of diversity in the dominant group children, and foster intercultural understanding in both groups of children. An outstanding venture Bodil embarked upon to reach these goals was a class trip to Turkey. When the children were still quite young, Bodil had already begun

planning for the trip (e.g, finding ways to help parents to cover costs).[42]

Bodil also carefully chose topics of study, and endeavoured to teach critical literacy (i.e., she attempted to draw on the children's socially constructed, personal literacies; Edwards & Nwenmely, 2000; Enright & McCloskey, 1988).[43] During my observation periods in the school, the themes with a critical bent which Bodil selected ranged from Turkish culture seen from a Turkish perspective, to racism, to Native peoples, to hating or fearing people who were different. Two children's novels studied in class lent themselves particularly well to the latter theme, and to critical reflection on popular (anti-Muslim) discourse. They were *Heksefeber [Witch fever]* and *Kineserpigen [Child of China].*

Bodil chose this novel to combat "images of the enemy" [*fjendebilleder*]. The novel is

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For three years prior to the trip, parents set aside $10/month in a savings account to cover costs of the trip. Also, in August, at the beginning of the academic year in which the trip was to take place, all of the children started helping out in fund-raising efforts (e.g., contributing and staffing bake sales, earning some money helping out Turkish green grocers a few hours a month, etc.). No extra funds were provided for the trip although its intercultural purpose was very worthwhile and the distance covered was further than for typical class trips. The children received the usual amount of money accorded for an international trip during the *folkeskole* years, no more or less, although most class trips at that level tended to be to nearby countries such as Germany or Poland. As there was no special funding, incentives or recognition of the value of the venture, it could be argued that there was no institutional support for the trip. (For more information, see Taylor, 1995.)

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At its most basic, literacy refers to reading and writing ability. Literacies, on the other hand, derive from socially constructed practices which students experience before coming to school. Critical literacy involves reflecting on, and gaining deeper understanding of, these experiences as well as gaining deeper understanding of the written word– its meaning(s) and its possible ramifications (Wink, 1997). That is, critical literacy draws on two forms of literacy: (a) traditional and (b) socially constructed, personal literacies (see Enright & McCloskey, 1988). More and more, researchers are urging teachers to rethink their view of literacy and to incorporate into their pedagogy the literacies which children from all backgrounds bring to school, rather than to blame the children's parents for not providing the same (traditional) literacies at home as are (traditionally) valued at school (Edwards & Nwenmely, 2000).

With regard to critical literacy, Wink (1997) suggests that sometimes hard questions need to be asked, questions which examine "how" and "why" (e.g., How are knowledge and power constructed? Why are they constructed: by whom?–for whom?"). Though teachers may balk at unpleasantries and avoid asking critical questions, hard questions need to be asked to help learners cope with personal literacies which include experiences such as fire bombings. Cummins (1996) notes that students' limited past experiences and maturity level may determine the depth of critical analysis which can be conducted on any particular topic (e.g., right wing violence), but adds that all students are capable of engaging in some degree of criticism (i.e., the critical process) (p. 159).

set in the Denmark of the Middle Ages when superstitions reigned supreme. At that time, people had no understanding of the tragedies which beset them: fires caused by lightning, cows that stopped producing milk, gangrene or other illnesses which resulted in death. Certainly, those who practised folk medicine (healers) were at great risk whenever their patients died. The story begins with the mother of the protagonist, a young boy, being burned at the stake for being a healer.

After witnessing his mother's death, Esben, the young boy, flees along a fjord. He stumbles onto Hans, a kind man who is also a healer. Gradually, Hans talks Esben through his mother's death, leading Esben to see that people are afraid of anyone they perceive as different. He convinces Esben that if he let himself be consumed by hate and the desire to extract revenge for his mother's death, then he would be succumbing to another form of witch fever (i.e., the desire to inflict pain and suffering on others).

In the end, one of Hans' patients dies of gangrene and villagers come to put Hans to death. He succeeds in fending them off until Esben escapes. Again, Esben resists the urge to extract revenge, thus overcoming his own witch fever.

Bodil was aware that her minority and majority language charges did not share the same school experiences (i.e., the dominant group students were not subject to the same prejudices, school failure, or assaults--on their character or their person). She did not expect them to share the same ideas, purposes and dreams, but wanted them to come to a conceptual meeting place. In her attempt to draw out both groups' interpretations of the story, she hoped to lead them to share their experiences and personal literacies. She hoped that they would make the connection between the story and current events in Denmark,[44] and reflect on them

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[44] The current event referred to was a crime of hate in Sollingen, Germany. In the early hours of the morning on May 30th, 1993, some Germans threw a fire bomb into a Turkish home. The inhabitants of the home were sleeping and had no chance to escape. Five women died in the blaze. Songül noted that the incident was a result of, and clear indication of, growing anti-"Turkish" sentiment. She reported that, following the incident, "Turks" in Germany did not go to work for a week in protest, and a demonstration was held after the funeral in which 120,000 Germans and "Turks" participated. The Germans who committed the crime were apprehended but, since they were only 16, they were not charged.

Later that same year, another fire bombing of a "Turkish" residence occurred, but that time it occurred in Helsingør, Denmark. No deaths resulted the second time. Details of the German fire bomb

critically--thus, developing critical literacy.

Bodil chose the novel *Witch fever* in the wake of an unsavoury incident (a fire bomb) which involved right wing aggressions against minorities ("Turks"). By working through the novel study, she hoped to initiate discussion of why people hate and inflict pain on those whom they perceive as different. In so doing, Bodil did not circumvent the difficult topic of why fellow Danes and other Europeans sometimes commit heinous acts; rather, she attempted to get at the heart of the human psyche and discuss the battle between good and evil--on a level accessible to young learners.[45]

The second novel, *Kineserpigen*, also dealt with images of the enemy. Described is the life of a young Chinese girl sold into bondage by her family when their home is destroyed in a flood and they become internal refugees in China. For several years, she lives and works under horrendous conditions, providing slave labour in a silk factory--until the Japanese attack China. During the attack, Chinese civilians and Japanese soldiers are wounded. The young Chinese girl risks her life bringing water to the wounded, no matter what their nationality. She does not hate the enemy, just as she did not hate her fellow nationals who mistreated her in the factory. She is killed while accomplishing her mission of mercy, but not before gaining a reputation across China for being a little angel put on this earth to ease suffering.

While the values portrayed in the novel are commendable in themselves (not giving in to self-pity, remaining charitable under the worst conditions, loving one's enemy, etc.), when asked why she chose the novel, Bodil stated a different reason: This novel also touched on the topic of "stereotypical images of 'the enemy'" [*fjendebilleder*]. Thus, Bodil planned her curriculum in keeping with her programmatic goal of promoting intercultural understanding.

A second 'good' part of Bodil's pedagogical style was the feisty, pro-active approach she took to ensure quality programming, an approach which involved strategic planning and assuming an advocacy role on behalf of the children. As noted in section 4.2.2, she described

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incident were discussed in Songül's Turkish "mother tongue" class on June 3rd, 1993. (See Participant Observation notes, Phase II, p. 26.)

45 For an in-depth discussion of the measure of success Bodil met in her attempt to foster critical literacy (and the corollaries of success), see Taylor (1998-b).

this part of her role in combative terms (i.e., as an ongoing "fight" [*kamp*]). It was a role which sometimes required that she second-guess and outmanoeuvre local politicians, efforts which met with varying degrees of success as is described next.

In one particular case, Bodil's attempts were foiled or, to paraphrase Anne-Mette, the consultant,[46] Bodil 'got suckered.' The spring after announcing that Danish could not be a second language for children in Denmark (December 13th, 1993),[47] the local municipality in charge of programming at *Trilleskolen* began exerting pressure on the school to disband (i.e., desegregate) the minority language children in Bodil's cohort. While, ostensibly, the reason was to bring the number of minority language children in the cohort in line with the new guidelines (i.e., quota), Bodil interpreted their move as an attempt to hide the trace of a good example: It was not enough for the municipality to have cancelled the bilingual/bicultural program before the children graduated so that no (positive!) final evaluation could be made; it wanted to disband the cohort so that nothing remained that could be construed as support for bilingual education. Bodil's strategic response was to declare that since the municipality had cancelled the program on the grounds that minority language children should be treated like Danish children, then they were Danish children and, if they were Danish children, they should not be desegregated as cohorts of Danish children were never disbanded.[48]

Bodil's argument was accepted with the result that the minority language children were classified as "Danes" and not desegregated. However, that classification meant that they could no longer claim the right to Turkish mother tongue instruction and, accordingly, no Turkish mother tongue instructor was assigned to the cohort when school recommenced in Phase V (i.e., August 1994). It was based on the latter turn of events that Anne-Mette judged

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[46] Here I refer to Anne-Mette, the "*fremmedsprogedeeleverkonsulent*" [consultant for children who are speakers of a foreign language]. In conversation during Phase V (August-September, 1994) she referred a few times to how Bodil 'got suckered.' These conversations took place in the staff room at the school.

[47] For related discussion, see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.4. See Appendix C for the original text of the municipal memo.

[48] See Participant Observation; Phase IV, p. 14.

that Bodil had been 'suckered' by the municipality since its goal all along had been to stop provision of Turkish mother tongue instruction. That is, Anne-Mette felt that Bodil had played right into the municipality's hands.

Bodil's summation of the situation differed. She felt vindicated in having thwarted the municipality's attempt to wipe out any trace of the program. Therefore, she was relatively satisfied with the turn of events.[49]

At issue is not whether Bodil was tricked by politicians. Rather, this incident shows the extent to which Bodil was willing to enter into the fray to advocate on behalf of the minority language children in her cohort to ensure that they would get proper programming. It shows the lengths she had to go to (beyond just good teaching) in the context of her assignment. In the next section, 'good' examples of Songül's pedagogy are discussed.

Songül

To Songül's credit, she managed to infuse her role as a positive cultural model into her practice in various ways, two of which are exemplified in this section. The first involves how sharing the "Turkish" children's circumstances influences her pedagogical style and approach to curriculum. The second involves challenging exclusive interpretations of cultural and linguistic "capital," interpretations which tend to disable the Turkish community at large.

First, the Turkish "mother tongue" lessons during which I observed Songül teaching and leading various pedagogical activities appeared highly successful. I base my view of the successfulness of Songül's Turkish "mother tongue" class on the following: She appeared to rise to the challenge of meeting the needs of her mixed (Turkish and Kurdish) group of learners. Her situation differed from that described by two Kurdish interviewees who described teaching to this mixed group of learners as an 'impossible' teaching assignment, a view confirmed by another Kurdish teacher who was not even involved in the study (Aytimur,

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[49] Bodil's manoeuvring was ongoing throughout the spring of 1994 after returning from the trip to Turkey. Her final estimation of the turn of events was discussed at various times in the staff room in Phase V (August-September, 1994).

1998).[50] However, their assignments were more difficult than Songül's in the following sense: They were teaching Turkish as an isolated subject to a mixed group of primary level children (Turks and Kurds) with widely different levels of fluency or familiarity with the language.

The students whom I observed in Songül's class were in higher grades and had received Turkish-medium instruction in the bilingual/bicultural program for six years. As the study was conducted many years after the program began, the extent to which Songül may have used pedagogical approaches associated with immersion teaching to facilitate the Kurdish students' introduction to Turkish cannot be examined; however, by virtue of the nature of primary schooling in Denmark (i.e., which is experientially based), it may be said that they had the advantage of largely being able to develop BICS before being required to do tasks requiring CALP. The primary-level Kurdish students enrolled in Turkish as a subject did not have that advantage as they were expected to participate in activities requiring Turkish literacy (i.e., CALP) at a much faster rate. It must be stressed, however, that, by virtue of being classified as "Turks," the Kurdish children in the cohort would have encountered some degree of the sink-or-swim instructional approach more typically associated with submersion teaching from the first day they entered the program. Furthermore, they were certainly in a subtractive language learning situation with regard to their Kurdish (i.e., they were not gaining mother tongue literacy and Turkish was, to a large extent, supplanting their mother tongue). Nonetheless, the positive side of the program was that years of content-based instruction in Turkish had prepared them to follow Songül's Turkish "mother tongue" lessons much more successfully than their Kurdish quota-system counterparts enrolled in Turkish "mother tongue" lessons (i.e., the young Kurdish children for whom Turkish "mother tongue" class was described by the three Kurdish instructors mentioned above as 'impossible'). Beyond the

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An analogy to the 'impossible' situation decried by these Kurdish instructors would be for someone to have to teach a Saturday morning, Japanese "International Language" class in Canada to a mixed group of native-speakers and non-Japanese, rank beginners. The proficiency levels of the Kurds and non-Japanese would be too different from that of the native (Turkish or Japanese) speakers to offer one coherent program. However, that is what the Kurdish teachers were expected to do. Since they could not, they were left grappling with a multitude of negative consequences (disruptive behaviour, total withdrawal, etc.) on the part of their young Kurdish charges who could not follow the language of instruction.

murkier aspects of the linguistic component of the program, there was a strong affective advantage to enrolment in the program for the Kurdish children which can be attributed to the quality of micro-interactions they experienced with Songül.

Both the Kurdish and Turkish groups of children enrolled in the bilingual/bicultural program were learning Turkish in an environment in which they felt safe. Their sense of security is noteworthy. On one particular observation day in Phase III,[51] I observed all of the children in Songül's Turkish "mother tongue" class lounging around the room on pillows, reading modern-day Turkish children's novels.[52] She informed me that she often took materials that she found interesting and available out of the local library because she found the Turkish pedagogical materials they had access to either too uninteresting (poor quality, print only texts provided free of charge by the Turkish government), too nationalistic (the free texts), or too expensive for the school district to buy (glossy pictures, motivating subject matter printed in Germany). The children all appeared at ease, happily buried in their individual reading, and there was a relaxed, yet task-focussed, classroom atmosphere. This confirms the 'safe haven' component of Songül's role definition.[53] However, Songül's classroom provided 'safe haven' in more important ways as well.

On another day, the topic of debriefing the children in "mother tongue" class arose. Specifically, it concerned the fire bomb incident already described. Though Bodil was concerned with the effect the incident might have on the children and attempted to discuss it during novel study period, they did not open up to her. They did however open up to Songül in "mother tongue" class: their 'safe zone.' This was not only the pattern for Turkish children.

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[51] The exact date was September 1st, 1993. (See Participant Observation notes, Phase III, p. 42.)

[52] It is noteworthy that the Turkish children's novels that both the Turkish and Kurdish children were reading were about 150 pages long. That was longer than the Danish novels they were reading in a sheltered manner (i.e., with explanations from their Turkish teacher when mixed in with the Danish children in Danish language arts periods, and with explanations from their Danish teacher during the "*ekstra dansk*" period [i.e., Danish-as-a-second-language]).

[53] As Songül states in her role definition: "And they relax in mother tongue class. When they come, they are really happy and hurry into class . . ." This was clearly the case in the lessons I observed.

It also pertained to the Kurdish children to a large extent. To understand why, one need only look to the fire bomb incident: Considered "Turks," their families could just as easily have been the target. This was the "Turkish" experience which they shared with Songül and which could be discussed in their 'safe haven': Turkish "mother tongue" class. They too felt safe taking up shared experiences in their personal literacies from insider perspectives there. Thus, critical literacy is also on Songül's (curricular) agenda.

As for Songül's role as a cultural representative for minority children, a noteworthy incident took place while on the trip to Turkey in Phase IV. There, the power relationship which was the norm between Songül and Bodil in Denmark juxtaposed completely[54]. That is because it was as though the (formerly) dominant group did not have the proper currency for the Turkish market (i.e., cultural and linguistic "capital" or knowledge). In fact, neither knowledge about Danish society nor proficiency in Danish were high-status or rewarded, leading first to a devaluation of their capital, second to a total collapse of the 'market' and, third, to a juxtaposition of (dominant/subordinated group) roles.

Under the new market conditions, "Turkish" knowledge became high-status and the former dominant group children were obliged to seek the assistance of former subordinated group children (e.g., to barter and save money). No longer were the minority language children subordinated, non-privileged, without influence or silent. This turn of events changed the balance of power and group dynamics. The power shift was not without growing pains, and necessitated some renegotiation of roles of dominance and submission. Concretely, and at the level of the thirteen year old participants, the power shift played itself out in terms of music selection (e.g., which cassettes got played on bus trips) and mode of dance (e.g., Turkish or Western), with Turkish gradually prevailing as the minority language children became aware of their newly found power. At the level of the educators, the power relations were also drastically altered.

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[54] See Sayers' (1991) description of a computer networking project for another example of shifts in power, prestige, and self-esteem. In the case which he describes, the shifts occurred after subordinated group students began to assume "expert" roles in a cooperative, cross-border exchange between their present and ancestral homelands, roles which required knowledge of their minority language and culture.

The first signs of a shift in power involving the teachers started out very simply: How was the group going to get to *Kuşadası* [Pigeon Island], a tourist site: by foot or by taxi? Bodil preferred to walk, but Songül thought a five kilometre walk at 8 a.m. would needlessly tire the children at the beginning of the day--a day which promised to be long and busy. In Denmark, Songül tends to play an observer or facilitator role, and cedes authority to Bodil who adopts a leadership role.[55] In this instance, however, Songül exploited her linguistic/cultural knowledge and overruled her colleague. After Songül and several taxi drivers had a brief exchange in Turkish, the group was bundled off--in taxis. A somewhat fazed Bodil watched as the first taxi drove away with some of the children and Songül in it, without Songül so much as having turned around to explain what she had arranged or say good-bye. Bodil's comment on the turn of events was: "Sometimes you have to let the locals decide" (Bodil, personal communication, May 6, 1994); participant observation data in Turkey, Phase IV.[56]

Songül later confided that since it did not even cost twenty Danish kroner ($4.00 in Canadian currency) to pay for taxis to and from the island for the whole group, she thought it would be lunacy to make the children walk so far and needlessly tire them out so early in the day. Still, she never took a similar lead in Denmark. Neither did she make decisions on her own or go over Bodil's head. As a result of the incident, the dominant and subordinated group children saw "a Turk" assume a strong leadership role which may have made them gain respect for her. This was novel since:

> Neither the Turkish economy nor Turkish culture or social life have any prestige . . . in Western society and when . . . there is no [perceived][57] need at all for Turkish know-how and culture, many dominant group members are not attracted to adopting features of Turkey's culture. (Apitzsch & Dittmar, 1987, p. 55)

Thus, the trip to Turkey did reverse dominant/subordinated group relations. By rising to the

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[55] This tendency was observed and described by Andersen (1993) in her description of the dynamics in Songül and Bodil's bilingual/bicultural classroom.

[56] This is my translation of the original Danish which I no longer recall verbatim.

[57] "Perceived" is my addition to the original text by Apitzsch and Dittmar (1987).

challenge and overturning old interpretations of cultural and linguistic "capital," Songül was able to show her group in a new, more positive light.

Vibeke

The main 'good' which emerges from the portrait of Vibeke's pedagogy is the extent to which she cares about the children in her cohort and their parents as well, a curricular concern which transcends the bounds of ministerial subject guidelines. This finding emerges from numerous observations, two of which are discussed in this section. The first deals with a parent/teacher meeting,[58] and the second deals with Vibeke's concern for the whole child--including the child's family.

The first observation concerns the parent/teacher meeting at the beginning of Phase III. Representatives of only four out of thirteen families attended the meeting. These included: (a) one out of five Danish children's parents; (b) one out of five Turkish children's parents; (c) two out of two Kurdish children's parents; and (d) zero out of one "other" child's parents (an Iranian boy classified as a Dane for purposes of the program since he was not a "Turk"). Emine, the Turkish teacher attached to the cohort, was not able to attend the meeting.[59] The evening took on a negative flavour as a result and Emine's absence placed Vibeke in something of a predicament.

Of the four parents who attended, two were fathers. One was a Turk and one was a Kurd. Both had lived in Denmark for seventeen years, and neither had sufficient mastery of Danish to understand the oral explanations of the curriculum provided by Vibeke and Klaus, a male teacher assigned to the cohort for some subjects. To illustrate the fathers' lack of comprehension of Danish, during Klaus' explanations about "wood-working class" [*sløjd*], they interrupted and asked about the English program. The Kurdish mother who attended the

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58 The parent/teacher meeting was held at Trille School on the night of August 30th, 1993. (See Participant Observation notes, Phase III, pp. 27 & 32.)

59 Emine did not attend because she had already completed her maximum number of hours allotted to parent/teacher nights in accordance with a new system of teacher accountability that went into effect in Denmark that year ("*ø-timerne*" [hours of practice]).

meeting interpreted for them at least four times during the meeting. Their overall tone was rather hostile, and they never stopped asking why Emine was not at the meeting.

The Danes present reacted in the following manner. After the meeting, the sole Danish parent commented that she found it "tiresome, unpleasant" [*kedelig*] to have constant interruptions 'during a presentation made in the official language of her country' (Peder's mother [personal communication, September 10, 1993]) (see Participant Observation, Phase III; p. 32). Klaus never let his eyes off the men during the meeting. Vibeke's voice shook and she appeared nervous. She tried to dramatize parts of what she was saying (e.g., she acted out a long jump to describe the Physical Education program). In a discussion which followed the meeting, she did not however express any irritation with the men. She just found it unfortunate that Emine could not be there. That reaction was in keeping with the ('Why don't people give them the benefit of the doubt?') attitude she often expressed.

After the meeting, Vibeke offered to walk the Kurdish mother home. She had come to the meeting with her newborn baby. Vibeke was quite concerned about a Kurdish woman walking home alone at night, not only because of the reputation the housing complex around the school had (e.g., for being tough), but also because it was flaunting tradition. Dilan's mother was already ostracized by the local Turkish and Kurdish communities for not following her husband back to Turkey when he was expelled from Denmark. Since the communities did not condone a Kurdish woman walking around alone at night, Vibeke did not want to make matters worse by having Dilan's mother appear to flaunt yet another convention. The Kurdish woman refused the offer, but Vibeke had cared enough to make it.[60]

Throughout the observational phases, Vibeke commented on and worried about the home situations of the children in her cohort. For example, the mother of one Kurdish child

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Vibeke was the only educator of the four in the study to give me the 'low-down' on all the families of children in her cohort. Social problems ranged from espousal abuse (Frederik's step-father beat his mother, and Perihan's natural father beat her mother--proof that espousal abuse crosses ethnic lines) to alcoholism (Preben's father) to abandonment (Elif's mother left her father, a Kurd, and ran away with a Danish man. Elif's father became clinically depressed, but had since married another Kurdish woman and had another child so Vibeke thought he was looking more chipper). She knew all about the stresses and strains in the lives in all of the children in her cohort, including in their parents' lives. She was not gossipy; just concerned. (See Participant Observation--Phase III, September 9th; pp. 74-75.)

and the mother of a Danish child were in abusive relationships. In both cases, after talking about moving the children into a women's shelter, they then had new babies. Vibeke was very concerned for the women and children.

She was one of the rare teachers to bridge the contact gap between the subordinated and dominant group children in the Danish setting by organizing a foray into the unknown: She organized a visit to one of the Turkish children's home to see one of the new babies just mentioned.[61] For many Danish children, it was their first time in a Turkish home and a considerable cultural experience. Thus, Vibeke's micro-interactions with students bespoke her caring pedagogical approach.

Emine

My observations of Emine's Turkish "mother tongue" class indicated that, like Songül, she shared many of the "Turkish" children's circumstances, and that this shared literacy influenced her pedagogical style and approach to curriculum: She too provided 'safe haven' for the "Turkish" children, a 'good' educational structure. However, the 'good' educational structure described here involves advocating on the minority language children's behalf in a case of discriminatory curricular material.

During the parent/teacher meeting described in the previous section, Vibeke presented the text used in Lotte's "*kultur*" class in Lotte's absence. While the name of the course would seem to suggest that the topic of study was culture, 'kultur' was actually a course on Christianity. During my days as a student in a Danish gymnasium, the obligatory religion course had been called "religion." Therefore, I had never questioned "*kultur*"--until parent/teacher night.

During the course of the meeting, Vibeke had held up the text for the '*kultur*' course. The title of the book was *Riddertiden [The age of chivalry]*, and on the cover was a picture

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Notable exceptions were the trip to Turkey organized by Bodil and Songül so that dominant group children could experience the subordinated group children's culture. Also, as already noted, they encouraged the Danish and "Turkish" children to work part-time for minority green grocers, pizza kiosk operators, etc. in order to earn money towards the trip. These experiences also gave the Danish children contact with the "Turkish" children, their life and customs, outside the classroom.

of a Crusader on horseback. While I listened to Vibeke, I kept looking at the book and made the following connections: 'Crusades; regain the Holy Land; Holy War; kill Muslims . . . . ' I looked around the room, saw that three out of four parents present were Muslims, and thought about their children studying that book--potentially discriminatory material. A quick perusal of the book confirmed my suspicions. The gist of the story was: 'Off rode the courageous knights to kill the "enemies" [*fjende*] in the name of God.' It just so happened that half of the children in the cohort could be classified as the "*fjende*" described in the book. Still, there was no adverse reaction by anyone present.

The next day, I approached Emine about the book. She had assumed that the course dealt with World Religions, the topic covered in her own son's '*kultur*' class in a different school. She immediately understood the implications of broaching such a loaded topic with a mixed group of Christian and Muslim children. She appeared galvanized from the realization, and promised to take action on behalf of the minority language children in the classroom. She took it upon herself to investigate what the actual content of the '*kultur*' course was,[62] and expressed the intention to have it changed if indeed it was discriminatory. I left Denmark when Emine had just begun fact-finding. Therefore, I do not know what finally transpired. However, I do know that Emine did not shy away from a confrontation.[63] I suspect that she settled the problem of Lotte's using potentially highly discriminatory curricular material, but

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I also conducted my own mini-investigation. I attempted to go observe the course, but every time I was scheduled to go, Lotte called in sick (e.g., on September 7th, 1993). (I did finally get into the course when I entered the class, unannounced, in Phase V. Lotte looked quite irritated. Unfortunately for my investigation, but fortunately for the children, *Riddertiden* was no longer the course text by the time I was able to observe the class, a year later.)

To circumvent the problem of no access to Lotte's classroom, I asked one of the Danish children in the class about the course content while I was in his home interviewing his mother. The boy, Peder, clearly stated that they were learning about Christianity. When his mother (personal communication, September 10, 1993) asked him what the Muslim children did when the teacher talked about Christianity, Peder stated that he did not know, but suggested: 'maybe they close their ears.'

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Neither would Songül shy away from a confrontation. She (Songül, personal communication, September 9 & 12, 1993) described how she and Emine stated their opinions, no matter what the reaction of their Danish colleagues: "We say what we mean no matter if they [the Danish teachers] accept it or not. . . . We could care less." (Ethnograph; Lines 793-800) (Tr-61)

this is strictly conjecture as I was not able to delve into the matter in Phases IV or V.

4.2.3.2 The 'bads.'

Bodil

Contrary to the norm for Bodil, in one case she fell into the trap of ascribing a stereotypically negative identity to a Turkish boy. In a later case involving the same boy, Ali, her actions seemed to reveal an orientation toward Danish conformity/nationalism. Both cases could be described as disabling micro-interactions resulting from objectionable pedagogical styles.

There were two grade six classes. One was the former bilingual/bicultural program cohort (6.b), and the other was a quota-system cohort (6.a). The two cohorts were mixed for certain subjects (e.g., Physical Education, carpentry, home economics, etc.). The event described next involves a racist incident which occurred during one such mixed Physical Education class.[64]

Ali, a Turkish boy from Bodil's cohort, was paired with a Danish boy to share a gym mat. The Danish boy refused vociferously because he did not want to share a mat with a "Turk." The next day in 'Danish-as-a-second-language' [*ekstra dansk*], all eight minority language children described the incident to Bodil. Apparently, the Danish boy said that the mat 'stunk like Turks' and refused to lie on it. The children further commented that the insults were made within earshot of the Danish Physical Education teacher, Hanne, and that, in fact, the whole class heard them. They reported that boys from the other class, 6.a, constantly made racist comments in gym class and that Hanne never reacted, intervened, chided, disciplined or stopped the Danish boys. Rather, she allowed the insulting behaviour to go on (e.g., she allowed the Danish children to make strange sounds, followed by comments such as: 'Bla, bla, bla; I'm speaking Turkish').

Bodil appeared embarrassed by the conversation in my presence. She tried to defuse the situation and change the topic after asking if there had been any Danish witnesses to the

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The incident occurred on September 7th, 1993, but was discussed in class the next day. (See Participant Observation notes, September 8th, 1993; Phase III, pp. 65-68, & Songül's interview for related discussion [personal communication, September 9 & 12, 1993].)

incident or if she only had minority language children's word on the matter. Also, Bodil tried to confirm the incident with the Danish children in the cohort when they arrived at school at 8:50 a.m. for the next period, Danish language. The reason Bodil gave for seeking out Danish witnesses was to strengthen the story because if there was only the minority language children's word to go by, people would think the children were making it all up.

Bodil then said that the minority language children should not group together in gym class or they would just add fuel to the (racist) fire. She asked if Hanne had clearly heard the Danish boy saying "those Turks" [*dem Tyrkerne*], and Bodil suggested that perhaps Hanne had not recognized the terms used as insults. Bodil recommended a mediation attempt at recess. She said that she would gather Hanne, the three minority language children from her cohort, 6.b, and the three Danish children from the other cohort, 6.a, who were the most involved in the situation together at recess to discuss the situation.

Soon after, Songül and the Danish children in the cohort arrived for Danish language arts. The period began with a split activity: While the Danish children did silent reading, Songül read to the minority language children in Turkish. Bodil seized the opportunity to question the Danish children about the incident involving Ali. Soon after, Bodil interrupted both lessons to comment on the incident.

First, Bodil described the incident to Songül. Then she added that the Danish children who had just arrived had said that the incident was partly Ali's fault because he overreacts when he gets insulted (i.e., he gets too physical) and makes enemies. Bodil told Ali that he mishandles situations and brings trouble on himself. She then tried to get him to admit his fault in the incident.

At no point in her description of the incident to Songül did Bodil mention racism. When the minority language children raised the issue, Songül hushed them up, censuring any further public debate of the issue. Then both groups continued their reading.

Later, at recess, Bodil commented that there are two sides to every story, and that Ali was not blameless in the incident. Although it was not Bodil's fault that no policies were in place in the school to handle this type of incident, the tact she subsequently adopted--that of 'blaming the victim'--was questionable and out of character. In a subsequent home interview

with Songül (September 9th, 1993), she discusses the incident at length. She described how minority language children react to having Danish educators constantly downplay unfair (racist) incidents in which they are involved: The eventually give up on the Danish educators, if they do not give up on the Danish educational system altogether.

The second incident described is a curious one which some may interpret as Bodil having an orientation toward Danish conformity/nationalism. While on the trip to Turkey in Phase IV, an incident occurred which involved "how to celebrate a birthday." The night before Ali's birthday, Bodil decorated a section of a public restaurant (in Turkey!) with Danish flags in preparation for Ali's birthday breakfast. Songül's response was to buy some postcards with pictures of the Turkish flag, and display them all over the walls and children's tables as well. In the morning, the Turkish boy reacted nonchalantly, taking no notice of the flags and singing Happy Birthday in Danish, just as he had always celebrated his birthday at school: biculturally. This incident, which was not incongruous to Ali, is further discussed in section 4.3.

Songül

Songül's practice also included some disabling micro-interactions with students; namely, the Kurdish children and their families. Some influence(s) swayed her from acting in accordance with her avowed belief in linguistic human rights and mother tongue instruction in Kurdish. Whatever the influence(s), it (or they) led to an occasional "blind spot" as far as Kurdish was concerned. Holmen (1997), in referring to an abridged version of the present case outlined in Taylor (1997), explains Songül and Emine's apparent Kurdish "blind spot" in terms of "national monolingualism," and explains how "national monolingualism" manifests itself in teachers in officially monolingual states such as Turkey and Denmark:

> . . . monolingual norms block . . . positive views on multilingualism, on minority languages, on second language varieties of majority languages, and on language mixing. As a consequence, monolingual norms seem to impede the development of innovative teaching practices based on the actual social, ethnic and linguistic diversity of the classroom. . . . In monolingual societies the diverse background of language minority children is rarely taken seriously in mainstream schools. . . . the complexity of the children's background and the dynamics of their cultural identity [are] being reduced to simple, static labels. (pp. 187-188)

Thus, Holmen (1997) attributes both Songül and Emine's tendency to ignore the Kurdish element to "blind spots" caused by (Turkish) "national monolingualism." In both of their cases, she suggests that this orientation which, in Cummins' (1989) terms may be referred to as a Turkic-conformity orientation,[65] results in Kurdish being an educational non-issue. Thus, Songül did not see the contradiction in chafing at the suggestion that Danish was all children's "first language"[66] while, as often as not, 'overlooking' the fact that Turkish was not the Kurdish children's first language. This reaction is discussed next.

Irked by the municipality's position on Danish, Songül claimed that Turkey was no worse than Denmark if the Danes denied the possibility that Danish was not the first language of all children in Denmark. She describes an argument she and Emine had with some Danish colleagues at school about Denmark being just like Turkey. She begins the debate with a provocative question: "You know what? What is the difference between Denmark and Turkey when you criticize Turkey for that [depriving people of linguistic human rights]?" (Ethnograph; Lines 780-782) (Tr-62). Songül explains the parallel she is making in more detail in the next passage:

> You criticize Turkey so much because the Kurds can't speak their mother tongue, but if my mother tongue is Danish, then what is the difference between Denmark and Turkey? . . . . Turkey has never said that the Kurds' mother tongue is Turkish. They never say [incomplete]. The Kurds have their mother tongue, but they must speak Turkish. That is what Turkey has said. Kurdish cannot be taught in school or other places. It can be spoken at home, in the street, in villages, but not at school, in court, or XX [unclear]. That is, in all sorts of public places, only Turkish can be spoken. And what is Denmark up to now? It's the same. If Turkish can't be spoken in school, if Turkish cannot be spoken in other places, only at home, then what's the difference between Denmark and Turkey? (Ethnograph; Lines 784-788 & 801-817) (Tr-63)

To summarize, Songül accuses Denmark of doing the same thing that it (and other Western countries) accuses Turkey of doing to the Kurds: depriving people of their linguistic human rights. Clearly, the municipality's pronouncement invoked Songül's ire.

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[65] See Cummins' (1989) use of the term "[XX]-conformity orientation" in his empowerment framework (p. 59). Note that I have substituted the term "Turkic-" for "Anglo-" as the underlying (national monolingualism) orientations are the same, no matter what the particular locale or cultural group.

[66] See the Trille Municipality memo of December 13th, 1993 in Appendix C.

It should be noted that Songül glosses over serious issues in her depiction of the linguistic situation of the Kurds in Turkey. At the very least, her claim that Turkey has never said that Turkish was the Kurds' mother tongue is totally inaccurate. In point of fact, Kemalists have long argued just that--and worse: They have denied that Kurds exist, suggesting they have mistaken their true identity since 'Kurds are mountain Turks who have forgotten their mother tongue' (Bulloch & Morris, 1993).

What Songül 'says' about supporting the Kurds' right to use their mother tongue (see section 4.2.2.2), may not be reflected in practice. Nayif (personal communication, May 28th, 1994),[67] a Kurdish interviewee employed at *Trilleskolen* before I conducted my study there, related the following event which raises serious questions about Songül's purported endorsement of the use of Kurdish.

While employed at the school, Nayif sat in on formal reporting sessions with parents outside of class hours. One day, he sat in on meetings Bodil and Songül were holding with parents of children in the bilingual/bicultural cohort. He was there when a Kurdish girl, Beren's grandmother came. Shortly after the Kurdish grandmother's arrival, Nayif, also a Kurd, realized that the elderly woman spoke almost no Turkish and did not understand what Songül was saying. He said it was apparent since Beren's grandmother was not giving appropriate answers to the questions Songül asked. He observed that Songül nonetheless went through the motions of conducting the meeting and giving the oral report on Beren in Turkish. Nayif concluded that Songül knowingly duped Bodil into thinking that everything was 'business as usual.' Bodil's own knowledge of Turkish was too limited for her to realize what was happening. Nayif suggested that Songül carried out the ruse because, to acknowledge that she could not communicate with a "Turkish" student's relative, might have jeopardized her job: There were many willing, able and linguistically qualified (i.e., trilingual) Kurds who could do her job. Thus, this may be a case in which personal (job) interests overrode stated beliefs.

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I spoke with Nayif (personal communication, May 28th, 1994) in Phase IV, following the trip to Turkey, when I was attempting to focus in on the Kurdish element in the bilingual/bicultural program. He shed new light on *Trilleskolen* and Songül.

Nayif also put a different slant on Songül and Emine's roles in the schooling of Kurdish children overall, and certainly on the sort of micro-interactions they might have with the Kurdish children, parents and community. That is, he raised the issue of subtle (and not so subtle) threats on Kurdish parents who might self-identify as Kurds and press for cultural/linguistic rights. First, he noted that such Kurdish parents are viewed as "dangerous individuals" by the Turkish Embassy in Denmark because they have the potential to inspire Kurds in Turkey to seek linguistic human rights. He related how embassy officials 'subtly' threaten such individuals with the possibility of making it hard for them to travel home to Turkey in the summertime or making life difficult for close relatives still residing in Turkey. Nayif suggested that this sort of threat intimidated parents who might otherwise lobby for Kurdish language instruction.

Second, Nayif argues that Turkish educators such as Songül and Emine also pose a threat to Kurds. Such teachers are often the eyes and ears of the Turkish Embassy in Danish schools, especially those employed by the Turkish state.[68] This again raises the possibility of being branded a separatist troublemaker, and having to suffer negative consequences, if a Kurdish parent presses for Kurdish instruction. Another way which Turkish educators can cause trouble for Kurdish parents who request Kurdish instruction is to negatively influence the children's Danish teachers. That is, since these Turkish educators are part of the Danish school system, they have the potential to shape Danish educators' opinions of, for instance, individual Kurdish children.

Finally, Nayif suggested that the prospect of a school trip to Turkey could in itself be construed as a threat or, in his terms, a knife over the heads of the Kurdish parents; a knife which could stop them from complaining about their children being misclassified as "Turks" and enrolled in a Danish/Turkish program. Nayif explained how it was within the power of the Turkish authorities to make trouble for the children of Kurds who press for recognition of Kurdish issues (e.g., cultural and linguistic rights) during the trip, including the power to imprison and torture them, even though they were residents of Denmark. That realization would surely make a Kurdish parent tow the (Kemalist) line even as far away as Denmark.

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[68] This was the case with Emine.

Beyond noting the subtle and not so subtle threats which Songül could communicate to Kurdish parents, Nayif stated that he considered her behaviour unconscionable because she knew full well the value of developing mother tongue competence, yet did not alert the Kurdish parents to the fact. She had the education and the knowledge (i.e., the power), but did not share it with them: She did not inform undereducated Kurdish parents of the importance in supporting their children's Kurdish language development.

Nayif also considered Songül a Turkish nationalist (i.e., a Kemalist) because of her role in organizing a Turkish nationalist celebration at the school in Denmark on April 23rd, the same day as the state celebration in Turkey. Nayif complained to the (then) principal of *Trilleskolen* that, despite the apparent innocuousness of the celebration, named "National Children's Day," in Turkey, the "celebration" included excessive (and oppressive) shows of nationalism and was, as such, offensive to the Kurdish parents at the school. Afterwards, he noted that Songül tried to have him fired for bringing politics into the school, but he also noted that the Principal never allowed the "celebration" to take place again.

This raises the issue of whether Nayif's allegations were a case of 'sour grapes' or real threats to the Kurdish children. Clearly, however, the fact that though Songül shared many cultural features with the Kurdish children, she did not share them all (e.g., Kurdishness), was significant and of relevance to the kinds of micro-interactions she had with the Kurdish children, their families and their community.

Vibeke

The 'bad' educational structure in Vibeke's case was her implementation of a 'no Turkish' policy in her classroom. She was obliged to implement the policy, and go against her own belief in cultural/linguistic inclusion, as a result of the 'Preben affair' described next. This chain of events occurred in Phase III, around the time of the parent/teacher meeting described above (August 30th, 1993). Preben's father had met with the principal to complain about Vibeke.[69] He complained that Vibeke favoured the minority language children, there was poor

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[69] I had met Preben's father in Vibeke's class, prior to the incident. He had brought his dog in to hshow the children in Science class and I got the impression from him that he was fonder of his dog than of is

discipline in the classroom, and the Danish boys in the cohort were suffering as a result.

It should be noted that there were no Danish girls left in the cohort. Gradually, over the years, they had all withdrawn from the program. Furthermore, there was only one Turkish boy left. By Phase IV, he too had transferred out. That left Farhid, the Iranian boy mentioned with regard to the parent/teacher meeting but, as was previously mentioned, for purposes of the bilingual/bicultural program, he was classified as a "Dane" since he was not a Turk.

Songül provided more information on the 'Preben affair' than Vibeke. According to the former, one day in class, Preben was bitten by Dilan–the daughter of the Kurdish woman who had interpreted for the minority language fathers at the parent/teacher meeting. Songül felt that Preben's father was blowing the incident out of proportion to make a scandal. The principal told the father that a colleague would observe Vibeke's teaching once a month to see whether she favoured the minority language children and was unduly hard on the Danish children; he also assured Preben's father that there would be ongoing meetings between Vibeke and them to monitor the situation.

Songül felt that the principal was taking the father's side and trying to placate him so he would keep Preben in the cohort. The principal's interview largely confirmed her suspicions. He told me in no uncertain terms that, having just observed the effects of 'white flight' on *Trilleskolen*'s sister school (i.e., the other school in the district to have run a bilingual/bicultural program), he wanted to keep the numbers of Danish students in the school up:

> XX School is near YY. You know, there they've just started up two kindergarten cohorts with only, yeah, what was it, only four Danish children in them, yeah, this year, where the rest of them were minority language children, you know? . . . And that means that parents who should have had children in those classes, they moved them to other schools. I mean, they wouldn't accept that there be completely minority language classes, and so that means a flight from that school, and we're very nervous

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son. There was an unusual, unsettling dynamic between father and son, with Preben avoiding his father's gaze. The Preben whom I had known in class before had always been cheery and effusive. While his father was in class, he appeared angry and, perhaps, frightened. Vibeke mentioned that his father was an alcoholic. Preben's mother had left the home some time earlier. As Vibeke and I discussed after the class, there must certainly have been other problems in the home, given Preben's odd reaction to his father.

> about that here, you know, that at the same time people might move their children away from here on the grounds that, that there are too many minority language children or refugees overall. (Ethnograph; Lines 82-89 & 101-112) (Tr-64)

Thus, the principal was anxious to keep the school's Danish population as high as possible.

The principal explained why he was nervous about Danish parents pulling their children out of his school: "But this particular school has some sort of reputation for having too many minority language speakers, you know? It sure does" (Ethnograph; Lines 204-207) (Tr-65). The principal also made related comments on the power of rumour (e.g., the harm that labelling a school can do). He feels that a school comprised of half Danes and half non-Danes is viable, but worries that once Danish parents get the impression that immigrant and refugee children make up the majority of a school population, they withdraw their children--a move he agrees with:

> Yeah, it [the number of minority language children enrolled in the school] can go up, it can go up; but it can't go over half. If it does that, it's problematic--really problematic! And, you know, we have some classes, where, where, where unfortunately it's happened that now there are more minority language speakers than Danes in the classroom, hasn't it? . . . But it's clear that the Danish parents, that [if] they perceive that there's a majority of minority language children, so, then they slip away, and that's what I would do too, if it were me, you know? Children shouldn't be in a classroom where there's a majority of minority language speakers. I don't believe that's good. (Ethnograph; Lines 117-125 & 152-160) (Tr-66)

Thus, folk belief holds that Danish children are poorly served in a cohort with a lot of minority language speakers. The principal shares that common belief with many other Danes including, surprisingly, Vibeke.

In Vibeke's interview, she states that if only four children out of a cohort of 15-20 are Danes, there is a problem. The reason she gives for this opinion is that such a small number of Danes in a cohort limits the minority language children's possibilities to learn Danish while playing with peers who are native speakers of Danish. However, she does not consider dispersing the children in schools away from where they live as a good solution. She views that option as problematic since the children will not live near their playmates from school. Ideally, Vibeke feels that no more than one-third of a cohort should be minority language children, but she also considers a 50-50 ratio (i.e., that of the bilingual/bicultural program model) to be a viable model (Ethnograph; Lines 942-981). With all the talk of numbers, it is

understandable why Anne Holmen (1994, personal communication, September 21st, 1993) said she was tired of being asked what the magical solution (i.e., the perfect quota) would be for minority language speakers to learn Danish. She said she wished people would start talking about proper pedagogy for second language learners instead.

Still, the principal was very concerned with 'numbers,' especially since it was his impression that the Danish parents already considered the number of minority language children at the school too high. He explained: "In fact, many people say there are too many minority language speakers here. And they would rather go to XX-School which is our neighbour school, you know?" (Ethnograph; Lines 193-196) (Tr-67). Indeed, schools were competing for Danish parents to chose them rather than another school. This alone supports Songül's suspicion that the principal was trying to placate Preben's father to stop him from transferring his son to another school.

Rather than having high numbers of minority language children in a school, the principal endorses "*spredning*" (i.e., 'dispersal' or spreading minority language children around different schools in a district to thin out their numbers at any one school): "Therefore, one should, in my opinion, one should provide some way to disperse minority language students, right? And, really, that's best for them. I don't think that a classroom with strictly minority language speakers is useful for anything" (Ethnograph; Lines 167-174) (Tr-68). Thus, he not only endorses desegregation, but also sees it as better for minority language children than staying in a school with lower proportions of Danish children.

So concerned was the principal with the issues described above that he defines his role in terms of establishing a good reputation for the school. He sees it as his job to combat negative perceptions of the school, and he is especially leery of it being branded as heavy in minority language children and getting a bad reputation as a result:

> Yeah, I see it sort of this way, that is I have made the [Danish] parents aware that it's a good school, you know? Because it is a good school. There are some unbelievably gifted teachers here, aren't there? Who do a tremendous [job]. . . . They know a lot of things and they're really active and do a lot of exciting things. . . . What the school's problem is, is if it ever gets a bad reputation, I mean, you know, if it ever gets branded, you know? Do you understand? That is, people, people are--there are too many minority language speakers, aren't there? And so they [the Danish parents] sort of go around and talk. And they can say: "And over there, over in that school, there

> are too many minority language speakers. It's no good, is it?" Then it's hard to ever get out from under that kind of reputation, you know? It's something you sort of have to build up [a good reputation] and do something with it, don't you? (Ethnograph; Lines 606-612 & 616-631) (Tr-69)

To establish a good reputation means running an aggressive public relations campaign to maintain satisfactory enrolment figures (i.e., a substantial number of Danish children must stay enrolled in the school). In light of all of the above, Songül's reading of the situation (i.e., the motives she attributed to the principal for handling the Preben affair the way he did) appears quite astute.

It should also be noted that Preben was not the only unhappy Danish child in the cohort, and Vibeke's rosy vision of intercultural understanding was not reflected in comments I overheard. There was always a tension in the classroom. Both of the Danish children in Vibeke's cohort whom I interviewed, Stig and Farhid (the Iranian child labelled a "Dane") complained about the use of Turkish in the classroom, Stig more bitterly than Farhid. In fact, I was surprised how acerbic a child of Stig's age could be on the topic: He said he found hearing Turkish irritating, did not like being laughed at behind his back in a language he did not understand and, when asked what structural change he would have made to the program to make it better, he said he would prefer to not be in the program at all: He would have preferred being in an all-Danish cohort. Clearly, these comments do not suggest that Vibeke's goals were met or, at the very least, not with the two "majority group" interviewees.[70]

The combined effect of the Danish public's concern with schooling their children alongside minority language children, and the principal's stance on maintaining a critical number of Danish children in the school resulted in a situation which made Vibeke go against her beliefs and ban the use of Turkish in the classroom. She had to do so to placate a Danish parent otherwise intent on withdrawing his child from her cohort. That would have left a preponderantly "Turkish" cohort which could, in turn, have sparked a domino effect, leading yet more Danish parents to withdraw their children and possibly resulting in a crisis situation (white flight) in the eyes of the principal. To avoid losing another Danish student, the principal

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I use quotation marks on the term "majority group" to signal that, even if Farhid was labelled a Dane for bureaucratic purposes, he was, after all, born in Iran.

was 'keeping Vibeke on a short leash' (i.e., he was controlling her pedagogical moves to a large extent) and she had to act in contradiction to a deeply held belief in the value of cultural/linguistic inclusion.

The situation just outlined begs the question: Where was the highly touted "methodological freedom" [*metodfrihed*] in all of this? The question is taken up in the Discussion in section 4.3. An additional negative in Vibeke's case is her silence on the Kurdish issue. The same holds for Emine, as is discussed next.

Emine

In contrast to the other three educators, no 'event' is representative of a 'bad' part of Emine's micro-interactions with students. The only 'negative' was her silence on the main issue: that of veiling Kurdish (identity and language). While I did not focus on the Kurdish issue in my interview questions, I did expressly ask the educators what their expectations were for the Turkish and Kurdish children; hence, the Kurdish children were mentioned. Therefore, how can Emine's silence be explained, especially on a topic of such bearing as the misclassification issue?

Silence sometimes speaks volumes. In this case, it confirms Bodil and Songül's claim, noted in other sections of this dissertation, that silence may be construed as tacit acceptance of the status quo. That was Songül's summary of the Danish public's silence after the fire bombing incident in Helsingør. In referring to a summary I wrote of this study and in which I suggested that, for Emine and Vibeke, the Kurdish factor was an educational non-issue (Taylor, 1997), Holmen (1997, same volume) provides a possible explanation: She interprets their silence as the "blind spot" of "national monolingualism." That is, she attributes the gross oversight to the monolingual mindsets which often characterize citizens of (officially) monolingual countries such as Denmark and Turkey.

Holmen (1997) suggests that "the diverse background of minority language children is rarely taken seriously in mainstream schools [in monolingual societies]" (p. 187). Since diversity is not valued in these settings, educators often reduce "the complexity of the children's background and the dynamics of their cultural identity . . . to simple, static labels"

(pp. 187-188). In the case of all four educators at the school, they made the following simple classification: "the Danish and the Turkish children" [*de danske børn* and *de tyrkiske børn*] virtually all the time.[71] Indeed, Vibeke clearly preferred simple ethnic classifications: In section 4.2.2.3, she explains why she found it advantageous to group students rather than have a heterogeneous student population.

In Cummins' (1989) terms, "national monolingualism" can be seen as a strong version of the "conformity orientation"--a Turkic-conformity orientation and a Danish-conformity orientation--on the conformity-intercultural continuum. An orientation which is closed to issues of diversity (e.g., a conformity orientation) may constrict identity development in children whose ethnic groups are not validated. In this sense, it constitutes a 'bad.' Thus, Vibeke and Emine shared a 'bad' orientation to the Kurdish children even though they were strong advocates for minority language children.

Another take on Emine's situation was she may have had limited liberty to speak freely on the Kurdish issue, given that she was employed by the Turkish government. She may have had to tow the line with regard to Turkey's stance on the Kurds, a stance of denial: There is no Kurdish minority in Turkey! (Yağmur, 1996, 1997). For whatever reason, Emine never mentioned the Kurds in my presence. As noted above, Songül did however report a confrontation which took place between the two Turkish educators and some Danish educators in the staff lounge. The argument centred on which country's minority language policies and linguistic human rights abuses were worse: Turkey's no-Kurdish policy or Denmark's immigrant policy ('Danish is all children's first language')? The least that may be said is that Emine's silence on the Kurdish issue was noteworthy.

It was also contradictory, in more ways than one. It is noted, in section 4.2.2.4, that Emine severely criticizes Danish educators for unfairly labelling minority language children. At the same time, however, she copied that practice by labelling Kurds as Turks. Though this may perhaps not be as immediately harmful as unfairly labelling (minority language) children as "dumb," the long-term effect was severely harmful. This is discussed next.

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I could provide countless examples of this practice in quotes from the teacher interviews. Indeed, it was all I heard in Phases I to III and why the Kurdish factor remained hidden until I sought it out.

4.2.3.3 Summary

Table 2 presented next summarizes findings presented thus far regarding educator role definitions and educational structures in this context with specific reference to Cummins' (2000) empowerment frameworks (pp. 43 & 45) presented in Chapter 1. Specifically, educator beliefs about what their roles were (i.e., their role definitions) are compared to their actions faced with specific events and educational structures (e.g., policies), and related to the empowerment frameworks. Bodil and Vibeke are presented in separate categories as their role definitions and reactions to events were quite dissimilar. Songül and Emine, on the other hand, are grouped together as their role definitions and reactions dovetail quite a bit.

Beginning with Bodil, it was her intent to foster a sense of self-worth in her minority language charges, to foster their development of a positive self-identity, to advocate on their behalf, and to be a partner in their school success. Certainly her work in the area of critical literacy aided her to accomplish her goals with regard to fostering academic success and positive identity development, and she can clearly be said to have advocated strongly on the minority language children's behalf, but Bodil also displayed some contradictory behaviour. Her reaction to the "Ali affair" did not foster positive identity development in Ali; rather, it constricted his identity as Bodil fell into the trap of ascribing ('Turkish boys') identity to Ali. Thus it may be said she had strong intercultural leanings, but could be described as occasionally slipping into Orientalist attitudes. To her, the Kurdish issue was a virtual non-issue.

Second, Songül and Emine's role definitions overlapped in that both described their role in terms of acting as cultural representative for minority group children, providing them with (psychological) 'safe haven,' acting as cultural brokers between the Danish school system and the "Turkish" parents, and challenging negative stereotypes. Their actions with regard to providing 'safe haven' were exemplary, especially with regard to debriefing the children when they experienced psychological or physical violence (e.g., racist slurs or knowledge of fire bomb attacks on other "Turks.").

There was a clear contradiction, however, in whether they incorporated the children's language and culture in their teaching or excluded it: The Turkish children were represented

Table 2

Relationship between Educator Role Definitions, Pertinent Educational Structures and Micro (School-based) Events, and the Empowerment Framework

Educator	Role Definitions	Educational Structures and Micro (School-based) Events	Empowerment Framework
Bodil	▸ foster sense of self-worth & positive identity development ▸ advocate on behalf of the minority group children ▸ be a partner in minority children's school success	1. took up '*metodfrihed*' (pedagogical material & approach) in manner which promoted critical literacy--trip to Turkey, novel study. 2. municipal desegregation policy resisted, but lost L1 instruction 3. Ali Affair--macro influences on micro-interactions: Bodil fell into trap of 'ascribed identity' (viewed Ali in terms of negative, stereotypical characteristics: "Turkish boys"). Ali rendered voiceless: legitimate grievance dismissed, self-esteem diminished, identity constricted.	holds a primarily intercultural orientation & usually resists coercive structures, but some dominant group prejudices (Orientalism) may slip into orientation towards minority children - Kurdish a non-issue or subsumed in larger 'struggle'
Songül & Emine	▸ act as a cultural representative for minority group children ▸ provide 'safe haven' ▸ act as a cultural broker ▸ challenge negative stereotypes	1. incorporation of "Turkish" students' language and culture in "L1" class/reactionary or assimilitionist exclusion of Kurdish students' language and culture in "L1" class 2. provision of (affective) safe haven for both groups in "L1" class ('it's okay to come from Turkey' + shared experiences as "Turks")	hold intercultural orientations & resist coercive structures regarding "Turks", but nationalist leanings (Kemalist 'myopia' or linguicism?) which hinder their view of Kurdish identity (no recognition, legitimization, advocacy)
Vibeke	▸ prepare majority group students to resist discriminatory societal norms ▸ counteract societal racism (nip it in the bud) ▸ counsel minority group parents	1. history of inclusionary pedagogical practices and caring (orchestrating interactions which affirm subordinated children's worth) 2. policy imposed top-down: forced implementation of an exclusionary language policy ("no Turkish") = loss of "*metodfrihed*" (and of agency) 3. policy of "*spredning*": agreement in principle	primarily intercultural orientation & usually resists coercive structures, but some structures overpower agency & some dominant group prejudices (belief in value of "*spredning*") hint of an assimilationist orientation - Kurdish a non-issue, perhaps due to national monolingualism ('hard to get a handle on identities of more than one other group [e.g., the Turks]')

and the Kurdish children were not. This discrepancy can be attributed to some educational structures, but not to all. For example, it is true that the Kurdish children's language and culture did not figure into the bilingual/bicultural program's design. However, had Songül and Emine had the will to do so, they could have found ways to incorporate the Kurdish children's language and culture into the curriculum, especially given the Danish emphasis on '*metodfrihed*' (or freedom of pedagogical choice). While they had the freedom to do so, they were unwilling which leaves one to wonder why: Was this a case of Kemalist 'myopia' or linguicism or national monolingualism which hindered these educators' view of Kurdish identity? We will never know, but the results of their exclusionary orientation are discussed later in this chapter.

Vibeke saw her role in terms of preparing majority group students to resist discriminatory societal norms, thereby doing her part to counteract societal racism. She also described her role in terms of providing counsel to minority group parents. She also expressed a strong commitment to establishing an inclusive language policy in the classroom. Structural constraints forced her to adopt a "no Turkish" policy imposed top-down (by the Principal), a policy at odds with the much touted principle of '*metodfrihed.*' In this, Vibeke's case provides a clear example of dominant group members' tendency to only see what is in their best interests and not advance the cause of minority group members of society. Indeed, the irony of imposing a language policy in a system which prided itself on consensual policy development or no policies at all, and the freedom to conduct one's teaching as one saw fit, never came to the fore. Instead, Vibeke expressed support in principle for a "*spredning*" policy as she agreed that it was better to thin out the numbers of minority language children per classroom, a belief which does not mesh with establishing a policy welcoming the use of Turkish in the classroom. Thus, Vibeke's case reflects both structural constraints and individual contradictions.

To Vibeke as well, Kurdish was apparently a non-issue. She expresses discomfort with having to learn about more than one group of minority language children's cultures which may explain how she focussed on the Turkish element in the classroom and dismissed the Kurdish element. The error which laid the structural framework for dismissing Kurdish ethnolinguistic

identity in the program is described next.

4.2.4 The mystery solved: The misclassification error

And why were Kurdish children enrolled in a Danish-Turkish bilingual-bicultural program? How could such a misclassification error occur? Those were questions I asked over and over, once the minority in a minority component of my study became clear to me. I not only never got a clear answer to the question, I frequently got different answers from the same person in different phases of my study. Rather than attempt to lay blame for the error on any one person or any one group (e.g., 'the Turks' or 'the Danes'), I now think it is safe to say that the participants just did not know the answer. I found the answer quite by chance the summer before completing this dissertation.

While reviewing old program evaluations, I discovered the equivalent of a program design document. In it, the author notes that, at the inception stage, the bilingual-bicultural program planning committee recognized the potential for (Turkish/Kurdish) error (Helkiær, 1987). Section 4.4 of the report deals specifically with population variables: "Turkish and Kurdish children" [*Tyrkiske og Kurdiske børn*]. In it, it states:

> Since there are two school-entry choices for Turkish and Kurdish pupils in this municipality, - that is, bicultural and parallel groups [*parallelgruppe*] - on a practical level, it would be feasible to divide the two groups up. There is no doubt that from a linguistic point of view, that would be preferable. But obviously the issues involving Turkish and Kurdish peoples involve much more than language. The committee's assessment of the situation was that if we were to propose such a clear division of the two groups, we would be meddling in a politically and emotionally charged matter and, as Danes, would have a hard time imagining the consequences of such an action. (p. 15) (Tr-70)

The question that begs asking here was: Was this consideration voiced by the committee or was it imposed, top-down (by the Municipality or the government) or inside-out (by the Turkish Embassy)? As Songül suggested, there is reason to believe that the decision was jointly reached by the Danish and Turkish governments.[72] The answer will likely never be known. What is known is the program effect on Dilan and other Kurdish children like her.

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[72] Dabène (1994) discusses this sort of intergovernmental accord quite matter of factly, leading one to believe that they are very commonplace.

Helkiær (1987) documents the "softer" [*blødere*] wording which the bilingual-bicultural program planning committee ended up using in their program proposal:

> The bicultural classroom is highly recommendable for Turkish-speaking children since both language and cultural instruction will build on the knowledge they bring to school with them. The Kurdish parents should also be made aware of the possibility of [choosing] the bicultural classroom for their children, but should, on the basis of language considerations, be advised to [pick] a different school-entry program, for example parallel groups. (p. 15) (Tr-71)

This phraseology may have warned Kurdish parents that a Danish-Turkish program was perhaps not the best choice for their children, and would likely have appeased the Turkish Embassy, if the message had indeed trickled down to the Kurdish parents. However, in practice, both a Turkish father and a Danish mother advised me that children were simply placed in one program or the other without parents ever being consulted during the pilot year of the bilingual/bicultural program. Peder's mother reported that there was so much Danish outcry at having their children "plunked" in a program with half Danes and half "Turks," that Danes were consulted about enrolment in the program every subsequent year, and given the option to opt out. All of the Turkish and Kurdish parents interviewed, parents of children in later cohorts, noted that they were never asked: Children who were Turkish nationals were just divided up between the two programs. All of the Kurdish parents interviewed--and I interviewed the majority of the Kurdish children's parents--strongly stated that they would not have enrolled their children in a Danish-Turkish program, had they had a choice. They stated that the program was harder for their children because they did not speak Turkish when they began school. The parents would have preferred it if their children had just been enrolled in a Danish program, and strongly stated that if they had been given the choice, they would have enrolled their children in a Danish-Kurdish program. Their statements were at odds with what Songül had told me earlier[73] which raises yet more questions. The least that might be said is that the incident corroborates Cummins' (1996) claim that "schools reflect the values and

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[73] In section 4.2.2.2, Songül suggests that Kurdish parents may have accepted their children's enrolment in the program out of fear--fear of the Turkish authorities' immediate reaction if the parents pressed for Kurdish-medium instruction, or fear that the authorities would make life difficult for their children when it came time for them to complete their military service in Turkey.

attitudes of the broader society that supports them" (p. 3) and neither the Danish nor the Turkish communities valued Kurdish ethnolinguistic identity.

As for the Danish parents who allowed their children to participate in the program, were they positively oriented to minorities? Jonna's mother was my room-mate during the trip to Turkey (personal communication, September 6, 1993). Her stance on minorities fell on the hostile end of the scale (assimilation orientation, national monolingual). When asked why she had enrolled her daughter in the bilingual-bicultural program, she answered that it was 'sold' to her in terms of how Jonna would benefit from it (i.e., smaller class-size, two teachers present at all times, etc.). Bodil concurred that a great deal of lobbying had gone on in order to entice Danish parents to enrol their children in the program.

Thus, no misclassification error took place at the program inception stage. Program designers were aware of the potential problem and complied with Turkey's Kurdish policy, though they seemingly tried to warn Kurdish parents away from the program. All of the committee's deliberations and precautions were lost at the program implementation stage as program entry was decided on the basis of nationality: whether one was a Dane or a "Turk." By the time of my study, educators involved in the program were either unaware of the program genesis or chose not to divulge knowledge about how the error occurred. Results of veiling the Kurdish children's identity are described next.

4.2.5 The human face of (structural) error

This section serves two purposes: (a) It lifts the curtain on what Candlin (1986) describes as much needed glimpses of participants' reactions to the processes of bilingual education; and (b) it chronicles how a group's ethnolinguistic vitality may be lost. Beginning with the latter, it is perhaps debatable as to which of the following contribute more to lowered ethnolinguistic vitality. First, a persecuted group such as the Kurds in Turkey may experience loss of ethnolinguistic vitality when they find themselves in a new country (such as Denmark) where they are less persecuted. Second, the same group may experience loss of ethnolinguistic vitality when they encounter a national language policy (such as Denmark's) which only recognizes the official language of countries immigrant children come from, only offers "mother tongue instruction" in that language, and that language is not the group's language.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) shows many compelling reasons to suggest that the latter may be more to blame. However, for whatever the reason, the Kurdish language skills of the children in my study were eroding. This was clearly the case with Dilan, the young Kurdish girl described next.

When interviewed, Dilan's sense of "Kurdishness" seemed low as did the urgency with which she wanted to express it. At the time of the interview, she clearly stated that she did not enjoy speaking or listening to Kurdish, not even Kurdish music. Dilan did not have any Danish girlfriends; indeed, there were no Danish girls left in her cohort for any of the eighteen months I observed it. She was not close to any of her male Danish peers. Born and schooled in Denmark, she did not have one Danish friend, she never socialized in Danish, and Danish mainly functioned as her language of schooling. The girl had attended a Danish kindergarten, however, a detail which Vibeke stressed when she said that she considered Dilan to have near native-like Danish, a level of competence which far surpassed the other "Turks" in her cohort.

At the time of the interview, Dilan's close friends were Turkish. Emine lauded Dilan's Turkish although the girl's mother, when interviewed, said that she saw big gaps in Dilan's Turkish compared to her cousins back in Turkey when they went "back home" in the summer. Dilan was competent bilingually and biculturally, but more so in Turkish than in Danish (her other second language). Turkish was the non-native language that she acquired well, and the group with whom she identified to a large extent. This confirms findings about which Turkish children acquire German in Germany. Röhr-Sendlmeier (1990) notes that:

> The strongest relationship existed between the improvement in German as a second language and the children's contact with their German peers. Those Turkish pupils who played with German children frequently during school breaks and in the afternoons made greater progress in their active and passive knowledge of German than the pupils who had little contact with German children. This result conforms to findings in other countries . . . which also indicates that the peer group must be regarded as an important agent in second language development. (p. 384)

Thus, Dilan appeared to be 'assimilating Turkish' in Denmark. For whatever the reason (more kinship with Turkish children than may have been the case in Turkey or Turkish-medium schooling), the least that may be said is that her disinterest in Kurdish posed a real threat to her long-term ethnolinguistic vitality.

With regard to her reaction to the processes of bilingual education, it may be regarded as a huge success in one regard: Dilan successfully acquired Turkish! She also identified positively with the language and its speakers. Indeed, she acquired Turkish in a situation similar to French immersion: Initially, she received context-embedded instruction in a two-way immersion setting as Songül taught Dilan and the other Kurdish children in Turkish alongside Turkish children and, since this started in grade one, content lessons were per force more experiential as is typical of teaching at that age in Denmark. Gradually, content-instruction became more cognitively demanding (after grade 3, etc.), but not before the Kurdish children like Dilan had an experiential basis in Turkish. Dilan was in a near-perfect language learning situation. This was compounded by the fact that she played with Turkish peers during and after class, lived in a community where Turkish was widely spoken, and had access to satellite television in Turkish: The housing complex received a totally up to date television station from Turkey.

At home, Dilan spoke Kurdish. Her mother worked as a day-care worker in a bilingual daycare (with Danish and minority language children) until shortly before my study began as, at that time, she had a new baby. I conducted two interviews with Dilan's mother as I liked her and she was receptive to discussing many issues. During the course of our first interview, she said that she liked speaking Danish, liked the Danes, and had taken many Danish courses to learn how to speak better. She described how she encouraged her two school-aged children, Dilan and her younger brother, to speak Danish at home sometimes so she could practice her Danish. Generally, however, the language of the home was Kurdish though she noted that Dilan code-switched into Turkish a lot.

The variety of Kurdish spoken by Dilan and her family was not the standard Kurdish (Kurmanji) of the eastern provinces of Turkey or 'Kurdistan.' Dilan's family came from Konya, in the interior of Turkey, and a different variety of Kurmanji was spoken there. The original variety was altered. A linguistic explanation for the change is language contact: The Kurmanji spoken by Kurds in the interior of Turkey (e.g., Konya) changed because of their high degree of contact with the majority Turkish population living in the surrounding area. A political explanation is that the language changed because of a Turkification campaign which

included linguicide (see section 2.2.1.3).

For decades, Turkey resorted to Turkification campaigns to solve "the Kurdish problem" (i.e., the Kurdish minority's refusal to assimilate and deny their Kurdish identity in return for recognition as Turkish citizens with equal rights, Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 348). Described in section 2.2.1.3, these campaigns included forced deportations to places like Konya to destroy the Kurds' ethnolinguistic identity. Kurds who moved to places such as Konya did not experience total language death, but their variety of Kurdish, Kurmanji, did not develop in the same way as the Kurmanji spoken in Kurdistan did because frequent contact with the language was sustained in Kurdistan. Thus, the Kurdish spoken by Kurds living in the interior of Turkey, in places such as Konya where Dilan's family came from, was altered (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995).

Due to high contact with Turks, there was widespread borrowing of Turkish lexemes and morphemes which resulted in the Kurmanji spoken by Konya Kurds being almost incomprehensible to Kurdistan Kurds and vice versa. The Konya Kurds were told over and over again that they were incompetent in all languages: They had bad Turkish, they did not speak their mother tongue any more (some went so far as to say that Konya Kurdish was not a real language anymore, just a mix of Turkish and Kurdish), and Kurdish was an inferior language anyway. It was just 'mountain Turkish' (Bulloch & Morris, 1993; Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) uses the term 'colonised consciousness' to explain how minority group members end up believing some or all of the negative stereotypes made about them by dominant group peers in situations of coercive relations of power. Indeed, Dilan's mother had a 'colonised consciousness' in the sense that, during the course of her interview, she expressed reservations about her competence in any language (Kurdish, Turkish, Danish). This may partly explain Dilan's ambiguity towards Kurdish: She may have inherited her mother's doubts about the value of Kurdish. Perhaps Emine subtly reinforced these doubts in statements made during Turkish "mother tongue" class. One can only imagine the causes of Dilan's feelings. The point is that she was at risk of losing her Kurdish ethnolinguistic identity, a point revisited in the discussion.

Returning to Dilan's reactions to the processes of bilingual education, on a purely linguistic level it may be stated that she had a good experience. She was on her way towards acquiring Danish-as-a-second-language and had almost mastered Turkish-as-a-'second'-language even though it technically held foreign language status in Denmark. There are other relevant findings which surpass the purely linguistic ones, however, findings which also have bearing on Dilan's reactions to the processes of bilingual education. For this account of her to be complete, they should also include what Candlin (1986) terms the "ethnic and social characteristics of the domain" and speak to some of the political, social, ethnic and ideological pressures which characterized the setting.

There was ethnic discord in Dilan's classroom. Something led her to bite her Danish classmate, Preben, which, in turn, set off the whole 'Preben affair' and which, ultimately, resulted in an overt classroom language policy: a 'no Turkish' policy. Several Danish children whom I interviewed in the cohort 'wanted out' of the program. There were no Danish girls left, and Dilan did not have one Danish friend. Clearly, (macro-) ethnic pressures outside the classroom were filtering into it (the micro-setting).

Political influences were also being felt in Dilan's educational experience. The bilingual-bicultural program she was enrolled in and benefited from (at least with regard to acquiring Danish and Turkish, if not Kurdish), was cancelled. Danish was proclaimed as all children in Denmark's 'first language' and, since Dilan was one of the children swept up in the pronouncement, her true identity was being yet further constricted. Finally, her educational experience was also shaped by ideological factors as the aforementioned pronouncement stemmed from Danish nationalism, not educational linguistic theory. That her true mother tongue, Kurdish, was veiled may also be attributed to ideological factors: certainly to Kemalism, and possibly also to Vibeke and Emine, her two teachers' national monolingualism. To summarize, multiple factors were involved in Dilan's educational experience and, accordingly, any account of her reactions to the process of bilingual education must be viewed at many levels of analysis.

To conclude this section, Dilan's case is analysed in terms of Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) principles of linguistic human rights in education (see Table 3). In answer to the

question whether Dilan was able to fully learn, use, and identify with Kurdish, her L1, the answer is clearly no on all accounts. It was not the medium of instruction, therefore she could neither become literate in it nor use it. Since Kurdish identity was veiled, neither was she able to identify with it. Thus, the first criterion for linguistic human rights was not fulfilled in Dilan's educational experience.

Second, she was able to learn Danish, Denmark's official language, and she was able to become a Danish-Turkish bilingual, but there was a price: She was in a subtractive language learning situation and was experiencing language loss–in Kurdish. Therefore, she was not able to become fully trilingual and not at all triliterate.

TABLE 3

Are Linguistic Human Rights Principles Respected or Not?

		CASE
		Dilan, Kurd in Denmark, immigrant minority
LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES RESPECTED OR NOT?	1. Fully learn (L), use (U) & identify (I) with L1?	L No U No I No
	2. Learn official language(s) & become bi-/trilingual?	Official language(s): Yes Bi-/trilingualism: No
	3. Forced language shift?	Yes, for this generation
	4. Profit from state education system, no matter what the students' L1	No

Third, contrary to what one might expect of a Kurd residing outside of Turkey, Dilan was experiencing a forced language shift; namely, from Kurdish to Turkish. Fourth and finally, not all children in Denmark can profit equally from the state education system, no matter what their L1. Clearly, the tacit school policies described in this chapter were in the best interests of the Danish children. Dilan was not on equal footing (*på lige fod*) with her Danish peers, no matter what the rhetoric of the *Integration report* (1990).

Issues arising from findings presented in this chapter are discussed next.

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 The Power of Definition

Now that it is known how the original error occurred, and that, in fact, it was not simply a misclassification error but an intentional, politically motivated choice, there must be further discussion as to why educators would knowingly make such a choice (i.e., discussion which goes beyond the face validity of the argument presented above by Helkiær, 1987). Why was one group of students knowingly labelled or defined in terms of another? A logical explanation for the occurrence is that the Kurdish students were twice disserved by the Danish policy alluded to in Chapter 2 by Christian Horst; namely, the policy of non-decision.

To review Horst's position, out of courtesy to Turkey, Denmark (a NATO-ally of Turkey) chose to tacitly comply with Turkey's Kurdish policy. This included viewing Kurdish children's "mother tongue" as Turkish even in Danish state schools. By not openly attacking Turkey's Kurdish policy, but complying, Denmark adopted a policy of non-decision. As the Danish public was not in favour of immigrant minority children maintaining their mother tongues, nothing in their country's stance on Kurds countered their view of what is in the best interests of society. This silent partnership between the Turkish state, the Danish state, and the Danish public, disserves Kurdish children. They were disserved by being enrolled in a program in which they were erroneously classified as "Turks," and they were disserved when the local municipality defined their "first language" as Danish.[74] They were also disserved when the

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[74] This was not a novel view. Hermansen (1995), the chair for the Board of Education and Culture in *Trille* Municipality, was merely reiterating the municipal and national Social Democratic Party stance

Assistant Head of the ruling Social Democratic party, Lene Jensen, proclaimed Danish to be the "mother tongue" of "everyone born, raised and intending to stay in Denmark" (Holmen, 2001, p. 33). Such complicity and pronouncements are not in accordance with children's linguistic human rights.

These words and deeds do, however, substantiate Cummins' (1988) claim that dominant group societal members see little or no self-benefit in programs designed for minority group children and, therefore, are not concerned with how those children are classified. Neither are they concerned with the results of such human error. Also, though the above pronouncements may appear willy-nilly, they are indicative of the power of definition and power politics in education. As noted in Chapter 1, "whoever has the power to define the context, and the language code that describes it, is empowered . . ." (Corson, 1993, p. 7).

The way the ruling Social Democratic party did finally define their position on Danish-born, immigrant children's "mother tongues" (albeit six years after my study ended) substantiates Bodil's claim that the innovative bilingual/bicultural program developed by *Trille* municipality was in opposition to the (then tacit) party platform, and that was the real reason why the program was cancelled: It had nothing to do with Kurdish children being misclassified as Turks. It also substantiates Bodil's claim that, though the municipality's proclamation that 'Danish could not be a second language in Denmark' was clumsily worded (see Appendix C), it was certainly in line with party policy such as was defined at the upper echelons of the Social Democratic party.

Given the above, Candlin's remarks at the outset of this dissertation are more understandable: Policy-makers generally develop policies in the best interests of a country and its citizens, policies which will meet mass approval; however, if the masses are, by and large, against minority language maintenance and second language instruction, as was the case at the time of my study and is still the case in present-day Denmark (Holmen, 2001; Lund & Risager, 2001), then policy-making in favour of minorities is tendentious and becomes fraught with

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that 'Danish is all children's L1' (see Appendix C) in the national media in 1995, stating: ". . . when one is born and has grown up in Denmark and will have one's whole existence here, then the mother tongue is Danish–full stop" (*Information*, 11 December 1995, p. 7).

problems for policy-makers. The bilingual/bicultural program was certainly tendentious, and it was cancelled. The Kurdish factor was a non-issue for all except the Kurdish participants. And what of the linguistic human rights of the Kurdish children? And what of Dilan?

4.3.2 Definitions Which Constrict Identity Development

The practice of defining mother tongue instruction in terms of the language(s) spoken officially in immigrant children's national 'homelands' proved, in Dilan's case, to be a major factor in the loss of her Kurdish identity. Furthermore, Dilan's case illustrates how Kurdish ethnolinguistic vitality is being lost in Denmark. It seems ironic that Dilan appears to have "assimilated Turkish" to a certain extent while living in Denmark, and that, to use the author Ngũgĩ's metaphor, what Turkey could not manage with weapons, Denmark managed with words–and with compliant language policy:

> But the night of the sword and the bullet was followed by the morning of the chalk and the blackboard. The physical violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom. But where the former was visibly brutal, the latter was visibly gentle . . . . The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation. (Ngũgĩ, 1987, p. 9; quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996)

. . . and all of this despite 'good intentions.'

Dilan did gain bilingual/bicultural competence, but more so in Turkish than in Danish. The role her friendship network plays in this phenomenon confirms Röhr-Sendlmeier's (1990) previously cited findings about the role of peer contact in Turkish children acquiring German in Germany. Dilan's peer network is Turkish, not Danish, and Turkish is the "second language" she has acquired well. She also positively identifies with Turks in her school experience (her Turkish peers and Emine). Furthermore, she not only shares school experiences with them. She also shares their ascribed Turkish identity, a shared "Turkish" experience which is often the topic of conversation within the safe zone of the Turkish "mother tongue" classroom. Indeed, so much of Dilan's experience is shared with her Turkish teacher and peers that one might ask: "So what is wrong with assimilating Turkish?" Or, to be more specific: "What's wrong with Dilan assimilating Turkish?"

4.3.3 Assimilation? Why not?

Though the question is posed as to why Dilan should not assimilate Turkish, a Dane

might just as easily ask: "Why not assimilate Danish?" Clearly, being identified as a Kurd is associated with great hardship and sorrow. Bucak (1990) has documented countless Kurds who disappeared and a high number of journalists who have been killed for trying to report on the Kurdish campaign. What is wrong with having a Kurdish heritage, but identifying with another group? Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) views a group's loss of ethnolinguistic vitality as a linguicidal policy's success, a view which she expresses in language-as-resource and language-as-right arguments.

Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) argues that orchestrating a child's educational experience so that she identifies with a group whose ethnolinguistic identity is not one's own qualifies as cultural and linguistic genocide since it involves the involuntary transfer of a group's children to another group. That occurs when they begin to self-identify as members of the group in whose culture and language they were schooled. This trend was clear in Dilan's case. She was gradually losing her in-group loyalty and shifting from Kurds to Turks.

The future looks dim in terms of Dilan being able to speak Kurdish to her own children as she is experiencing linguistic and cultural assimilation. Ironically, the vehicle for accomplishing this shift has been the Danish state education system, not the Turkish one. Dilan's minority teacher is Emine, a Turk not a Kurd, and since Emine does not speak Kurdish and Dilan's "mother tongue" instruction is in Turkish, the use of Kurdish is indirectly prohibited at school. The only inroad Kurdish can make on daily intercourse is in home-related functions, and even there, as has been shown, Kurdish has been undermined (e.g., as a result of Dilan's mother's colonized consciousness and related attitudes toward the value of the Kurdish she speaks). Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) concludes, on the basis of the UN definitions on (linguistic) genocide (i.e., transferring children from one group to another, causing mental harm to the group, prohibiting language use at school or in daily intercourse) that most immigrant minority education in Denmark fits the UN definitions of genocide.

Statistics referred to in this dissertation suggest that at least since the 1980s, Dilan's and an earlier generation of minority youths with ascribed ('Turkish') identity have experienced massive educational difficulties as evidenced by low high school graduation rates, low representation on the job market, and virtual exclusion from jobs for well-paid

professionals (Just Jeppesen, 1995-a; Kofoed, 1994; Romaine, 2000). The jury is out as to what the future holds for Dilan and other Kurds of her generation in Denmark but, as Cummins (1996) clearly points out, minority group failure affects everyone, majorities and minorities alike, as both groups' existences are tied to the social circumstances in which they largely navigate together.

4.3.4 Agency

As was stressed at the outset, foregone conclusions should not be reached even in settings in which the space within which individual educators can manoeuvre and attempt to effect change is very constricted. Educators with the will to do so can still challenge disempowering macro-interactions by orchestrating interactions which affirm subordinated children's worth. Still, the top-down (macro) forces in this setting were staggering if not overpowering and very much hobbled individual educators' abilities to challenge discriminatory societal and educational structures. Bodil frequently spoke in terms of being besieged: She described her job as a lonely fight [*kamp*], and described her feelings of hopelessness and the urge to walk away from the situation. She described how her hopes were dashed after going from an itinerant Danish-as-a-second-language teacher without any materials or classroom of her own, to building up the innovative bilingual/bicultural program, and then being in throes of despair and bewilderment upon seeing the program cancelled on ideological rather than pedagogical grounds. Thus, she was almost back to the starting point and was contemplating beginning the Promethean task of trying to build up a program again, knowing all the while that the municipality and a majority of her colleagues did not support her and would be only too eager to tear down the foundations of any program viewed as in the interests of minority children.

Vibeke was ensnared in a web of intrigue intended to maintain the semblance of Danishness in the school to ward off white flight. Both Songül and Emine experienced the same public humiliations for being "Turks" as their students, which led them to band together and share an oppressed group experience. They felt the crushing pressure of arbitrary, senseless policy which decried reason and mandated fictitious, ideologically based, language competencies and identities.

Contradictions abounded in this setting though surely the most glaring one involved Songül and Emine's inability to see the parallel between Denmark and Turkey's Kurdish policy. Their outrage over the declaration that Danish was all children's "first language," when obviously it was not the Turkish children's L1, is paradoxical because neither was Turkish the Kurdish children's L1. Neither Songül nor Emine were outraged over the Kurdish children's plight. In fact, it was not even on their list of necessary programmatic changes. Furthermore, Songül believed her country's policy of misinformation about the Kurds, stating that the Turkish government had never denied that the Kurds exist as a minority when, in fact, Kemalist rhetoric holds just that, as Yağmur's (1996/1997) letter to the editor of *TESOL Matters* (reviewed in Chapter 2) indicates.

Was these Turkish educators' inability to see the parallel between Denmark and Turkey's Kurdish policy an illustration of what Holmen (1997) terms 'nationalism monolingualism'? Were Songül and Emine unable to see the Kurdish children's cultural identity because their vision was blocked by such static (Kemalist) labels as: "The third section of law no. 2932 tells you what your mother tongue is: 'The mother tongue of Turkish citizens is Turkish'" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995, p. 347)? Or were they, as the pro-minority Danish educator cited by Kofoed (1994) in Chapter 2 states, merely products of their environment who, despite the best intentions, viewed potentially discriminatory practices as 'natural' because, as majority group members, they had never had cause to question those practices critically?

All of these factors limited the educators' agency, but did not suppress it completely. Without either widespread grass-roots support to initiate pro-minority policies in a bottom-up fashion, or institutional support (either from the principal, the municipality or the state), the educators' potential to challenge disabling structures was limited. This was particularly clear in the contradictory situation in which Vibeke found herself: unable to turn to anti-racist policy since, to develop such policy, was thought to be at odds with the much revered (sacred cow) ideal of *metodfrihed*. Ironically though, she was obliged to follow top-down policy mandated by the principal regarding the undesirableness of the use of Turkish in the classroom in the wake of the Preben affair. This contradiction suggests that ideals could be overlooked

and policy mandated when majority interests were at stake.

In the absence of either widespread support among their peers or institutionally supported, pro-minority guidelines, educators were left adrift which resulted in a variety of strategies and survival techniques. These included, but were not limited to, trying: (a) to outwit policy-makers (as did Bodil so the cohort would not be dispersed), (b) to navigate educational waters made choppy by double standards (Vibeke), and (c) to ride the tide of ideologically based educational pronouncements (e.g., 'Danish is all children's first language') (Songül and Emine). The situations they found themselves in, and the measures they had to take to fight for the program and the minority language children, were above and beyond typical expectations of educators and, though they continued to challenge oppressive structures in the myriad ways outlined in the second part of this chapter, their potential for agency and effecting change was limited.

4.3.5 Methodological Considerations

Two methodological concerns arose in my study and both concerned the Kurdish factor in the bilingual/bicultural program. The first deals with researcher complicity in the problem and the second deals with the time-factor. Beginning with the former, I overlooked the Kurdish factor in the initial phases of my study including the phase in which I conducted interviews with the four main educators. Though I did frame my questions in terms of "the Danish, Turkish and Kurdish children," had I been more cognizant of the "minority in a minority issue" at that time, I would certainly have delved more deeply into it. Vibeke and Emine's silence on the topic of the Kurdish children may have been partly due to my not directing them to that topic. In that sense, my lack of awareness of the significance of the hidden Kurdish factor may have added to the problem. This raises the issue of the role silencing plays in the general public's awareness of Kurdish issues, a topic discussed in the conclusion.

The second concern arose from Phase III of my study onwards when my research focussed increasingly on the Kurdish factor in the bilingual/bicultural program and I tried to corroborate different versions of the history of the program and unmask its Kurdish dimension. Van Maanen's (1988) cautionary words about relations and representations of

culture which were noted in Chapter 3 ("social facts, including native points of view, are human fabrications, themselves open to social inquiry as to their origins," p. 93) were of relevance. Certain facts and details only came to light after conducting a long-term study (i.e., after eighteen months and five data collection phases).

Had I only conducted a short-term study and gained an outsider view of the study, I may have come away with a partial view or misrepresentation of events. Certainly, the "minority in a minority" situation may have remained hidden. This observation confirms Van Maanen's (1988) warning that ethnographic fieldwork must be conducted over a lengthy period of time to gain enough familiarity with a context to feel confident in one's observations, hypotheses and conclusions. A longer time-line was necessary to conduct member-checking activities.

As was also noted in Chapter 3, Woods (1996) also warns that informants express beliefs in the "stories" they choose to disclose. He recommends saturation to investigate the validity of respondents' answers to interview questions, suggesting that researchers should compare discrepancies between what respondents say and do. This approach was useful with Songül. Since she was a teacher educator herself and versed in such topics as bilingualism, linguistic human rights, the value of maintaining and developing a mother tongue, she understood the issues that I was investigating. Thus, it is feasible that she could provide me with what she considered the 'right' answers to my questions, regardless of whether she believed what she said or practised what she 'preached.' Therefore, it was necessary to compare what she said (e.g., about linguistic human rights and difficulties experienced by the Kurdish children in the program) to what she did in terms of challenging oppressive educational structures: ones which disabled Kurdish children.

In fact, Songül did nothing specifically for the Kurdish children although she was aware of the situation of double immersion in which they found themselves. Furthermore, Nayif's description of Songül's interview with Beren's grandmother was troubling. There were certainly vested interests to consider (e.g., high unemployment among Turks, even professionals, and the dim prospect of Songül's gaining other employment if she lost her job on account of Nayif). Thus, I was well advised to compare informants' actions with their

words.

4.3.6 Programmatic Advantages and Disadvantages

In the years which have followed my study, the educational climate for Danish-as-a-second-language has worsened. The pronouncement about Danish being the "mother tongue" of all children born, raised and intending to stay in Denmark which Lene Jensen, the high-ranking Social Democrat referred to earlier in this section (see Holmen, 2001), made in the fall of 2000 did not raise the public's ire. Rather, it was embraced in public discourse by, among others, the chair for the Board of Education and Culture for *Trille* Municipality. His reaction, which was quoted in a leading newspaper the next day, was: "We have neither the time nor the place for Danish-as-a-second-language in our end of the world" (see Holmen, 2001, p. 33) (Tr-72).

In contrast to the disparaging view of second language instruction and Danish spoken as a second language just presented, it is clear how a program designed to teach Danish-as-a-second-language could be beneficial at a time when the climate toward minority language speakers was worsening. It is also clear how, based on the 'goods' outlined in the last section of this chapter, even children erroneously ascribed "Turkish" identity could profit from such a program. Still, given Dilan's experience, it is equally clear that harm was done to the young Kurdish participants in the program by excluding their ethnolinguistic identity (see section 4.3.3). Still, answering the question of whether treating all the language minority children "the same" worked to the detriment of the Kurdish children is not clear-cut.

Space does not permit more detailed discussion of what resulted from educators treating Turkish and Kurdish children "the same." On the one hand, ignoring the Kurdish children's mother tongue neither fostered their acquisition of Danish nor promoted their general cognitive growth. On the other hand, neither was it entirely inappropriate to treat the Kurdish children like their Turkish peers since Kurdish children were socially represented as "Turks" by dominant society and suffered the same negative consequences of societal racism as their Turkish peers. Their educators exerted a great deal of effort to foster the children's self-esteem and to combat the negative effects of societal racism; hence, in that respect, the Kurdish children could only benefit from receiving the 'same' treatment as their Turkish peers.

The most interesting piece of the puzzle was, however, how happy and secure the Kurdish children felt in the program. Songül notes how the Turkish and Kurdish children "are really happy and hurry into [mother tongue] class" (see Ağacanoğlu, 1990, too). A probable clue to this puzzle lies in the educators' commitment to the program and to the children. This dovetails with Cummins' (1996) finding that "human relationships are at the heart of schooling" (p. 1). This observation is supported by the role definition data. All four educators stressed the importance of establishing and maintaining good relationships with subordinated group members. Their consensus on this issue may well fill in the missing parts of the puzzle as to why and how a program which ignored the ethnolinguistic background of half of the minority language participants met with relative success in their developing good self-esteem.

Still, program success came at a high price. Serious problems arose in spite of all the educators' good intentions and due to their treating all minority language students "the same." All the "Turkish" students were not the same, and the educators' rhetoric of sameness only served to mask important differences. This amounts to doing something harmful, but with great integrity: All the "good intentions" masked the fundamental wrongness of what was being done.

To conclude this section, it is pertinent to view how the educators who participated in the program viewed it. The sentiments which Vibeke expresses in the following passage are quite representative of the other educators' sentiments about the degree of program success. In her comments, Vibeke's belief in the program shines through. It also illustrates the unfairness of decisions made arbitrarily, not based on indicators of programmatic success:

> If it [the B/B program] worked well and, as for us, we thought it did, that it worked well, but the politicians didn't think it worked well, and there are also many others who might have suspected that it wasn't working well. There is so much disagreement about it, even among teachers and parents; about whether people think it works. So, I mean, it can be hard to expand on it, because, yeah. How can I say it? Who should be the one to judge whether it was good? I mean, how can you measure it?
>
> We can see that we have some secure kids, we think, who are really thriving and are getting along well in school, and that must be important. But how can you measure that? Should you measure something more to do with how they are advancing in the school system? You know: 'Which stream are they enrolled in, and what kind of marks are they getting, and how are they getting along?' And "getting along:" that can also mean more than just marks and education, can't it? It can also have something to

do with security and something to do with really thriving. And I think it's hard to say. Who will measure how successful it was?

How can you measure it? What is it that you should stress? And I think, instead, more, it sort of becomes more political attitudes in the municipality and the country as a whole that come to have an influence on how different curricula and programs end up looking. (Ethnograph; Lines 636-673) (Tr-73)

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

5.1 Summary

In the present dissertation, I investigated participants' reactions to a bilingual education program designed to improve the academic success rate and develop positive self-esteem in Turkish children schooled in Denmark. The results showed that an unexpected population enrolled in the program. The program was neither designed with that group in mind, nor was their ethnolinguistic identity acknowledged once their presence became known. The children, who constituted a minority in a minority, were Kurds. As there is no independent Kurdish homeland, they were bearers of a passport that did not reflect their identity as Kurds: They were Turkish nationals. Listed as Turks on all official Danish documents, they were enrolled in an innovative bilingual/bicultural program as Turks, and were schooled in two non-native languages: Danish and Turkish.

Due to the complexity of this study, it does not lend itself to easy categorization other than the fact that it deals with a transitional bilingual education program with a hidden, trilingual twist. There is no ready answer to the question of whether the program was a success or not since: (a) not all of its goals were met since a segment of the student population was overlooked and/or ignored, and their identity veiled, (b) the binational background of the "Turks" in the study complicated issues even more, and (c) a summative program evaluation was never completed. Further explanation of these points follows next.

First, it was an explicit programmatic aim to inject an inclusive cultural perspective into the program. That is, the program was expected to include a dual cultural focus, drawing on both the Danish and "Turkish" children's home backgrounds; hence, the 'bicultural' component of the program. However, the Kurdish children's home background was not included in program planning even though program planners were aware that Kurds might enroll in the program (Helkiær, 1987). Following the program inception phase, the presence of the Kurdish children was forgotten or overlooked and, even when it was recognized (e.g., by the Turkish educators), it was veiled. Thus, the tricultural nature of the program was not

tapped into and, therefore, the goal of injecting an inclusive cultural perspective into the program was not completely met.

It is interesting to note that while it was an explicit programmatic goal to teach Danish children about Turkish culture so that they would gain more tolerance of 'the other,' no attempt was ever made to teach them Turkish. The bilingual aspect of the program was one-sided: It held for the children classified as "Turks" who were expected to learn Danish, but not for the Danish children. It goes without saying that no attempts were made to teach Kurdish and that it was never a case of trilingualism by design.

A second, but related, point deals with the fact that the Kurdish children profited from a positive focus on the homeland they share with their Turkish peers. Indeed, the Kurdish and Turkish children, and their Turkish educators, were binationals (i.e., Turkish citizens residing in Denmark). Thus, many of the Kurdish children's cultural traits, including their religion, were validated in the program. Furthermore, they too found 'safe haven' in their Turkish "L1" classrooms as they were as prone to the negative effects of being ascribed "Turkish" identity as were their Turkish peers. However, they were not "the same" as their Turkish peers and educators. Major differences existed between the two groups, especially with regard to their status in their shared homeland where one group constituted 'the colonizers' and the other constituted 'the colonized.' Thus, veiling Kurdish identity was a significant error.

Third and finally, no summative program evaluations were ever produced because the program was cancelled midway through the participants' *folkeskole* education (i.e., before the lead cohort completed the nine years of compulsory public school education). Formative evaluations and a couple of final reports were published, however, and dealt with different aspects of the program up until the time of its cancellation (see section 2.3.1.4). Essentially descriptive in nature, some formal measures of, for example, the "Turkish" children's proficiency in Danish were included in these reports. However, qualitative data figured more prominently in how Danish proficiency was evaluated (e.g., classroom observations). Comments changed little from report to report with the "Turkish" children's Danish skills deemed adequate, but not native-like.

The main difficulty which the educators involved in report-writing identified was that

they could not address 'the real question' (i.e., whether the "Turkish" children had integrated into Danish society) since the program had not been allowed to run its course (Engelbrecht, Iversen & Engel, 1991/92). Successful integration into Danish society had been the major goal set out in the *Du er ingen* report and, since the bilingual/bicultural program was modelled on the recommendations of that report, Engelbrecht, Iversen and Engel (1991/92) argued that program success or failure could not be judged.

This added to the complexity of the study. If one is to accept Vibeke's criterion for program success, provided at the end of Chapter 4, that the children were 'thriving,' then it may be deemed successful. However, the hidden "minority in a minority" factor did not enter into her evaluation. This constitutes a grave omission, a grave error, and a grave loss. Again, it must be highlighted that aspects of the program were beneficial and others harmful; again, it must be noted that this study does not lend itself to easy answers.

Following program cancellation, the total number of hours allotted to Turkish "L1" instruction was slashed. Therefore, my study took place at a time when the (bilingual education) underpinnings of the program had been stripped away. While not seeing the original program in action limited my own ability to evaluate its success, I was able to compare the schooling of children in the former bilingual/bicultural cohorts to that of children in post-program cohorts. This comparison helped me make sense of opinions expressed by the four educators attached to the former bilingual/bicultural cohort regarding advantages of the bilingual/bicultural program for subordinated group children. In my opinion, the children met with more academic success in the program than they would have in its alternative: Only the bilingual/bicultural program included a bonafide Danish-as-a-second-language component and a subtle anti-racist education orientation. To summarize, factors involved in the academic success which the Kurdish children did meet included: (a) the introduction of two new languages, Danish and Turkish, in communicative/experiential instructional settings which allowed the children to develop BICS before being required to function at the level of CALP, (b) nurturing interactions with their Danish and Turkish teachers, and (c) primarily positive in-group associations and identification with binational educators from their homeland, Turkey–educators who were also experiencing the negative effects of a social climate growing

increasingly hostile towards minorities and the disabling effects of being ascribed an identity (as "Turks"), a group for whom Danish antipathy runs high. Still, success came at a price, and the price was, at least in one case, near total loss of Kurdish ethnolinguistic identity.

In this study, I also outlined the mindsets of the four educators who participated in the program to illustrate their understanding of the process of bilingual education in which they were involved. I focussed on the good intentions they expressed in words and compared their words to their subsequent actions. Discrepancies between the two were examined in terms of constraints limiting educator agency and pressures exerted on the individuals who were, after all, members of the broader society and subject to the influence of common societal discourses, discourses which often disserved minorities. Both micro (school-based) and macro (societal) constraints were presented and discussed.

More light was shed on the topic by examining it from a second angle: a minority language child's reaction to the program, a child whose presence was not accommodated in the sense that there was no recognition of her ethnolinguistic identity. The findings indicate that Dilan, a Kurdish child, learned how to navigate through the (trilingual) demands of the situation in which she found herself. She acquired near native-like Turkish as a result of enrolment in the program and met with academic success on par with her Danish and Turkish peers. However, if examined in light of language shift and lost ethnolinguistic vitality, serious questions must be raised regarding Dilan's "success" in the program.

This study raises interesting issues from the view of North American applied linguists as certain "truths" which hold true in the North American context did not hold true on the Danish minority scene. For example, BICS/CALP errors do not tend to occur because Danish teachers do not mistake even second generation immigrant children for Danes. Neither did the all too common phenomenon of "learning a second language means losing the first" described by Wong Fillmore (1991-b) hold true, possibly due to the limited social contact between dominant and subordinated group children, with the results noted by Leggewie (1996) in Chapter 2 (i.e., that "Turks" became "Kurds," not "Germans," in Germany). For whatever the reason, the L1 loss that commonly typifies the North American context pertained to Dilan, but not to the Turkish students, for different reasons than those reviewed by Wong Fillmore

(1991-b).

On the other hand, an unexpected similarity arose between my description of Dilan's Danish-medium school experience and Swain's (1981) description of the French-medium school experiences of Canadian Anglophone children who are enrolled in French immersion programs and live in communities with high concentrations of francophones. Her findings parallel my own in that, in both cases, the language of schooling was not used outside of school despite the availability of target language speakers. Therefore, it may be said that Dilan was undergoing a "Danish immersion" experience while residing in Denmark. These findings indicate that the role of social context needs to be further examined in second language acquisition. The pedagogical implications of these and other findings are discussed in section 5.3.

The examples provided above illustrate that while some aspects of the program were beneficial to the Kurdish children, others were not. The duality of the program complicated the children's educational experience in ways highlighted in Chapter 4. It also complicated my study. To conclude this section, the complexity of this study only serves to underline needs stressed throughout this dissertation: the need to conduct qualitative studies in order to capture "ethnic and social variation" characteristic of bilingual education (Candlin, 1986, p. xi), and the need to conduct long-term ethnographic research.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

There are three main limitations to this study. They involve: size of the sample population, political realities, and timing. The first limitation is discussed at length in Chapter 3 (see section 3.7). It deals with population limitations in ethnographic case studies. Indeed, my population sample was limited to two main cohorts of children in one Danish *folkeskole*. As has already been noted, it is more the norm to conduct qualitative than quantitative research in Denmark, a trend which has led to gaps in the research literature. Researchers such as Just Jeppesen (1993 & 1995-b) and Wilkie (1990) decry these gaps and stress the need for country-wide research to be done in the future, particularly in the areas of minority language maintenance and what, if any, program preferences minority language parents have for their

children.[1] Indeed, the present study shows that consultation with minority language parents was lacking in both the program design and implementation phases of the bilingual/bicultural program. Therefore, the present study may serve as a useful springboard for additional research in this area in the future as it documents problems which arise when parents are not consulted about issues concerning their children's education.

The second limitation involves political realities. In Phase IV of my research, I participated in a class trip to Turkey. I went as a researcher/chaperon. The authorities with whom I consulted in Canada prior to leaving urged caution during the trip. They told me not to discuss anything vaguely Kurdish during the trip. I was warned not to mention the words: Kurds, Kurdish, and certainly not Kurdistan. This restriction limited insights which I might otherwise have gained into the Kurdish children's self-identities and "minority in a minority" status. It also raises the issue of silencing the Kurds, an issue further discussed in section 5.3.

The third and final limitation involves timing; specifically, when I learned Turkish and when I found the Helkiær (1987) report. First, I had not yet learned Turkish at the beginning of my study. Later on, I was able to read works by the author Nasrettin Hoca in their original Turkish version (see Taylor & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996/97), but this was not yet the case in the earlier phases. Had I known Turkish from the beginning, I may have been able to identify the "minority in a minority" component of my study earlier as I may have recognized that the Kurdish children were not speaking Turkish, or I may have recognized a tell-tale Kurdish accent when they spoke Turkish. Unfortunately, my Turkish 'language awareness' came later on in the study and, therefore, I was not initially aware of the presence of Kurdish children in the program.

My timing in learning of the contents of Helkiær's (1987) report which discussed the decision to respect Turkey's 'Kurdish policy' (whereby Kurds are "Turks") was not

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Therefore, the longitudinal, country-wide study launched by Just Jeppesen and Nielsen to study developmental conditions in the lives of five hundred ethnic minority children born in Denmark in 1995 is noteworthy. Though the initial purpose of the study is to link conditions in their childhood, youth, and adulthood (e.g., their living conditions), it will also provide a much needed data base from which to gain more understanding of what life in Denmark entails for ethnic minorities (Just Jeppesen & Nielsen, 1998).

opportune either. Had I known about this document while conducting field work, I would have tried to interview individuals involved in the decision-making process at the program inception stage to gain more insight into what, if any, role the Turkish Embassy played in program design. I could also have asked the educators attached to the cohorts in my study what, or if, they knew about the report, and I could have asked the Kurdish parents the same thing. Prior knowledge of the report would surely have led to useful findings but, again, the timing was not right.

This raises the related issue of limitations placed on researchers. For example, had I known of the report while I was conducting research in Denmark, and had I pressed for further information about why certain Danish individuals had chosen to respect Turkey's domestic 'Kurdish policy' at the program design stage, I may have lost access to some informants (e.g., they may have felt threatened and/or reacted adversely to my line of questioning). Since I was unaware of the contents of the report at that time, any discussion of how it would have effected my access to the field remains purely hypothetical. Still, it is of interest from the viewpoint of the sort of decision-making which researchers must make, especially those who dare to "do" critical ethnography and enter into the public sphere (i.e., politics; Simon & Dippo, 1986).

Despite these limitations, the study is of interest for its pedagogical and theoretical implications. Both of the latter are discussed in the following sections.

5.3 Pedagogical Implications and Recommendations

In the Introduction, I refer to educators in western urban settings today who are dominant group members and have limited experience dealing with children from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds. One can safely assume that while these educators may lack experience dealing with subordinated group children in general, they would not overlook potentially volatile issues related to having former-Yugoslavian children of Serb, Croat and Muslim backgrounds in the same classroom since the war in former-Yugoslavia received much media coverage. The same cannot be said of Western educators' awareness of whether children from Turkey are of Turkish or Kurdish origin.

Current unrest in Turkey receives less media coverage than either the war in former-Yugoslavia or the unrest which involved the Kurds residing in Iraq in the early 1990s (e.g., those killed in the poison gas attack in Halabja). My initial unfamiliarity with the difference between Kurds and Turks from Turkey, or my initial complicity in the problem, may be seen in light of a bigger problem: the silencing of the Kurds. Their silencing has as much to do with the mindset, ideology and politics of Kemalism, whereby Kurds (if they are called such) are "Turks," as it does with classification errors (see Hassanpour, 1992 & personal communication, September 26, 1996; Kendal, 1993; McDowall, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak, 1995; Taylor & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996/97).

The issue of silencing may also be seen in broader perspective; that is, it may be seen as an example of the relationship between language and power in educational settings. Corson (1993) describes how "education has the power to enforce its linguistic demands by . . . sanctioning the 'legitimate'; " namely, "whoever has the power to define the context, and the language code that describes it, is empowered . . ." (p. 7). The issue of legitimacy is of relevance to the Kurdish children in the bilingual/bicultural program as, had the Kurds not been silenced as a group (in Turkey), Kurdish would have been sanctioned as a legitimate language in line with the EC (1977) directive on the education of the children of migrant workers, and the misclassification/placement error would not have occurred.

Given that well-intentioned educators are apt to ignore identity issues which pertain to children in their classrooms, what recommendations can be made? Two recommendations follow: First, educators must be equipped to recognize difference and to see when and how they are not treating all children "the same" (because of different expectations for different groups, etc.). Dominant group educators serving subordinated group populations may lack this knowledge and awareness. Therefore, it must be gained. A good way of disseminating such information to a large audience of educators is to present it in pre- or in-service courses. Second, school administrators and officials working in Boards of Education must identify whether they are meeting the needs of all children and treating them all equally or, to use a common Danish expression, they are treating immigrant children on equal footing ("*på lige fod med*") with Danish children. If not, schools may inadvertently project negative images of

'the other,' images which may be taken up by subordinated group children as "mirror images" (or *spejlbilleder*) of themselves with the concomitant negative effects on self-esteem and identity development described in section 2.3.1.1.

One way to establish areas for school improvement with regard to responsive programming is to conduct a tolerance audit in the school, such as is described by Sealey (1985). He recommends taking a 'snapshot' of the inclusive or exclusive nature of a school by examining the following areas: (a) staffing–are in-service sessions on multiculturalism provided? - are speakers from local community groups invited into the school to address issues in the schooling of their children?; (b) library resources–is difference reflected in the library holdings?; (c) gym, music and art classes–whose games and cultural traditions are included (only those of dominant culture or also those of subordinated groups)?; (d) home economics–are different parenting styles reflected?; (e) classrooms–are educators aware of constructs such as BICS and CALP and their implications for second language teaching and content area instruction? - does social engineering occur to promote intergroup harmony? - what is the 'informal' curriculum: are all children treated equally (*på lige fod*) in terms of respect, consideration and compassion?

In terms of the present study, were one to conduct a tolerance audit in *Trilleskolen* and rectify problem areas, would white flight ensue? It is an issue worth raising, given the concerns voiced by the principal in Chapter 4--concerns related to reassuring Danish parents of the (monoculturally) Danish character of *Trilleskolen* so that they do not take heel and run to enroll their children in competing neighbourhood schools. This raises the issue of whether Danish school officials presently have the will to address the chronic nature of discriminatory incidents which go on inside schools or the existence of discriminatory practices.

Should Danish school officials decide to tackle the situation of discrimination toward minorities in the schools, they must look beyond squeezing round ("Turkish") pegs into square Danish (societal and educational) holes, and learn to recognize the linguistic and cultural wealth which minority language children bring to school with them. They must institute inclusive school policies and resist sacrificing minority language children to retain a magical number of "Danish" children in any particular classroom or school. Finally, they must

go beyond rhetoric and begin to treat all children, even ones who are not Danish nationals, equally (*på lige fod med Dansker*): with fairness, respect, consideration and compassion. Whether the will to institute these changes presently exists or may develop is beyond the scope of this study. It is a fact, as Cummins (1996) notes, that "schools reflect the values and attitudes of the broader society that supports them" (p. 3) and that, in the current social climate of making minorities scapegoats to win back right-wing votes, neither the Danish government nor the Danish educational system are championing minority rights.

5.4 Theoretical Implications and Future Research Perspectives

I began this study thinking that it presented a unique case which raised interesting questions about the psycho-educational bases of bilingual education (e.g., how could the interdependence principle account for the Kurdish children's academic success when neither of the languages of schooling were their L1?). In the interim, I kept reading how the minority was fast becoming the majority in major cities across North American, and how Western educators were being asked to meet the needs of school populations they were not prepared to deal with in terms of familiarity with their linguistic, cultural and other needs. I finally realized that the situation I had encountered in my study was not so unique, but that "minority in a minority" situations were becoming the norm. I had in fact dealt with a parallel situation prior to beginning my doctoral research (Taylor, 1992). I had just not grasped the prevalence of the situation nor its implications for the design of future programming: Issues of diversity must be factored into all educational equations.

Looking at the study in broader perspective, I now understand why researchers such as Cummins, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Ogbu have long argued that there is more to educational underachievement among minority language students than language. When they enter the classroom, many of these students bring with them a long legacy of sociopolitical injustices. The idea that all children are on a level playing field when they enter school is a myth. As a result of this realization, I see the urgent need to address issues of conflicting voices and vested interests in education in all facets of future research into second language acquisition. As Williams (1973) notes, dominant culture is only able to recognize the value of programs

which it deems in its own interests. Therefore, subordinated group voices must be heard in order for their interests to be met. Cummins' (1988) description of the atheoretical nature of policy-making on educational language issues also explains why subordinated groups must be consulted and heeded as, otherwise, program planning mainly responds to dominant group needs (i.e., "situations where there is a relatively high degree of consensus," p. 11). I also strongly endorse the role of qualitative research in general, and ethnographic research in particular, in any future research designed to investigate which voices are silenced and whose interests are served in educational language programming.

Looking at the study in a narrower, research perspective, it raises many questions. The first deals with the issue of language shift outlined by Wong Fillmore (1991-b). Why does the phenomenon of language shift hold true for the Kurds in this study, but not for the Turks? What role do sociopolitical, sociohistorical, and psycho educational variables play in this apparent discrepancy? What role do sociocultural variables such as inclusion or exclusion play? Second, at what point in the schooling of the Kurdish children did the interdependence principle become a positive factor (presuming it did)? For example, how much proficiency in Turkish did the Kurdish children need to acquire to benefit from the presence of Turkish 'language support' teachers? At what point did their Turkish proficiency facilitate their acquisition of Danish, or did it ever? Was there a relationship between their ascribed identity as "Turks" and their proficiency in Turkish? Finally, what are the implications of this study for Cummins' (2000) theoretical framework? Since, to use Watson-Gegeo's (1988) metaphor, classroom events should be viewed as the nucleus of concentric circles which ripple out ever wider into society and, yet, which take place in a pool of bigger, related events, the bigger (macro) pool cannot be ignored. Can an outside-in ripple effect explain some or all of the 'incongruencies' noted in Chapter 4? That is, did the overwhelmingly negative (coercive) relations of power in the macro context tip the balance of (collaborative) power relations in the micro context? Does this explain why the collaborative power structures highlighted in section 4.2.3.1 shifted, with power becoming unevenly divided rather than shared evenly among participants as was seen in section 4.2.3.2?

One has only to recall the following examples of an uneven division of power: the

power struggle between Bodil and Songül while on the trip to Turkey, the disabling interactions which Bodil initiates with Ali, and the disabling relationship (silencing) which Songül and Emine maintain with the Kurdish students and their parents with regard to their Kurdishness. Can these incongruencies be understood in terms of coercive macro structures which overpowered even collaborative micro structures by influencing educator mindsets in subtle, yet pervasive, ways? Similarly, what role did the Danish national ideology described in Kofoed (1994) play in power relations between the dominant and subordinated group members in this study: both Danish-"Turkish" and Turkish-Kurdish relations? Was this a case of "it's really something that enters into [the picture] in so many ways. . . ." (Kofoed, 1994, p. 103)? These are theoretical issues which merit further investigation in the future.

5.5 Personal Observations and Concluding Statement

As do all dissertations, mine took me on a journey: I went from a 'rose-coloured glasses' view of the Denmark of my youth to disillusionment with the Danes' treatment of minorities, to the realization that many of the negative trends that I saw (and condemned) in Denmark are present in Canada. There were parts of my study that my privileged Canadian background did not allow me to understand. For example, when I asked Atilla why the Kurdish parents subjected their children to the heartbreak and trauma to the ego that schooling in Denmark seemed to represent, he answered: "It's better than dying." Kurds are killed in Turkey. Given the choice of physical or psychological violence, the choice to him (and the other Kurdish parents) was clear. Still I recall the Danish television program which described the hundred small wounds inflicted on minority members' self-esteem every day. The program described minority teenagers dying their hair blonde, wearing blue contact lenses, and practising all manner of psychological violence against their identities, and still they were not accepted as Danes. Still, I wonder: What is worse? Death of the person or death of the spirit? Perhaps it all struck me as so meaningless because nobody would look twice at Kurdish or Turkish children in a Canadian classroom. That made me realize that racism truly is in the eyes of the beholder.

And, still, minority youths in Denmark keep trying to fit in (by dying their hair, and

wearing blue contact lenses, etc.). They have not developed historic hatred of their oppressors, the Danes, as other groups have. Kurds residing in Denmark have not yet developed "secondary cultural differences" (i.e., differences which developed over time as a result of confrontational intergroup contact between, for example, colonizers and involuntary minorities). They are still at the stage that Ogbu (1992) refers to as "primary cultural differences." As noted in Chapter 1, Ogbu suggests that primary cultural differences are less problematic in school settings since they did not emerge to maintain intergroup boundaries and are not in opposition to dominant society, as are many secondary cultural differences (p. 10). Yet, one wonders when the good-will that minorities show towards Danes will be lost? When will they develop what Ogbu (1992) refers to as coping mechanisms in times of oppressive conditions and begin to act in opposition to Danish norms and values (p. 10)? For the present time, the answer is: "not yet." It could be "never" if Danes heed recommendations such as those made in section 5.3. They should take heed of reports such as the one recently issued by the Council of Europe which suggests that the Danish media plays a negative role in heightening anti-minority sentiment and creating negative stereotypes of foreign nationals in Denmark (e.g., "Turks") rather than discrediting such reports (see Espersen, 2001); they should distinguish between the rhetoric of "integration" and practices which discourage it; they should encourage innovative educational initiatives such as the bilingual/bicultural program and support the 'agency' of those committed educators who fight societal discrimination at the level of the school and classroom; they should conduct more research into the needs and opinions of minority language residents and, finally, they should take these and other recommendations of a similar ilk to heart and act on them. That is, they should look into their hearts to fairly assess whether all children in the Danish *folkeskole* system are being treated equally (*på lige fod*) in terms of respect, consideration and compassion. If not, they should analyse the causes of unequal treatment.

Emine describes what she perceives as the unequal treatment of minorities in Denmark as follows[2]:

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[2] A portion of this extract was already briefly referred to in section 4.2.2.4.

> "Why should immigrants be so visible? Why should we have to hear their language when they are just minorities and come to get work here? It's not their country. It's not acceptable. They should become Danes, shouldn't they?" The end!. "And that's why Danish is their first language." It's like, we think that's inhumane, you know? Because in the whole world you can see this development, at least in Europe you can see this development.
>
> And it's not just because we come from another country. It's also because we have another religion. And I have a lot of difficulty understanding how, in the 21st century, religion can be so important for people. I just can't understand it. And it makes me think of the Middle Ages and whether we're going back in time to that way of thinking. Are we? One would think that by now we would have understood that people are the most important; that it isn't language or religion or nationality, right? But now it's becoming important again. You can see wars all over the place in Yugoslavia, Armenia, Cypress, all over. So it's understandable if that sort of thing happens in Denmark and Germany too, isn't it? People are burning people alive because they have another nationality or they have another religion. I don't know if you can understand it all. I have a hard time understanding it. (Ethnograph; Lines 270-307) (Tr-75)

In this passage, Emine raises several themes which have already been discussed: denying recognition of a people's true identity (e.g., their mother tongue), religious discrimination, fear of difference, and violence towards those considered different. She equates many of those themes with the intolerance associated with the way people thought back in the Middle Ages, and wonders how people could have advanced so far and yet has regressed to that kind of thinking.

The parallel which Emine draws between anti-foreigner "witch hunts" in present-day Denmark (e.g., fire bombs) and the kind of thinking one associates with the Middle Ages appears quite astute when one examines the following extract from the children's novel *Witch Fever*: "Maybe they're afraid. No, not maybe. People are afraid. When one is afraid, one must find something to protect oneself with. And if one doesn't know what one is afraid of, one must find something to protect oneself against" (Andersen, 1976, p. 34). This extract describes the universal role that fear plays in relationships. It shows that Emine is justified in comparing the mindset of people who lived in the Middle Ages to that of present-day Danes towards foreign nationals residing in Denmark.

As has been discussed, many Danes fear minorities. Those who do feel threatened from within because of what they perceive as a rapidly growing foreign population, and

threatened from without because of recent developments in the European Union (Kofoed, 1994; Sampson, 1995; Schierup, 1991; Vikør, 2000). However ungrounded these fears may be in terms of actual numbers of foreign nationals residing in Denmark (*Danmarks Statistikbank*, 2001-a & -b), political parties capitalize on these fears. They capitalize on fears held by the most vulnerable elements of Danish society (the poor, the aged) to the extent that a social climate has developed in which 'immigrant bashing' wins votes (Cowell, 1998).

It is ironic to note that one repercussion of the Danes' fear of linguistic and cultural loss has been for them to impose structural constraints on immigrants which, in turn, have resulted in linguistic and cultural loss for the immigrants. Several of these constraints were highlighted and discussed in Chapter 4, including cancellation of the bilingual/bicultural program and veiling Kurdish ethnolinguistic identity in the program. While the effect of structural constraints is not predetermined as was noted at the outset of this study (Williams, 1973), challenging constraints requires a great deal of time, energy, and 'agency.' My focus on four educators in this study showed what individual effort can accomplish in spite of disabling structures. Still, as was seen in the case of Dilan, more effort is necessary to counter-act disabling (coercive) relations of power which repeat themselves across time and space.

I will close with a Danish expression which symbolized the Danes to me before I began this study: *Danskere kommer hinanden nærmere*. It translates as: "Danes get closer to one another," but the understanding is that Danish society is more caring than are other societies. I hope that once the shifting ideological sands in present-day Denmark settle, the Danes will overcome their fears of difference and begin to accept newcomers as equals. Then I will again be able to characterize Danes as champions of fairness, equality and collaborative relations of power, and as people who care about others.

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Appendix A

Original Danish versions of interviews and quoted documents are as follows:

1. det er virkelig noget der kommer ind på så mange måder. . . . Jo selvfølgelig tager jeg udgangspunkt i min danske identitet . . . .

2. . . . vi taler dansk, for det er en dansk skole, det er en dansk klasse, og vi taler dansk med hinanden. Det er ikke tilladt at tale andet end dansk i skolen. . .

3. . . . udlændinge–fremmedearbejdere, flygtninge, asylsøgere, mennesker der kom pga fammiliesammenføring, der har giftet sig med en dansker eller blev adopteret–og deres slægtninge, med og uden dansk statsboskab, skal ud af Danmark.

4. Borgere fra andre EF lande betragtes ikke som indvandrere, hvorimod mennesker fra Østeuropa og tredie (verdens) lande i den nationale terminologi betragtes som indvandrere. Ligesom polakker, der kom til Danmark i begyndelsen af dette århundrede og deres efterkommere ikke længere betragtes som indvandrere. Der er andre grupper som den nationale idé nu udskiller

5. . . . udlændinge, som ikke kommer fra de nordiske lande, fællesmarkedslandene og Nordamerika, og som ikke har politisk asyl her i landet, dvs. ikke er flygtninge

6. Når kulturer således gøres til eneste karakteristik ved sociale grupper, og der samtidig, som det her er tilfældet, er tale om en hierarkisering af kulturer, kaldes det i sociologien for "den ny racisme".

7. . . . er baseret på at tage udgangspunkt i den enkeltes situation.

8. Kendskabet til det danske sprog bliver således opfattet som midlet til en vellykket integration.

9. Der er langt igen, førend de unge indvandrere kan siges at klare sig på lige fod med et gennemsnit af unge danskere.

10. . . . for at give børnene en forsvarlig undervisning.

11. " . . . Hvis koncentrationen af fremmede bliver stor i et område, synes jeg man skal søge at sprede dem. For ghettodannelser i storbyer i andre lande virker skræmmende, der er tit stor kriminalitet, mange sociale problemer, og "pæne borgere" tør ikke komme i ghettoerne, fordi de frygter at blive udplyndret eller slået ned. Nej, jeg foretrækker et homogent samfund uden ghettoer, det er mere humant og bedre at level i".

12. Der lægges vægt på at det netop er en *vejledning*, og at den i den forstand ikke er begrænsende i forhold til lærernes metodfrihed.

13. "den bedste vej til integration"

14. . . . at gøre børnene tosprogede, således at de kan bruge begge sprog, og således at man efterhånden lægger mere vægt på dansk som uddannelsessprog.

15. I praksis har man ofte måttet sætte fx kurdisk- og tyrkisktalende børn sammen med dansk-talende børn.

16. I en to-kulturel klasse er der en tyrkisk lærer i alle timer i 1. og 2. klasse. I 3., 4., og 5. klasse er der en tyrkisk lærer i dansk, matematik, orientering og klassens time. Baggrunden for dette er, at de tyrkiske børn først skal lære at læse og skrive på deres eget sprog, tyrkisk. I fællestimerne deles børnene i 2 sproggrupper en dansk og en tyrkisk, når nyt stof skal gennemgås. Det sker for at sikre, at alle, både de danske og de tyrkiske børn, har forstået indholdet af det stof, der skal arbejdes med. Det stiller store krav til den tyrkiske og den danske lærer om planlægning og koordination af undervisningen, så at man i fællestimerne, når de 2 børnegrupper er sammen, kan bygge på en fælles baggrundensviden. . . . Der gives derfor i ugentlig konferencetime til klasselæreren og den tyrkiske klasselærer.

De tyrkiske børn i en to-kulturel klasse har 1. til 5. klasse 4 timers ekstra undervisning i dansk som andetsprog. Disse timer er hentet fra de 4 modersmålstimer, børnene ellers skulle have haft uden for den normale skoletid. Modersmålsundervisningen gives i deletimerne i den obligatoriske undervisning, mens de danske børn har dansk. I timerne i dansk som andetsprog kan dansklæreren tilrettelaegge en undervisning afpasset de tyrkiske børns sproglige udvikling, hvor man blandt andet på dansk kan gå videre med de emner, der arbejdes med i fællestimerne. Desuden gives der her også en mere systematisk danskundervisning.

17. . . . skabe fælles normsæt for de to grupper.

18. *En klasselærers erfaring med arbejdet i en to-kulturel klasse gennem fem år og de problemer, der kan opstå med drengene.*

19. . . . urolige, ukoncentrerede, uselvstændige og uansfvarlige i forhold til egen uddannelse.

20. De andre børn vil gerne lege med mig.

21. Og det siger noget om informations niveauet og at det slet ikke handler om, om viden eller undersøgelser eller objektivitet på det her spørgsmål. Man tager en beslutning, som handler om nogle følelser eller man har nogle holdninger; de tager ikke hensyn til de ting de selv sætter i gang overhovedet

22. Det skal man i det demokratiske Danmark. Det skal man jo spørge folk, eller sætte undersøgelser i gang eller lave ting, også ikke ? Det helt skal være sagligt baseret

23. Det, det handler om, det er at de beder os om, at lave et stykke arbejd, men inden vi går i gang med det, ved de endeligt godt selv, hvad det er, de vil lave. Uanset hvad vi siger, så vil de lave det, de vil; ikke.

24. . . . at det var absolut ikke den politik man havde på Christiansborg.

25. . . . en så omfattende integrations synssvinkel.

26. . . . banket på plads.

27. Og det betyder, at de forældre, der skulle have børn i de klasser, de har flyttet dem hen på nogle andre skoler. Også de vil ikke acceptere, at det bliver totalt fremmedsprogede klasser, og det beytyder sådan en flygt fra den skole, og det er vi meget nervøs for her, ikke, at man samtidig skal måske flytte børnene herfra på grund af, at der er for mange indvandrere børn eller flygtninge I det helt taget

28. . . . ikke-kristne ikke kan bidrage med noget værdifuldt til fælleskabet i det danske samfund

29. . . . vi oversvømmes i dag af alle mulige former for religion

30. . . . fremmede, der kommer til Danmark, skal respektere vores tro. De skal ikke komme og tromle deres værdier ned over hovedet på os

31. kræver en hvis form for engagement og menneskeligt set, kan man ikke holde til det, hvis man ikke får nogen succeser med sin engagement, så kan man ikke holde til og blive ved til at lægge så mange kraft i det. Og hvis ikke tingene udvikler sig, så tror jeg man mister interessen

32. de skal lære dansk, dansk, dansk, og vi skal sørge for at få deres mødre at forstå, hvordan de skal opdrage de børn til at blive Dansker så hurtigt som muligt. Det kan du få enhver SDer til at sige, uden problemer. Det vil de synes, at det er den vej, man skal gå. Så det kan godt være, det var lidt "clumsy" [said in English]. De har været lidt "clumsy" i deres ord valg her at sige, at 'dansk skal være alle børns forste sprog', og at de er ikke kommet med nogen forslag til hvordan man rent praktisk organiserer den videre undervisning, men den der tanken bagi, den kan du finde helt op

33. Og han er kurdisk barn, som har lært kurdisk, tyrkisk, dansk og nu engelsk, ikke ? Og det helt meget oveni hinanden, ikke

34. Det er meget på engang. Men har er en meget dygtig dreng, så hvis han, hvis ikke han får den fornemmelse, at han ikke er god nok, så tror jeg han, hvis han får tiden, så er han så dygtig en dreng så, men hvis de får en lærer som forklarer mange gang, at han ikke er god nok, så tror jeg til gengæld også, at han er én af dem, som aldrig får det lært, ikke

35. Jeg synes endeligt, altså, den struktur vi har haft, har været sådan helt udmærket

36. Undervisning af indvandrerbørn sætter tingene totalt på koge i vores skole

37. Jeg går udfra altså, sådan, i min teoretisk overbevisning selvfølgelig.

38. Ja, i modersmålstimerne altså er det ofte kurdisk børn, der spørger, hvad det betyder. Altså tyrkiske børn kan nemmere følge med en svær tekst. De kan gætte fra, hvad det betyder. Måske ved de ikke, hvad det enkelt ord betyder, men når de læser en sammenhæng, så kan de gætte noget: "Det her ord betyder det her", men de kurdiske børn har ikke den chance. De vil gerne præcist vide, hvad det ord betyder, fordi de har ikke den, altså de er ikke den samme som tyrkisk børn, fordi de tyrkiske børn har tyrkisk som modersmål. De kan gætte frem, selvom de ikke kender det enkelt ord, men de kurdiske børn spørger ofte: "Hvad betyder det ?" Så får de en forklaring på det selvfølgelig.

39. I de tokulturel klasser bruger ma i små klasser altid tyrkisk støtte selv musik, gymnastik, matematik og alle de andre fag.

40. De skal lære dansk gennem deres modersmål.

41. De skal lære deres sprog, fordi det er et menneskeligt ret.

42. Men de kurdiske børn, de er udsat for et sprogforvirring, efter min mening, fordi de skal lære kurdisk eller de taler ofte kurdisk derhjem, og så når de begynder og leje med de andre børn, så lærer de tyrkisk, men meget ordfattig tyrkisk, kun legesprog, og så naar de kommer i skolen, så skal de kunne tyrkisk og dansk, som begge to er fremmed sprog for dem. Og jeg synes, det er en svær situation for et kurdiske barn og lære tre sprog på en gang, og det giver ofte forvirringer, fordi altså tyrkisk er struktueret et anderledes sprog. Hvis det var direkt fra kurdisk til dansk, så var det nemmere for dem at lære, fordi struktur, strukturmæssig et det samme sproggruppe; nemlig indo-europææisk sprog. Jeg ved ikke hvordan de anvender det. Tænker de på kurdisk, når de skal snakke dansk, eller tænker de på tyrkisk ? Fordi hvis de gør det på tyrkisk, så bliver de helt forvirret, fordi deres modersmål er et indo-europæisk sprog, men hvis de begynder og tænke på tyrkisk, så tingene bliver helt forvirret. Men jeg ved det ikke.

43. De lærer meget hurtigt teknikken at læse, læse og skrive, fordi tyrkisk er et lydret sprog, men indholdsmæssig har de meget svært med at finde ud. Især efter 3. klasse, for der mangler ord og begrebet og abstakt

44. Der skal tales dansk, der skal integreres, og der skal ikke være nogen tyrkisk støtte, heller ikke modersmålsundervisning : dansk! dansk! dansk! Det er en ideologisk kamp mellem Venstre-orienteret og social demokraterne i [Trille] kommune, og det lykkedes for dem og lukke klassen, fordi hvis de havde læst alle de rapporter--har du set rapporterne? Så ville de være meget glad for [projektet], men de har ikke læst [dem] og så sagde: "Nej, tokulturel klasser."

45. Det går simpelthen så stærk og farligt--farlig udvikling, det er det

46. Så lang de ikke siger noget, så ved man jo ikke, hvad de synes, vel ? Men altså der er nogen sikkert, men jeg tror ikke, der er mange.

47. I praksis tror man at modersmålet er en forhindring for at lære dansk.

48. . . . og hvis hun [læreren] er utilfreds med [min datter], hun snakker så flot dansk. Selvfølgelig har hun da ret til [at tale hendes modersmål]. Hvad gør hun så? I frikvarteren, så samler hun alle de tyrkiske børn sammen, og de hører tyrkisk musik. Så længe man bliver ved med at undertrykke, ikke også? Så kommer der lige modsat. Lige modsat. Så samler hun alle de tyrkiske børn og hører tyrkisk musik og snakker tyrkisk. Hun kan godt dansk. Men nogen gang de vil vise sig: 'Vi er her selvom i er imod det, og vi eksisterer', ikke også?

49. [D]et er meget svært at lave en enighed . . . , fordi jeg ved godt, der er mange lærere i vores skole, der ville ikke være med til det. Svært.

50. Så det bliver sådan mere overfladisk dansk, de andre børn, som ikke har haft det

tokulturelprogram, sådan mere overfladisk dansk de har.

51. [Hvis] der bliver talt tyrkisk i vores klasse, så er der normalt ikke sådan, at der er nogen af eleverne, der oplever, at sådan, er der noget forkert i det. Og så jeg oplever mere at andre børn, som ikke er så vant til, at der bliver talt tyrkisk, synes at: "Det er da underligt. Hvorfor taler de tyrkisk? De bor i DK. Hvorfor taler de så ikke dansk?" Og der kan godt blive nogle problemer med det, ikke, fordi de danske børn tror måske, at de taler om dem, når de taler tyrkisk, og det kan jeg sikkert godt forstå, når de ikke er så vant til at høre det. Så, at de så kan tro det. Men vores børn i klassen, som er vant til at høre det og ikke føler, at de sådan specielt snakker om dem og føler, det er ikke sådan noget trussel, vi ikke sådan tænker noget specielt over det, og vi også vænnede dem til, at vi så spørger dem altid, hvad de snakker om, og så fortæller de på dansk, hvad de snakker om.. . .

Ellers så kan man da godt opleve, at nogen af de danske børn også synes, at det kan være spændende og høre et andet sprog. De har tit spurgt: "Hvad hedder det og det på tyrkisk?" og spurgte Emine nogle ting. De vil gerne ha', at hun sommetider fortæller noget på tyrkisk. De kan godt lide at høre et andet sprog, og synes jeg, det er da meget spændende.

52. [Det] kan være utrolig svært at komme videre og få sådan noget arbejd. Specielt når man er fra Tyrkiet, kan det være meget vanskeligt, og så når man "ikke er dansker" [ironisk], ved man, sådan statistisk, at det er altså, sådan meget svært at få arbejde. Det håber jeg da ikke, at det vil stoppe mine børn

53. Men jeg ville også stille større forventninger eller større krav til børnene end de gøre det nu. Også jeg ville ikke nøjes, hvis jeg var en dansk lærer, med at sige: "Hun kan godt læse. Hun kan godt tale. Hun kan godt forstå"; men jeg ville stille de samme krav som jeg stiller til de danske børn

54. Er de så dum, at de ikke kan lære at tale dansk, og de har været så længe i Danmark?

55. Hvis du bliver stemplet som dum, selvom du ikke tror på det, så ville du være heltiden gal og sur måske også aggressiv. Det har vi også oplevet hos mange børn. Og så er der nogle gange, at børnene vælger at være sådan voldelig, at de skal jo have status i klassen. Hvordan kan man få det? Det er et stort problem for børnene. Også nogle børn fortrækker at være stille, og de vil ikke vise sig og de vil gøre sig usynlige, ikke, i klassen. Man skal ikke lægge mærke til dem. Nogle børn bliver sådan lidt mere voldsom og aggressiv, fordi de vil være med og det er sådan set tit kvik børn, der vælger det, der slås og laver alt mulige numre, vel ?! Fordi de ikke acceptere [exclusion].

56. Og det er også, at de danske børn vil ikke leje med dem, hvis de ikke kan sproget. Det er ikke sjovt at lege med én, der ikke forstår, hvad der bliver sagt. Børn er ikke så tålmodig. Og det er helt fint, at de skal have det sjovt, når de leger, ellers finder de nogle andre legekammerater allerede fra første klassen. Og de bliver ved med at lege med de samme børn. Jo det kan være også, de vælger en anden på et tidspunkt, men alligevel de holder længe. Og det bliver måske en væn, hvem de leger med.

57. . . . ikke sådan positive tinge.

58. 'Hvorfor skulle indvandrerne være så synlige ? Hvorfor skulle man så høre deres sprog, når de er så minoriteter, og de kommer så kun for at få arbejde her ? Det er ikke deres land. Det er så ikke

accepteret. De skal blive danskere, ikke ?' Slut ! 'Og derfor er dansk deres første sprog'.
Sådan at vi synes, det er så umenneskeligt, ikke ?

59. Mennesker er vigtigste. Det er ikke sproget eller religionen eller nationalitetet eller race, ikke ? Men nu bliver det vigtigt igen.

60. Man brænder mennesker ihjel, fordi også, man har et andet nationalitet eller man har en anden religion.

61. Men det skulle da være så statens politik, ikke ? Helt landets politik, der bliver så overførte til skolerne. Du kan ikke have sådan en politik i skolen så længe, at der ikke. Man har ikke engang en indvandrerpolitik i Danmark.

62. Vi siger, hvad vi mener lige meget om de [de danske lærere] accepterer eller ikke accepterer. Vi er ligeglade.

63. Ved du hvad? Hvad er forskellen mellem Danmark og Tyrkiet, når I så kritiserer Tyrkiet ?

64. Tyrkiet har aldrig sagt at Kurdernes modersmål er tyrkisk, aldrig de siger. Kurderne har deres eget modersmål, men de skal tale tyrkisk. Det er det Tyrkiet har sagt. Man må ikke undervise kurdisk i skolen eller andre steder. Man må tale det hjem, på gaderne, i landsbyen, men ikke i skolen; ikke i domstolen; ikke i X [eclair]. Alt så alle mu lige offentligt steder man skal kun tale tyrkisk. Også hvad fører så nu Danmark? Det er den samme. Hvis man ikke skal tale tyrkisk i skolen; hvis man ikke skal tale tyrkisk andre steder, kun derhjem, hvad er så forskellen mellem Danmark og Tyrkiet ?

65. XX-skolen ligger ind i XX-området. . . . Der har de startet jo 2 børnehave klasser med kun, jo hvad var det, kun 4 danske børn i, ja i år, hvor så resten var fremmedsprogede børn, ikke?. . . . Og det betyder, at de forældre, der skulle have børn i de klasser, de har flyttet dem hen på nogle andre skoler. Også de vil ikke acceptere, at det bliver totalt fremmedsprogede klasser, og det beytyder sådan en flygt fra den skole, og det er vi meget nervøs for her, ikke, at man samtidig skal måske flytte børnene herfra på grund af, at der er for mange indvandrere børn eller flygtninge i det helt taget.

66. Men denne her skole har et eller andet ry med, at der er for mange fremmedsprogede, ikke? Det har den.

67. Ja, det kan gå hen, det kan gå hen; men det kan ikke gå op over en halvdelen. Hvis det gør det, så er det problematisk–virkelig problematisk ! Vi har jo nogen klasser, hvor, hvor, hvor det desværre er sket det, at nu er, der er noget flere fremmedsprogede børn i klassen, end der er danske børn, ikke?. . . . Men det er klar, at de danske forældrene, at de oplever, at der er overvægt af fremmedsprogede børn, så, så siver de fra, og det ville jeg også selv gøre, hvis det var mig selv, ikke? Der skulle barn ikke til en klasse, hvor det var en overvægt af fremmedsprogede børn. Det tror jeg ikke, er godt.

68. Altså der er mange, der siger, der er for mange fremmedsprogede her. Også ville de hellere gå på XX-skolen som er vores naboskole, ikke ?

69. Altså man skal, efter min opfattelse skal man sørge for en vis spredning af de fremmedsprogede elever, ikke? Og det er også bedste for dem selv i virkeligheden. Jeg tror ikke på, at et ren fremmedsprogede klasse, det kan bruges til noget.

70. Ja, jeg opfatter det jo sådan, at hvis jeg har gjort forældrene opmærksom på det, at det en god skole, ikke ? Fordi det er en god skole. Der er nogen utrolig dygtige lærere her, ikke ? Som gøre et mægtigt [arbejd]. . . . [D]e kan mange ting og de er meget aktiv og gøre mange spændende tinge. . . . Det, der er skolens problem, det er hvis man engang har fået et dårligt ry, altså, du ved; hvis man engang har fået et stempel på ryggen, ikke ? Forstår du det ? Altså man, man er--der er for mange fremmedsprogede, ikke ? Og der går de sådan og snakke om rundt omkring. Og de kan sige: "Der er der også for mange fremmedsprogede over i denne skole. Den er ikke god, ikke ?" Så det er svært at komme ud af sådan et ry igen, ikke ? Det skal man så ligesom bygge op og gøre noget ved det, ikke ?

71. Da der i kommunen er to muligheder for skolestart for tyrkiske og kurdiske elever, - nemlig tokulturel og parallelgruppe - ville det være praktisk gennemførligt, at skille de to grupper ad. Der er ingen tvivl om, at dette ud fra et sprogligt synspunkt ville være at foretrække. Men problematikken omkring den tyrkiske og den kurdiske befolkningsgruppe handler jo om meget andet end sprog. Udvalget vurderede, at dersom der blev lagt op til en sådan bastant deling af de to grupper, ville bi blande os i en politisk og følelsesmæssigt belastet sag, og konsekvenserne af dette ville vi som danskere vanskeligt kunne overskue. (Helkiaer, 1987, p. 15)

72. Den tokulturelle klasse vil være et godt tilbud især til de tyrkisk-sprogede børn, da undervisningen både sprogligt og kulturelt vil bygge på de forudsætninger, de møder i skolen med. De kurdiske forældre bør også oplyses om muligheden for tokulturel klasse for deres barn, men bør nok af sproglige grunde rådes til en anden form for skolegang, f.eks. parallelgruppe. (Helkiær, 1987, p. 15)

73. Vi har hverken tid eller plads til dansk som andetsprog i vores del af verden. (Holmen, 2001, p. 33)

74. Hvis det virkede godt, og det har vi selv syntes, at det har virket godt, men politikkerne har ikke syntes, det har virket godt, og der er også mange andre som måske fornemme, at der ikke har virket godt. Der er meget uenighed om det både blandt lærere og blandt forældre, om hvordan man synes at det virker. Altså så kan det være vanskeligt at få det til at brede sig fordi ja ! Hvordan kan jeg sige det ? Hvem er det, der skal vurdere, om det har været godt ? Altså hvordan måler man det ?

Vi kan se, at vi har nogle trygge børn, synes vi, og nogle børn, der trives godt og har det godt i skolen og det må være en vigtig ting. Men hvordan måler man det ? Måler man mere noget med hvordan de klarer sig op igennem skolesystemet ? Altså hvilken uddannelse får de og hvilken karakterer får de, og hvordan klarer de sig ? Og "klarer sig" : det kan også være noget mere end en karakter og uddannelse ikke ? Det kan også være noget tryghed og noget med at man trives godt. Og det tror jeg, det er svært at sige. Hvem skal måle, hvor godt det lykkedes ?

Hvordan måler man det ? Hvad er det, man lægger vægten på ? Og der tror jeg mere, det bliver sådan mere politiske holdninger i kommuner og landet som helhed, der kommer til at få indflydelse på, hvordan de forskellige læseplaner og programmer kommer til at se ud.

75. "Hvorfor skulle indvandrerne være så synlige? - hvorfor skulle man så høre deres sprog, når de er

så minoriteter og de kommer så kun for at få arbejde her? Det er ikke deres land. Det er så kke accepteret. De skal blive danskere, ikke?" Slut! "Og derfor er dansk deres første sprog". Sådan at vi synes det er så umenneskeligt, ikke? Fordi i hel verden kan du så se den udvikling, eller i Europa kan du så se den udvikling (337).

Også det er ikke kun, fordi vi kommer fra et andet land. Det er også, fordi vi har en anden religion. Og jeg har også meget svært at forstå nu i tyvende århundred, at religionen skulle være så vigtig for mennesker. Det kan jeg ikke forstå. Og så jeg tænker på Middelalderen, og om vi vender tilbage til Middelalderens tankegang, ikke? Det burde da også være sådan nu, at vi har forstået, at mennesker et vigtigste; at det er ikke sproget eller religionen eller nationalitet eller race, ikke? Men det bliver nu sådan vigtigt igen. Du kan så se krigene rundt omkring i Jugoslavien, Armenien, Cypern, rundt omkring. Så det er meget almindeligt at de ses også i Danmark nu og i Tyskland, ikke? Man brænder mennesker ihjel, fordi også man har en andet nationalitet eller man har en anden religion. Det ved jeg ikke, om du kan forstå det, men jeg har svært at forstå det.

Appendix B

Interviewees

NB Those names followed by an asterisk (*) have been changed for purposes of anonymity.

1. Anne Holmen (personal communication, September 21, 1993). Joint interview conducted with Anne and Jens Normann Jørgensen in the Royal Danish School of Education [*Lærerhøjskolen*].

2. Ann Granum (personal communication; September 23, 1993). Interview conducted in the Ministry of Education office in *Trille* Municipality.

3. Anne-Mette* (personal communication, September 1, 1993). Informal interview conducted over coffee break at *Trilleskolen*.

4. Anonymous child* (personal communication, September 14, 1993). Participant observation data. Visit to a Danish home on the island of Fünen.

5. Atilla* (personal communication, September 21, 1993). Interview conducted in Copenhagen.

6. Bodil* (personal communication, September 16, 1993). Interview conducted in Bodil's home.

7. Christian Horst (personal communication, June 1, 1994). Interview conducted in the home of Kirsten Haastrup in Copenhagen.

8. Dilan*'s mother (personal communication, September 6, 1993). Interview conducted in a Kurdish home in the housing complex surrounding *Trilleskolen*.

9. Emine* (personal communication, September 9, 1993). Interview conducted at *Trilleskolen* in a suburb of Copenhagen.

10. Helen Krag (personal communication, June 3, 1993). Interview conducted at the University of Copenhagen.

11. Jens Normann Jørgensen (personal communication, September 21, 1993). Joint interview conducted with Jens and Anne Holmen in the Royal Danish School of Education [*Lærerhøjskolen*].

12. Jonna*'s mother (personal communication, September 6, 1993). Interview conducted in a Danish home in the housing complex surrounding *Trilleskolen*.

13. Peder*'s mother (personal communication, September 10, 1993). Interview conducted in a Danish home in the housing complex surrounding *Trilleskolen*.

14. Principal of *Trilleskolen* (personal communication, September 21st, 1993). Interview held in the principal's office at *Trilleskolen*.

15. Songül* (personal communication, September 9 & 12, 1993). First half of the interview conducted

at *Trilleskolen* (September 9th); second half conducted in Songül's home (September 12th).

16. R. Phillipson (personal communication, May 28, 1994). Interview conducted at Roskilde University.

17. T. Skutnabb-Kangas (personal communication, many dates in 1993, 1994).

18. Vibeke* (personal communication, September 9, 1993). Interview conducted at my home in Copenhagen.

Joint Interviews

19. Anne Holmen and Jens N. Jørgensen (personal communication, September 21, 1993). Joint interview conducted with A. Holmen and J. N. Jørgensen at the Royal Danish School of Education.

20. Hanan*, a Turkish girl, and Ugurtan, a Kurdish boy (personal communication, September 20, 1993). Interview conducted in *Trilleskolen* with the parents' permission.

21. Stig* and Farhid* (personal communication, September 15th, 1993). A separate interview for each boy was conducted at *Trilleskolen* in a suburb of Copenhagen, with the parents' permission.

22. Vibeke* and Math teacher (personal communication, August 30, 1993). Interview conducted while driving home from an evening parent-teacher meeting at the start of the new school year.

Appendix C

Trille Municipality

Til
Skolerne

MEMO

Deres ref	Sagsbehandler	Journal nr.	Brev nr.	Dato
	PVH	17.15.04 P08		13. december 1993

Vedr. forsøg med folkeskolens modersmålsundervisning.

Byrådet har på møde den 23. november 1993 vedtaget følgende for folkeskolens modersmålsundervisning i kommune:

1. kommune opfatter dansk som 1. sprog for indvandrere, og modersmålsundervisning tilbydes fremover 1. - 4. klasse primært til forbedring af børnenes begrebsverden. Familien (mødrene) forudsættes aktivt at medvirke hertil.

2. På 5. - 7. klassetrin gives i stedet ekstra dansktimer og/eller modersmålsundervisning med henblik på formidling af abstrakt viden.

3. Indvandrersprog tilbydes som valgfag på 8. - 10. klassetrin.

For undervisningen på 5. - 10. klassetrin gælder, at forsøgene iværksættes fra og med skoleåret 1994/95 og afsluttes efter skoleåret 1996/97. Forsøgene skal endvidere afholdes indenfor den samlede budgetramme til modersmålsundervisning.

Kulturel forvaltning medvirker ved koordination af planlægningen efter aftale med skolerne.

Med venlig hilsen

Appendix D

Interview protocol

A) English version

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR PARENTS

Name: Date:

1. Own language background: written/oral competency

	Written	Oral
Language 1		
Language 2		
Language 3		
Other(s) -		

2. Linguistic (& academic) expectations for children in the future

	Danish children	Turkish/Kurdish
L1		
L2		
L3		
Other(s) -		
Academic expectations		

3. Why a bilingual program? - What does it entail?

4. Program charactistics: advantages problems

curriculum
evaluation
methodology
other -

5. Program structures:

time
language
interpreters
themes (multicultural focus)

6. How does one develop linguistic competence in a national or a minority language?

7. How can one support a child's language development - in the home? other places? (ex., books, media, visits, travel, conversation with others, in the neighbourhood, etc.)

8. Biggest influences on a child's language development

9. Role minority language(s) play in DK and role of bilingual education in Danish

10. "*Spredning*" policy (of dispersal)–comments?

AN EXTRA QUESTION FOR TEACHERS

11. How do you define your role as a ___ teacher?

B) Original Danish version of interview protocol

INTERVIEW SPØRGSMÅL TIL FORÆLDRENE

Navn: Dato:

1. Egen sproglig baggrund: skriftlig/mundtlig færdigheder -

	skriftlig	mundtlig
Sprog 1		
Sprog 2		
Sprog 3		
andre sprog -		

2. Sproglig (& akademiske) forventninger for børnene i fremtiden

	danske børn	tyrkiske/kurdiske
S1		
S2		
S3		
andre sprog -		
akademiske forventninger		

3. Hvorfor et tosproget program? - Hvad drejer det sig om?

4. Programmets karakteristika:

	fordele	problemer
læseplan		
evaluering		
metodologi		
andet -		

5. Programmets strukturer:

   tid
   sprog
   tolk
   emner (flerkulturel fokus)

6. Hvordan udvikler sig sprogligefærdigheder i et nationalt- eller et minoritetssprog?

7. Hvordan kan man støtte et barns sproglig udvikling - i hjemmet? andre steder? (f. eks., bøger, medier, besøg, rejser, samtale med andre, området, etc.)

8. størreste indflydelser i et barns sproglig udvikling

9. Rolle minoritetssprog spiller i DK og tosprogetundervisnings rolle i det danske samfund.

10. En "spredning"-politik — kommentar?

ET EKSTRA SPØRGSMÅL TIL LÆRERE

11. Hvordan definerer du din rolle som ___ lærer?

Appendix E

Original Danish Versions of Educator Role Definitions

E-1 Bodil

+ Bodil's role definition

BODIL: (1914) Altså det, der er vigtigt, når man arbejder med de børn, det er selvfølgelig, at de frem for alt får en selvværdsfølelse, at, at der er nogen, der synes, de er noget værd, og der er nogen systemer, der synes de kan nogen ting, og at nogen systemer eller represantanter fra systemet som kan give dem troen på, at de kan noget, som vi kan bruge til noget.

Og det sådan har været det allervigtigste for mig : at give de børn den fornemmelse at, at som dansk lærer, så og den repræsenterende for det danske skole system, der skulle de mange gang om dagen have at vide, at de synes de var dygtig, at de kunne nogen ting, at de synes, det er nogle rare børn og de synes deres familiebaggrund var spændende, deres kultur var spændende, og at, det har heltiden stået til diskussion og at til hver en tid, at det var lige så interessant at snakke om som dansk og diskutere som dansk forhold, og derfor i hver en sammenhæng (2017) det var muligt at trykke parallel op med deres baggrund i Danmark eller dels deres forældres baggrund i Tyrkiet. Det har været vigtigste.

(2030) Derudover så får man, når man har med børn at gøre eller som dansk klasselærer, at man får et helt specielt forhold til de børn, at de får et specielt forhold til én, ikke ? Det bliver ikke et mor-barn forhold, men alligevel lidt sådan, ikke ? Det bliver, at hvis de føler sig angrebet ud i skolen, i systemet, så ved de, at de kan altid komme til deres klasselærer og fortælle om det. Også har det været vigtigt for mig og heltiden at markere over for de børn, at hvis der var nogen, hvis de havde nogen klager over det med racisme eller racistiske tilråb, eller hvis de var blevet angrebet på deres etnicitet, at så ville der være nogen repræsentanter i systemet, som til en enhver tid ville tage sig af de klager.

Og det gør at, det betyder ikke, at de altid har gået ud og ordnet tingene for dem, men diskuteret med dem: 'Hvad er sket ?' og 'Hvad kunne vi ha' gjort anderledes ?' og mange gang har jeg også været ud og få fat i dem, der har sagt det og diskuteret, konfronteret dem med det, og sådan at børnene har fået en fornemmelse af, at der var nogen repræsentant fra systemet som ikke ville finde sig i denne form for angreb.

Også har det selvfolgelig været meget, meget vigtigt for mig også, at de fik en ordentlig uddannelse, at de bliver dygtig. (2205) Så jeg arbejder meget hårdt med at der bliver den personlig

ansvarlighed mellem dem og mig, der gjorde, at de fik lyst til at arbejde måske lidt mere, end de ellers ville have gjort, ikke ? Så derfor, altså--ja, det er sådan nogenlunde de ting. (2220)

E-2 Songül

+ Songül's role definition

SONGÜL: (1127) For det første, når børnene kommer uden ordentlig dansk sprog, så er det en tryg til børnene, at der en, de kan anvende sig til og fortælle, hvad de vil--bare tale og udtrykke sig, fordi ellers så bliver de nødt til at sidde uden og sige ikke noget mange måneder, inden de tør og sige noget. Men nu har de den mulighed selvfølgelig, de kan komme og række sin hånd op og sige det på tyrkisk, hvis de ikke kan på dansk. Jeg synes, det betyder enormt for børnene.

(1203)For det andet, og det vigtigste, selvfølgelig, og så de far også deres modersmålsundervisning, og de slapper af i modersmålsundervisning. Når de kommer, de er meget glæde og skynder sig i. De spørger hver dag: "Har vi modersmålsundervisning i dag ?" Så siger jeg: "Nej, ikke hver dag; hver anden dag !" Så de er meget glade.

Men jeg tror, at det vigtigste af min rolle er kontakt, også arbejdet som tolk for de tyrkiske forældre...

ST: ... som bindeled ?

SONGÜL: (1245) Ja ! også formidle kontakt. Fordi for klagede de danske lærere, at de tyrkiske forældre kommer ikke til moder. De kommer heller ikke til forældrekonsultationer eller, eller arrangementer i skolen. Men nu gør de, fordi de ved godt, der er enlærer, der kan tale, eller der kan sige igen.

ST: Og din rolle overfor Danskerne ?

SONGÜL: (1450) De tænker aldrig, at en tyrkisk kvinde kan være sådan [som Songül]. De har, helt samfundet tror, tyrkerne er ligesom Cems mor--alle sammen, ingen undtagelse. Også har jeg, vi har boet i en boligkompleks i XX-by. Også [datterens navn] har leget i mange ar med en nabos pige. Efter mange år, så kom hun og spurgte mig: "Hvor kommer I fra ?" Og så sagde jeg: "Men vi kommer fra Tyrkiet". "Nej,

det kan ikke være rigtigt. I kommer fra U.S.A.", sagde hun. Og så sagde jeg: "Nej, vi kommer fra Tyrkiet". Og så sagde hun: "Nå". Hun troede også ikke, vi var tyrker. (1535)

Mange tror, at vi er blevet sådan, fordi vi kom til DK : 'Jeg var ligesom Cems mor, da jeg var i Tyrkiet'. Så siger de, f. eks.: "Nej, hvor er du ... ." Emine har hørt, f.eks. en gang, da hun skulle servere mad til lærere, nogen af lærere i vores skole. Og så gik hun [Emine] ind i køkkenet og de to snakkede : "Nej, hvor er hun lærenemt. Hun har lært og dække bord". De troede, hun havde lært det i DK; hun vidste ikke, da hun var i Tyrkiet. Selv lærerne ! (1619)... (1932)

Jeg tror, at Vest Europæers handicap er, at de har et mere eller mindre homogent samfund. Alle ligner hinanden. Det gør de ikke i Tyrkiet, fordi Tyrkiet er et mosaik samfund.

E-3 Vibeke

+ Vibeke's role definition

VIBEKE: (077) Der er meget i DK med racisme ikke? Og jeg tror det nok, at det kan betyde for de her børn, som kender nogle Tyrkiske børn, som de godt kan lide, og som de er trykke ved; jeg tror godt, det kan betyde noget for dem, sådan at de vokser op og bliver ældre, at de ikke er så) altså, jeg tror mange mennesker kan være utrygge for og bange for folk fra en anden kultur) for fremmed folk. Og det håber jeg og tror jeg, at min børn vil sådan være mere tryg med det, fordi de kender nogen fra, derkommer oprindeligt fra et andet land.

+ Vibeke's Role Definition (continued)

ST: (192) Du spiller også en rolle til de tyrkiske forældre, en støtte rolle. [Forældrene føler sig trygge med Vibeke. F.eks. Dilans mor efter forældremødet].

VIBEKE: (191) Jeg synes, de føler, at de kommer til mig og spørger mig til råd om forskellige ting. (202)

E-4 Emine

+ Emine's role definition

EMINE: Altså børnene bliver altid glad, de tyrkiske børn, nar jeg kommer inde i deres klasser. Også det er sådan en lærer, der kommer fra deres land, eller en lærer der har samme nationalitet eller kan tale samme sprog, men hvis jeg tænker på lærerværelset, så tror jeg der er sådan forskellige holdninger igen. Der er nogen, der tænker ikke mere, jeg er en tyrkisk lærer. Så nogen ser mig stadigvæk måske ... en repræsentant for indvandrere. Men når jeg bliver brugt som bindeled mellem skolen og forældrene, jeg tror at begge parter bliver for at bruge mig, fordi jeg selvom jeg kommer fra Tyrkiet, jeg opfører mig som lærer, og jeg har en lærerrolle. Jeg taler for skolen tit holder med skolen, fordi jeg synes selv, at det er vigtigt, at skolen er vigtigste i børnenes liv. Men når jeg så taler med forældrene på deres vejene, så kan jeg så forklare de danske lærere, hvorfor de gjorte det, hvorfor de så opfører sig sådan, hvorfor de siger: "nej". Så finder vi sådan, vi vil sådan nå en kompromis. Og det er sådan, jeg hjælper med...

ST: ... ligesom en kulturmøde...

EMINE: Ja! Det ligner en bro, der binder de to [kulturer] [latter], men de kan nå hinanden, opnå hinanden.

Original Danish Versions of Educator Role Definitions in "The Ethnograph" Format

Numbered Version of BODIL 6/6/98 8:27:14 PM

+ Bodil's role definition 840

(1914) Altså det, der er vigtigt, når 842
man arbejder med de børn, det er 843
selvfølgelig, at de frem for alt får 844
en selvværdsfølelse, at, at der er 845
nogen, der synes, de er noget værd, og 846
der er nogen systemer, der synes de 847
kan nogen ting, og at nogen systemer 848
eller represantanter fra systemet som 849
kan give dem troen på, at de kan 850
noget, som vi kan bruge til noget. 851

Og det sådan har været det 853
allervigtigste for mig : at give de 854
børn den fornemmelse at, at som dansk 855
lærer, så og den repræsenterende for 856
det danske skole system, der skulle de 857
mange gang om dagen have at vide, at 858
de synes de var dygtig, at de kunne 859
nogen ting, at de synes, det er nogle 860
rare børn og de synes deres 861
familiebaggrund var spændende, deres 862
kultur var spændende, og at, det har 863
heltiden stået til diskussion og at 864
til hver en tid, at det var lige så 865
interessant at snakke om som dansk og 866
diskutere som dansk forhold, og derfor 867
i hver en sammenhæng (2017) det var 868
muligt at trykke parallel op med deres 869
baggrund i Danmark eller dels deres 870
forældres baggrund i Tyrkiet. Det har 871
været vigtigste. 872

(2030) Derudover så får man, når man 874
har med børn at gøre eller som dansk 875
klasselærer, at man får et helt 876
specielt forhold til de børn, at de 877
får et specielt forhold til én, ikke ? 878
Det bliver ikke et mor-barn forhold, 879
men alligevel lidt sådan, ikke ? Det 880
bliver, at hvis de føler sig angrebet 881
ud i skolen, i systemet, så ved de, at 882
de kan altid komme til deres 883
klasselærer og fortælle om det. Også 884
har det været vigtigt for mig og 885
heltiden at markere over for de børn, 886
at hvis der var nogen, hvis de havde 887
nogen klager over det med racisme 888
eller racistiske tilråb, eller hvis de 889
var blevet angrebet på deres 890
etnicitet, at så ville der være nogen 891
repræsentanter i systemet, som til en 892
enhver tid ville tage sig af de 893
klager. 894

Og det gør at, det betyder ikke, at de altid har gået ud og ordnet tingene for dem, men diskuteret med dem: 'Hvad er sket ?' og 'Hvad kunne vi ha' gjort anderledes ?' og mange gang har jeg også været ud og få fat i dem, der har sagt det og diskuteret, konfronteret dem med det, og sådan at børnene har fået en fornemmelse af, at der var nogen repræsentant fra systemet som ikke ville finde sig i denne form for angreb.

Også har det selvfolgelig været meget, meget vigtigt for mig også, at de fik en ordentlig uddannelse, at de bliver dygtig. (2205) Så jeg arbejder meget hå,rdt med at der bliver den personlig ansvarlighed mellem dem og mig, der gjorde, at de fik lyst til at arbejde måske lidt mere, end de ellers ville have gjort, ikke ? Så derfor, altså — ja, det er sådan nogenlunde de ting. (2220)

Numbered Version of SONGUL 6/6/98 8:52:49 PM

+ Songul's Role Definition 1459

Songul: (1127)For det første, når 1461
børnene kommer uden ordentlig dansk 1462
sprog, så er det en tryg til børnene, 1463
at der en, de kan anvende sig til og 1464
fortælle, hvad de vil--bare tale og 1465
udtrykke sig, fordi ellers så bliver 1466
de nødt til at sidde uden og sige ikk- 1467
noget mange måneder, inden de tør og 1468
sige noget. Men nu har de den mulighed 1469
selvfølgelig, de kan komme og række 1470
sin hånd op og sige det på tyrkisk, 1471
hvis de ikke kan på dansk. Jeg synes, 1472
det betyder enormt for børnene. 1473

(1203)For det andet, og det vigtigste, 1475
selvfølgelig, og så de far også deres 1476
modersmålsundervisning, og de slapper 1477
af i modersmålsundervisning. Når de 1478
kommer, de er meget glæde og skynder 1479
sig i. De spørger hver dag: "Har vi 1480
modersmålsundervisning i dag ?" Så 1481
siger jeg: "Nej, ikke hver dag; hver 1482
anden dag !" Så de er meget glade. 1483

Men jeg tror, at det vigtigste af min 1485
rolle er kontakt, også arbejdet som 1486
tolk for de tyrkiske forældre... 1487

ST: ... som bindeled ? 1489

Songul: (1245) Ja ! også formidle 1491
kontakt. Fordi for klagede de danske 1492
lærere, at de tyrkiske forældre kommer 1493
ikke til moder. De kommer heller ikke 1494
til forældrekonsultationer eller, 1495
eller arrangementer i skolen. Men nu 1496
gør de, fordi de ved godt, der er 1497
enlærer, der kan tale, eller der kan 1498
sige igen. 1499

ST: Og din rolle overfor Danskerne ? 1501

Songul: (1450) De tænker aldrig, at en tyrkisk kvinde kan være sådan [som Songul]. De har, helt samfundet tror, tyrkerne er ligesom Cems mor--alle sammen, ingen undtagelse. Også har jeg, vi har boet i en boligkompleks i XX-by. Også [datterens navn] har leget i mange ar med en nabos pige. Efter mange år, så kom hun og spurgte mig: "Hvor kommer I fra ?" Og så sagde jeg: "Men vi kommer fra Tyrkiet". "Nej, det kan ikke være rigtigt. I kommer fra U.S.A.", sagde hun. Og så sagde jeg: "Nej, vi kommer fra Tyrkiet". Og så sagde hun: "Nå". Hun troede også ikke, vi var tyrker. (1535)

Mange tror, at vi er blevet sådan, fordi vi kom til DK : `Jeg var ligesom Cems mor, da jeg var i Tyrkiet'. Så siger de, f. eks.: "Nej, hvor er du ... ." Emine har hørt, f.eks. en gang, da hun skulle servere mad til lærere, nogen af lærere i vores skole. Og så gik hun [Emine] ind i køkkenet og de to snakkede : "Nej, hvor er hun lærenemt. Hun har lært og dække bord". De troede, hun havde lært det i DK; hun vidste ikke, da hun var i Tyrkiet. Selv lærerne ! (1619)... (1932)

Jeg tror, at Vest Europæers handicap er, at de har et mere eller mindre homogent samfund. Alle ligner hinanden. Det gør de ikke i Tyrkiet, fordi Tyrkiet er et mosaik samfund.

Numbered Version of VIBEKE 6/6/98 9:11:55 PM

+ Vibeke's Role Definition 852

VIBEKE: (077) Der er meget i DK med 854
racisme ikke? Og jeg tror det nok, at 855
det kan betyde for de her børn, som 856
kender nogle Tyrkiske børn, som de 857
godt kan lide, og som de er trykke 858
ved; jeg tror godt, det kan betyde 859
noget for dem, sådan at de vokser op 860
og bliver ældre, at de ikke er så) 861
altså, jeg tror mange mennesker kan 862
være utrygge for og bange for folk fra 863
en anden kultur) for fremmed folk. Og 864
det håber jeg og tror jeg, at min børn 865
vil sådan være mere tryg med det, 866
fordi de kender nogen fra, derkommer 867
oprindeligt fra et andet land. 868

+ Vibeke's Role Definition (continued) 999

ST: (192) Du spiller også en rolle til 1001
de tyrkiske forældre, en støtte rolle. 1002
[Forældrene føler sig trygge med 1003
Vibeke. F.eks. Dilans mor efter 1004
forældremødet]. 1005

VIBEKE: (191) Jeg synes, de føler, at 1007
de kommer til mig og spørger mig til 1008
råd om forskellige ting. (202) 1009

Numbered Version of EMINE 6/6/98 8:38:09 PM

+ Emine's role definition 331

EMINE: Altså b#rnene bliver altid glad, 333
de tyrkiske b#rn, nar jeg kommer inde 334
i deres klasser. Også det er sådan en 335
lærer, der kommer fra deres land, 336
eller en lærer der har samme 337
nationalitet eller kan tale samme 338
sprog, men hvis jeg tænker på 339
lærerværelset, så tror jeg der er 340
sådan forskellige holdninger igen. Der 341
er nogen, der tænker ikke mere, jeg er 342
en tyrkisk lærer. Så nogen ser mig 343
stadigvæk måske ... en repræsentant 344
for indvandrere. Men når jeg bliver 345
brugt som bindeled mellem skolen og 346
forældrene, jeg tror at begge parter 347
bliver for at bruge mig, fordi jeg 348
selvom jeg kommer fra Tyrkiet, jeg 349
opf#rer mig som lærer, og jeg har en 350
lærerrolle. Jeg taler for skolen tit 351
holder med skolen, fordi jeg synes 352
selv, at det er vigtigt, at skolen er 353
vigtigste i b#rnenes liv. Men når jeg 354
så taler med forældrene på deres 355
vejene, så kan jeg så forklare de 356
danske lærere, hvorfor de gjorte det, 357
hvorfor de så opf#rer sig sådan, 358
hvorfor de siger: "nej". Så finder vi 359
sådan, vi vil sådan nå en kompromis. 360
Og det er sådan, jeg hjælper med... 361

ST: ... ligesom en kulturm#de... 363

EMINE: Ja! Det ligner en bro, der binder 365
de to [kulturer] [latter], men de kan 366
nå hinanden, opnå hinanden. 367