Schools as Linguistic Space: Multilingual Realities at Schools in Vienna and Brno

Eva Vetter, Denis Weger, Veronika Winter, Mirek Janik, Lukas Lanzerstorfer, Lena Schwarzl & Karolína Pešková
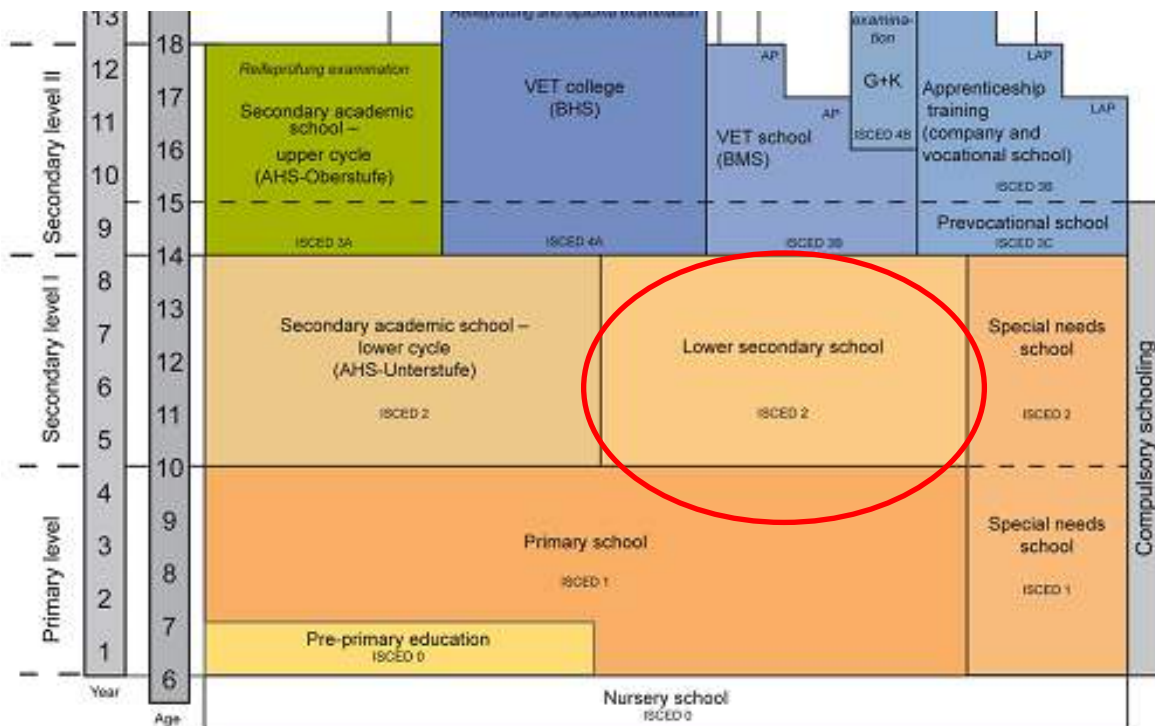
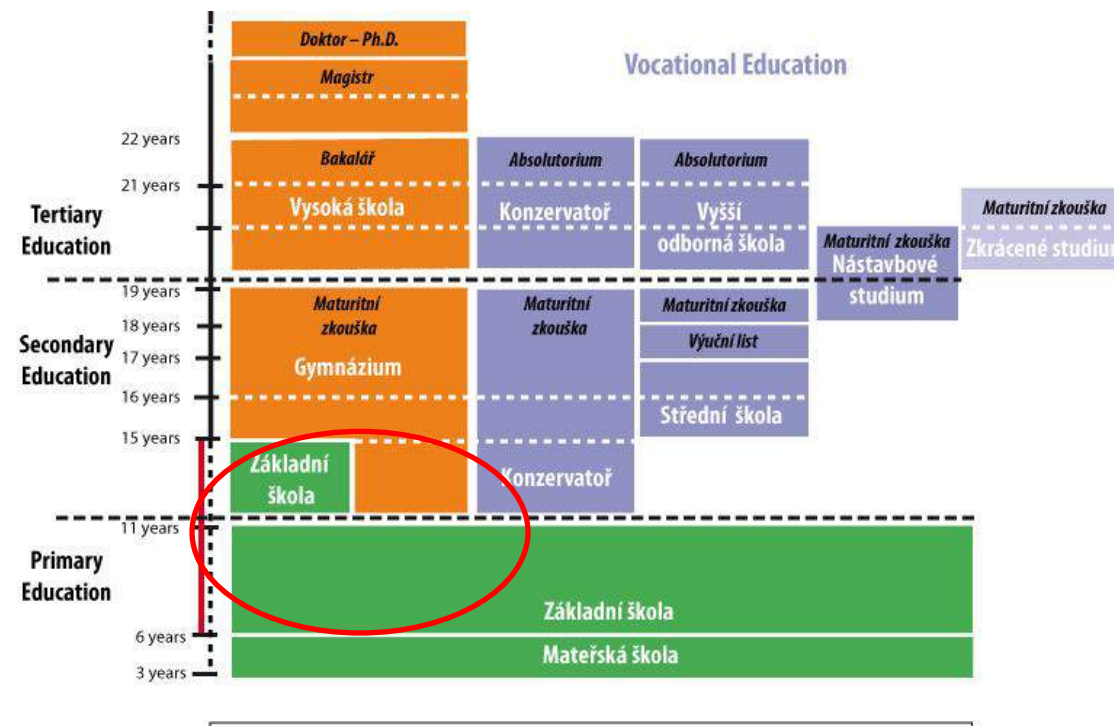# School as linguistic space - Research questions of the project:

1. How do schools position themselves in the language policy context?

2. How are the components of the pupils' linguistic repertoire perceived and recognised at schools?

3. How do pupils experience the language policy positioning of schools?
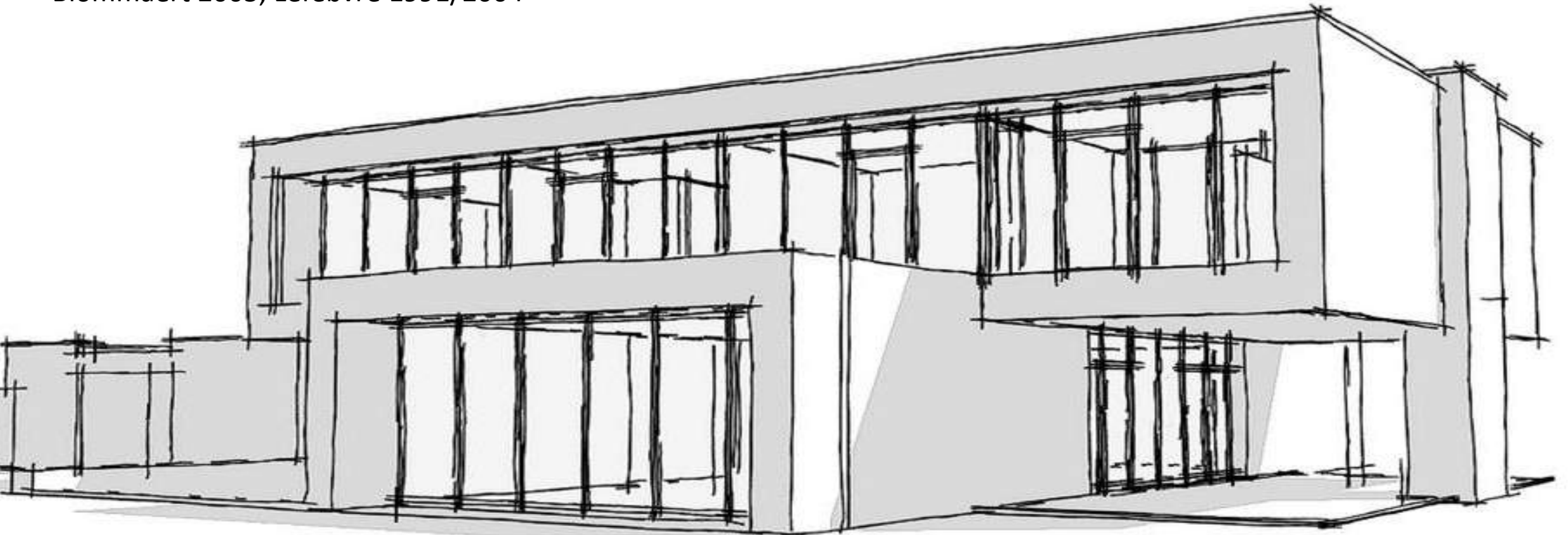
Austrian and Czech Educational Systems

Space: agentive, multiscalar and co-constructed

Nexus of practice: Scollon and Scollon 2003
Blommaert 2005, Lefèbvre 1991/2004

Linguistically diverse contexts

- …

What kind of schools?

- School C: school with "no special focus on languages" (Vienna)

- School F: school with a "focus on foreign languages" (Brno)

- Schools A & E: two schools with an "international focus" (Vienna & Brno)

- Schools B & D: two schools with a "focus on multilingualism" (Vienna & Brno)
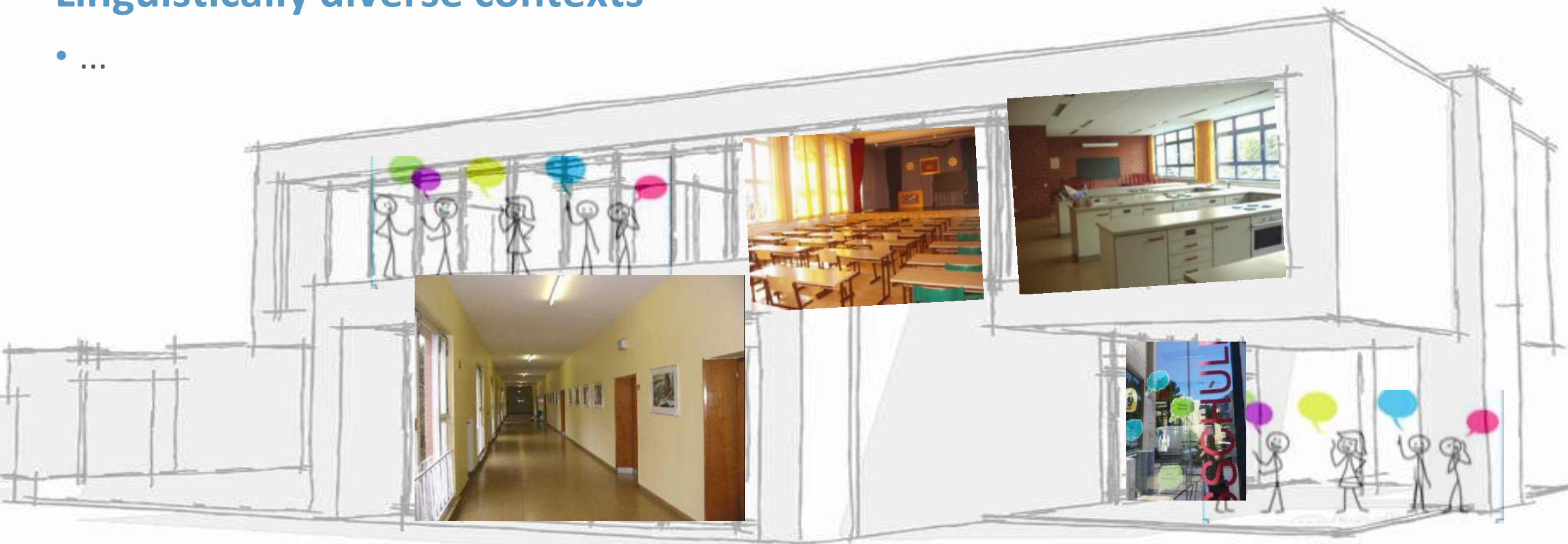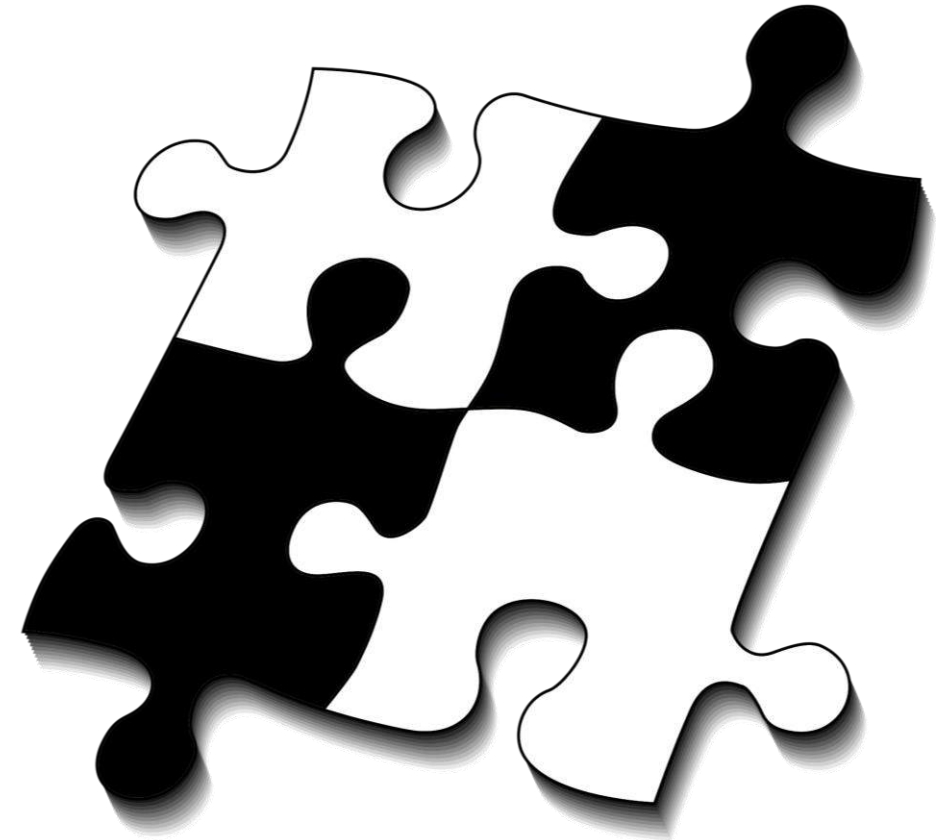
Documents and data

Austria

- Curriculum for New Middle Schools (NMS)
- School websites (3)
- Interviews with principles (3)
- Interviews with students (13)
- Linguistic land- and soundscaping

Czech Republic

- Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education
- School websites (3)
- Interviews with principles (3)
- Interviews with students (6)
- Linguistic land- and soundscaping

Contributions on this symposium

1. Categorising languages for schools: home, school, foreign languages – *Denis Weger & Veronika Winter*

2. Schools and their language policies: setting limits to the chaos – *Mirek Janík, Lukas Lanzerstorfer & Eva Vetter*

3. Individuals and their linguistic repertoire: relating life-world and school-experiences? – *Karolína Pešková & Lena Schwarzl*

4. The multilingual school: features of an empowering space – *Discussion*

Categorising Languages for Schools: Home, School, Foreign Languages

Categorisations in policy documents and their operative conceptualisations

Research questions

1. Which language categorisations are made in the analysed policy documents?

2. Which operative conceptualisations can be found in Vienna and Brno? To what extent are they similar or different?

→ Data analysis using qualitative content analysis

Official policy documents

Austria

- *Curriculum for New Middle Schools* (NMS), which includes the

‒ *Teaching Principle* "Intercultural Learning"

Czech Republic

- *Framework Educational Programme für Basic Education,* which includes the

‒ *Cross-curricular subject* "Intercultural Learning"

Bundesministerium für Bildung (2012): *Lehrplan der Neuen Mittelschule*. Online: https://www.bmb.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/lp/lp_nms.html [07.12.2017]

Ministr školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy (2007): *Framework Education Programme for Basic Education*. Online: www.msmt.cz/file/9481_1_1/ [07.12.2017]

Categories in official policy documents

National language or *Language of schooling*	*Foreign languages* or *First and second foreign language"*	*Bilingualism* and *Multilingualism*	*Mother tongue* or *First language*	*Languages of neighbouring countries*	*Minority languages*

Categories in official policy documents

National language
or Language of
schooling

- "**general instruction on the language – Czech (national language, mother tongue** […] registers in the **national language** […] the origin and foundations of the development of the **Czech language** […]" (FEP BE:24)

- "understanding **language** as an independent historical phenomenon which reflects the historical and cultural development of a nation and thus to see it as a **major unifying agent of the national community**" (FEP BE:19)

- "The **Czech language is an irreplaceable tool of learning**, processing information and presenting one's attitudes and opinions, but also plays an important instructional role in learning other languages" (FEP BE:100)

Categories in official policy documents

Foreign languages
or *First and second
foreign language"*

- „**pupils must be offered English before other languages;** if pupils [...] choose a language other than English, the school must provably inform the pupil's statutory representative" (FEP BE:112)

LEBENDE FREMDSPRACHE (Erste, Zweite)

(Englisch, Französisch, Italienisch, Russisch, Spanisch,

Tschechisch, Slowenisch, Bosnisch/Kroatisch/Serbisch, Ungarisch,

Kroatisch, Slowakisch, Polnisch, Türkisch)

BMB: 35

Categories in official policy documents

<table>
<tr>
<td>

Bilingualism and *Multilingualism*

</td>
<td>

- "rozvíjení pozitivního vztahu k **mnohojazyčnosti** a respektování kulturní rozmanitosti" (FEP BE:17)

- „Eine allfällige **Mehrsprachigkeit** von Schülerinnen und Schülern wird als wertvolle Ressource gesehen […]." (BMB: 8)

</td>
</tr>
</table>

Categories in official policy documents

Mother tongue or
First language

- "The **use of Czech as a mother tongue** both in the oral and written form allows pupils to familiarize themselves with and understand the socio-cultural development of human society." (FEP BE:16)

- „Schülerinnen und Schüler **mit einer anderen Erstsprache als Deutsch**" (BMB: 12, 25, 29 etc.)

Further school related documents and data

Austria

- School websites (3)

- Interviews with principles (3)

- Linguistic land- and soundscaping

Czech Republic

- School websites (3)

- Interviews with principles (3)

- Linguistic land- and soundscaping

School type	Vienna	Brno
No special focus on languages	⬭	
Focus on foreign languages		⬭
International focus	⬭	⬭
Focus on multilingualism	⬭	⬭

D

E

F

| National language or *Language of schooling* | *Foreign languages* or *First and second foreign language"* | *Bilingualism* and *Multilingualism* | *Mother tongue* or *First language* | *Languages of neighbouring countries* | *Minority languages* |

C

A

B   B

Schools focussing on the *National Language* and established foreign languages
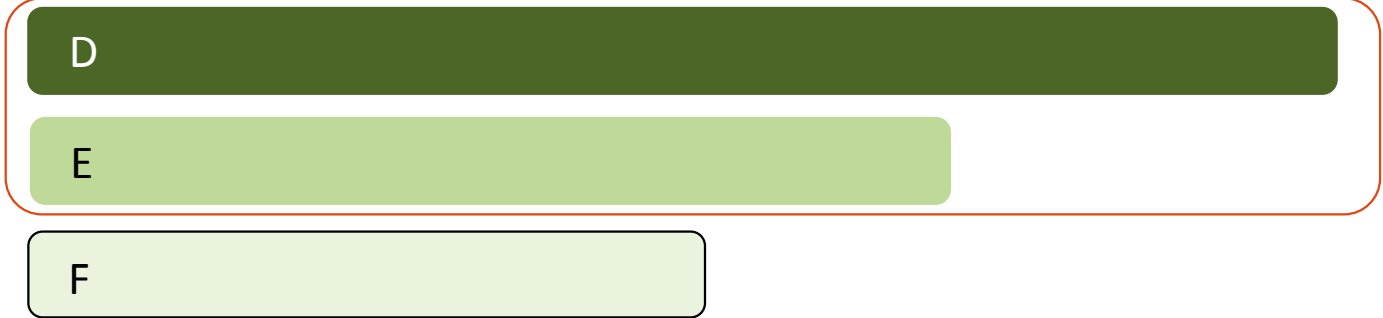
- School C: German only policy (website) because of „social reasons" as the use of other languages can become „exclusionary" (interview), but no strict sanctions

- School C: "Wir sind im Moment gerade so am Andenken, um die deutsche Sprache zu intensivieren oder zu festigen, irgendeine Art von muttersprachlichem Unterricht zu installieren"

- School C: „Es gibt nur eine lebende Fremdsprache, weil für viele Kinder ist Deutsch die zweite lebende Fremdsprache, ja."

- School F: Languages other than Czech and foreign languages are not mentioned (neither on website, nor in interviews)

- Established foreign languages: Only English in Vienna, English and German in Brno

F

National language or *Language of schooling*

Foreign languages or *First and second foreign language"*

C

School type	Vienna	Brno
No special focus on languages	⬭	
Focus on foreign languages		⬭
International focus	⬬	⬬
Focus on multilingualism	⬬	⬬

D

E

F

National language or *Language of schooling*	*Foreign languages* or *First and second foreign language"*	*Bilingualism* and *Multilingualism*	*Mother tongue* or *First language*	*Languages of neighbouring countries*	*Minority languages*

C

A

B   B

D

E

| National language or Language of schooling | Foreign languages or First and second foreign language" | Bilingualism and Multilingualism | Mother tongue or First language |

Active support for linguistic integration in a monolingual norm

Websites:

- Both schools offer additive language courses to support the aquisition of the language of schooling

- Foreign languages:

  ◦ School E: Czech and Spanish

  ◦ School D: English, German, Russian, **Ukrainian**

Interviews:

- Both schools: acquisition of language of schooling has high priority (school D: „u nás je hlavní priorita naučit děti česky")

- Policy of language use outside of class:

  ◦ School D: No regulation, „podle mě by to byla diskriminace"

  ◦ School E: Appeal to use their home languages at school (not during lessons)

School type	Vienna	Brno
No special focus on languages	⬭	
Focus on foreign languages		⬭
International focus	⬭	⬭
Focus on multilingualism	⬭	⬭

D

E

F

| *National language* or *Language of schooling* | *Foreign languages* or *First and second foreign language"* | *Bilingualism* and *Multilingualism* | *Mother tongue* or *First language* | *Languages of neighbouring countries* | *Minority languages* |

C

A

B

B

A

B · · B

Multilingual in different ways

International focus (school A)

Website:

- Mission statement: „europäischen Identität durch Wertschätzung der Vielsprachigkeit"

- „Die Mehrsprachigkeit der SchülerInnen steht im Mittelpunkt" with a focus on English

- Many languages to choose as second foreign language: French, Italian, Spanish, B/K/S, Slowak, Turkish and Hungarian

Interview:

- Wide variety of languages, that students bring to school → wide range of foreign languages offered

- Hungarian, Slowak and Spanish due to student exchange

- Policy regarding German: „Ahm naja wir versuchen den Kindern schon zu vermitteln • • dass äh/• dass eigentlich in Deutsch gesprochen werden soll,‿owa geht natürlich nicht immer"

Multilingual focus (school B)

Website:

- „Der Reichtum an kultureller und sprachlicher Vielfalt unserer SchülerInnen [...] ermöglicht eine [...] globale Weltsicht [...]."

- "Mother tongue instruction" in Arabic, BKS, Romani and Turkish → much information about it

- Trinlingual lessons

- Foreign language: English

Interview:

- Students should be „stolz auf ihre Muttersprachen, auf ihre Herzenssprachen" →also the so called „wrong foreign languages" are valuable

- Some setting open for all of the students' languages → all children should have the possibility to act in their first language/s

- Policy regarding German: Deutsch als Pausensprache "is inhumane"

Schools and their language policies: Setting limits to the chaos
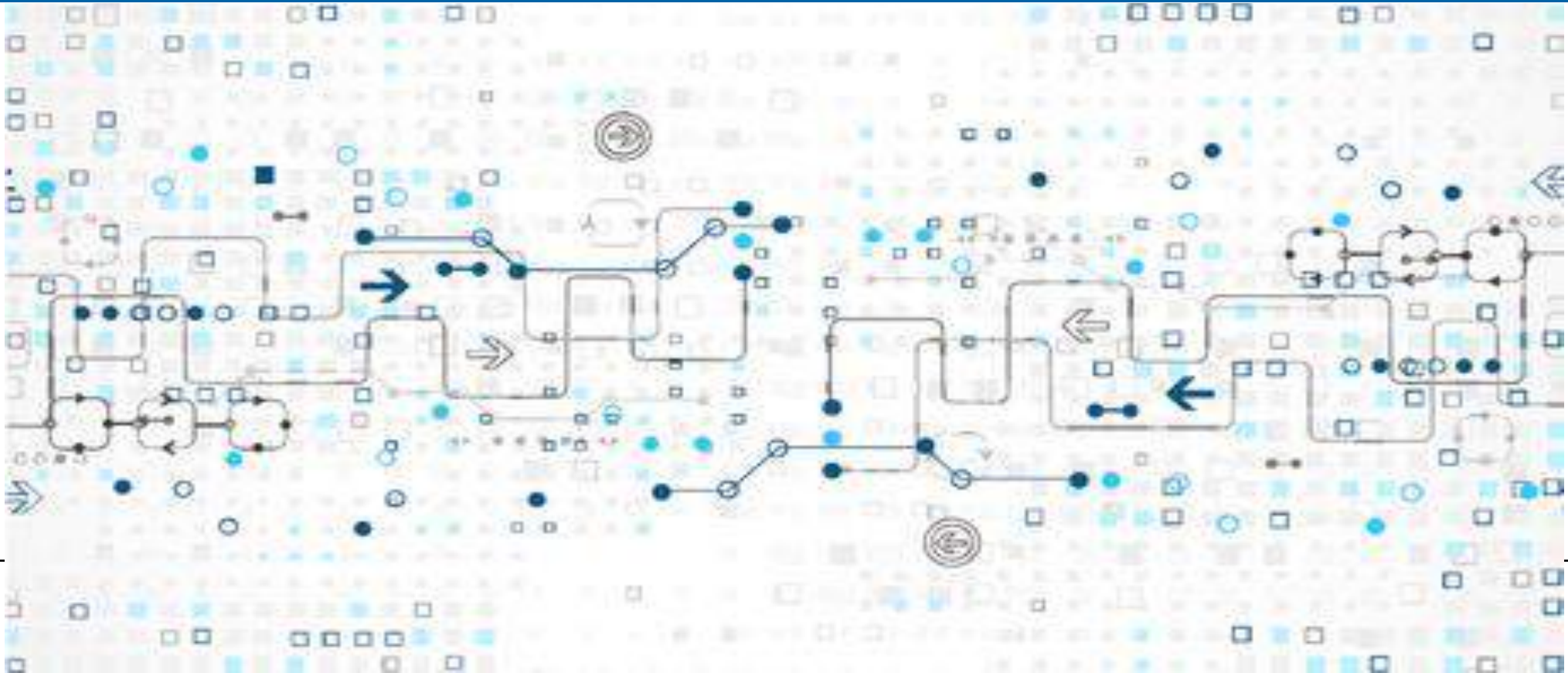
Conceptualisation

- The aim of school language policies is to regulate language use.

- Linguistic regime: „set of constraints on individual language choices" (Coulmas, 2005)

language policy

Schools

multilingual reality
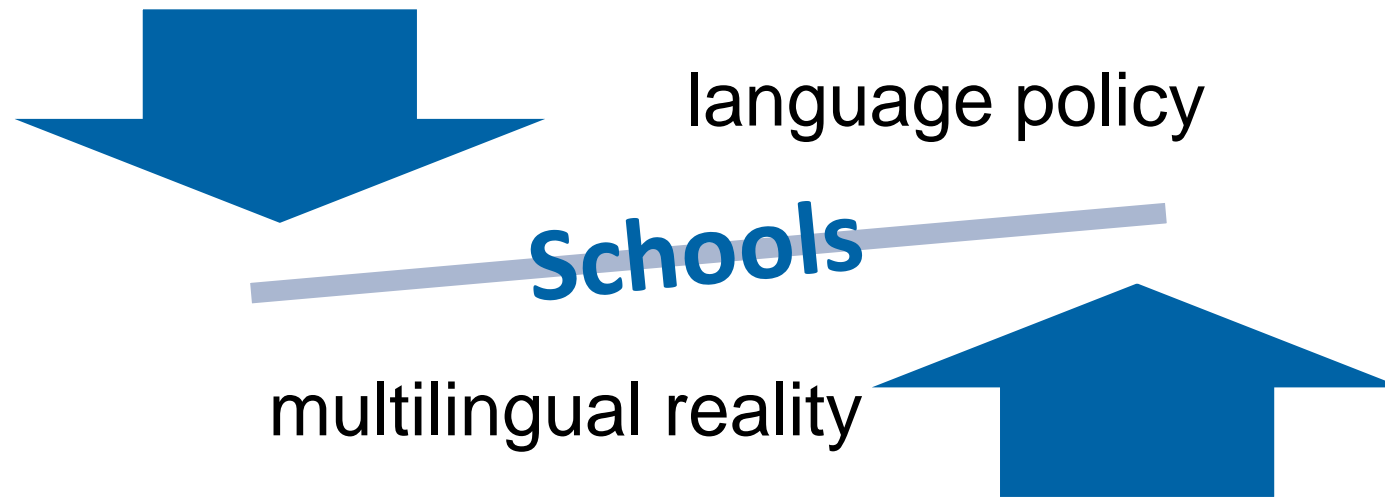
Aim and research questions

- Main aim:

- Insights into school language policies and the respective rationalisation.

- Research questions:

- How are school language policies presented?

- Which conflicting issues can be observed?

Data

- **interviews with principles**
- Expert interviews, narrative and open
- 3 in Vienna (November 2017), 3 in Brno (May 2017)
- Groups of interviewers: students, university staff
- Transcription ongoing (HIAT, Exmeralda)

- **Interviews with pupils**
- on the basis of language portraits,
- Different approaches (e.g. group interviews, peer-to-peer)
- **Ethnographic observation**

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Expert interviews: Content Analysis

- **Linguistic space**: linguistically less or more diverse

- **Language/s of schooling**: German only - diversity

- **Mother tongues**: no support – MTE

- **Foreign languages**: English and/or others

- **School Yard language:** German only - diversity

- **Teachers' room**: linguistically diverse

- **Communication with parents:** German only – support for other lg

Coding: Linguistic space

- „wir haben sehr sehr viele • äh • • Sprachen ((ea)) hier b/ ähm am Standort, uund die mischen sich eigentlich sehr stark auch … Äh ((aa)) des beginnt bei Farsi äh bis äh bis äh Sserbisch, äh Ungarisch, Polnisch, äh"

- School A
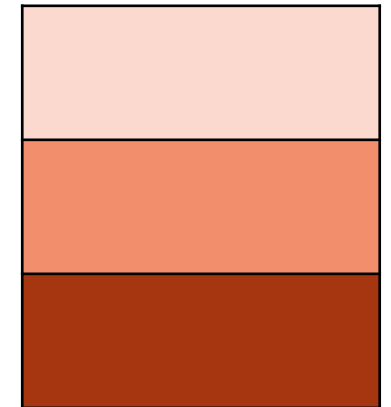
Coding: Languages of schooling

Deutsch ist die gemeinsame Sprache?
Deutsch beziehungsweise auch Englisch. Weil wir haben sehr viel
Englisch weil wir haben ja auch ein besonderes Fach,‿das nennt
sich europäische Studien, ((ea)) äh das s eben nur hier am
Standort gibt,‿das gibt's sonst an den Schule nicht,‿und das wird
nicht und das wird in/• in äh A und B Klassen auf Englisch
unterrichtet
School A
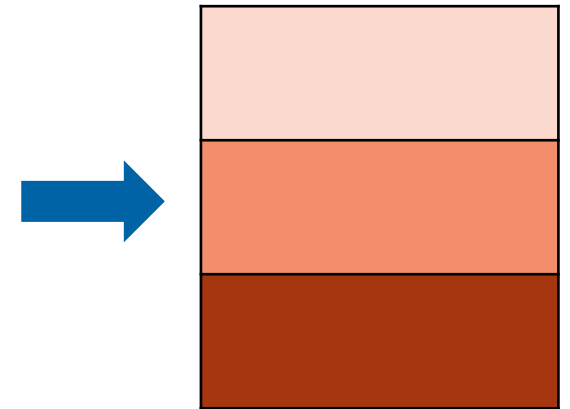
Coding: Mother tongue/s

((ea)) Mit den anderen Sprachen • ((ea)) wird mit Händen und Füßen gearbeitet ((aa)) am Anfang. • • Ja? Also das iss ganz normal, ja? ((ea)) Die Kinder haben Deutschkurs. • • ja? ((ea)) School A
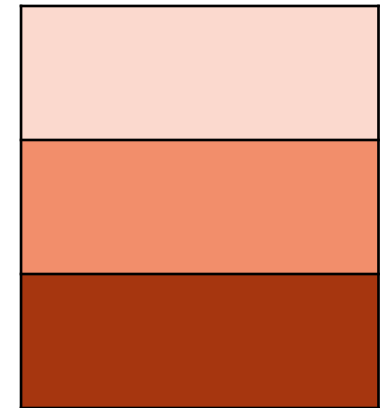
Coding: Foreign languages

Ts ((ea)) ahh na wir haben ja einen Sprachenschwerpunkt hier an der Schule, ,• •und bieten unsren Schülern äh schon vom ersten äh Schuljahr an eine zweite äh Fremdsprache, ((ea)) also sie lernen bereits ab der ersten Klasse zusätzlich zu Englisch, äh Französisch, Italienisch, ähh • m BKS, .. Was hamma noch? • • Türkisch, ja? Können sie auswählen ((ea)) und das …
School A
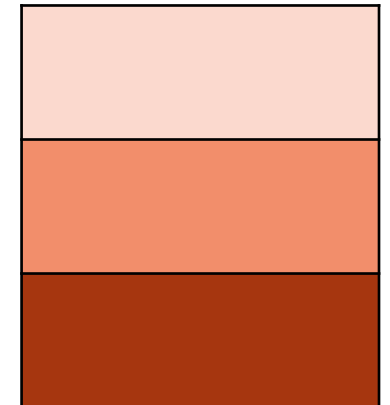
Coding: School Yard language

((ea)) Ahm naja wir versuchen den Kindern schon zu vermitteln • • dass äh/• dass eigentlich in Deutsch gesprochen werden soll,‿owa geht natürlich nicht immer, School A

[*Ne, ne, das wird von mir nicht reguliert. Es waren da solche Stimmen, damit ich es verbiete, in der eigenen Sprache zu reden. Und ich habe gesagt, das verbiete ich nicht, dass will ich nicht, (.) also, sie verstehen sie nicht. Im Unterricht verlangen wir Tschechisch. Aber während der Pausen ist es uns egal. Ich sehe auch keinen Grund, ich würde es als diskriminierend sehen. ((Lachen))*], Übersetzung: Mirek Janik, School D
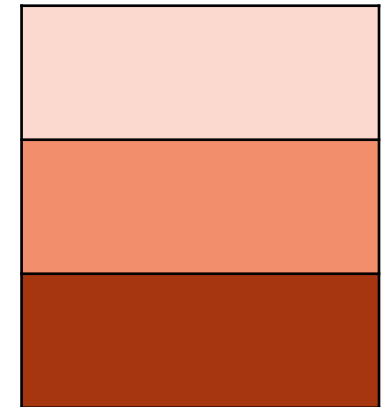
Coding: Teachers' room

Aber wir haben das Glück dass wir zum Beispiel ((ea))
ähm ä/ ä/ • • ... äh BKS,‿das/• das sind alles
Muttersprachen die wir hier am Standort haben und
da tun ma uns schon natürlich leichter.
School A
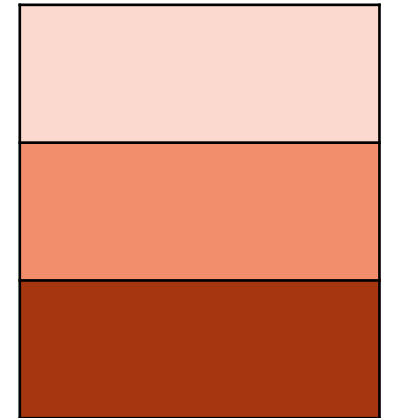
Parents

wenn wir wirklich/• ((ea)) äh wenn wirklich Not am Mann ist, jetzt mit äh ein/einen Elterngespräch oder so, dass wir von/über die (E-Kanzlei) dann ((ea)) Muttersprachen l/ Lehrer • aus dem Bezirk anfordern können, ((ea)) abeer jede Sprache ist natürlich nicht vertreten, School A

Principals - results

	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F
space						
schooling						
MT						
FL						
School Yard						
Teachers						
Parents						

Principals - results

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schooling						
MT						
FL						
School Yard						
Teachers						
Parents						

School yard – a discourse-historical approach

Ruth Wodak and many others
Reisigl, Martin 2011: Grundzüge der Wiener Diskursanalyse. In: Keller, Reiner / Hirseland, Andreas / Schneider, Werner / Viehöver, Willy (eds.): Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse. Band 1, VS Verlag, 459-497

Macro analysis: language on the school yard - related to other discourses

Micro analysis: predication, nomination, process orientation, mitigation,..

Context analysis

School yard – a discourse-historical approach

Ruth Wodak and many others
Reisigl, Martin 2011: Grundzüge der Wiener Diskursanalyse. In: Keller, Reiner / Hirseland, Andreas / Schneider, Werner / Viehöver, Willy (eds.): Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse. Band 1, VS Verlag, 459-497

Macro analysis: language on the school yard - related to other discourses

Micro analysis: predication, nomination, process orientation, mitigation,..

Context analysis

February 2016: Lower Austrian new right wing Federal Government: attempts to ensure the use of German at school outside the lessons
Public Debate, statement of scientific associations, researchers
Ministry of Education: against Art. 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights and of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and against the Constitution
Recommendations in the school rules (Hausordnung) are allowed

Micro: One language during breaks and on the school yard

We recommend German, although / because	Pupils are free to use all languages, because
wir erwarten ein bisschen von den Kindern dass sie * ich sag deswegen ein bisschen weils natürlich nicht i * immer möglich ist und man es auch nicht erzwingen will, dass sie untereinander Deutsch sprechen, weils im sozialen Bereich * angenehmer ist, weil (...) ist es sehr ausgrenzend ja, es ist uns aber durchaus bewusst dass die Festigung der Muttersprache ein Thema ist. Solangs normal zugeht	Aber ich glaub wir brauchen da jetzt keine Diskussion führen, dass man in der Pause nicht vorgeben kann, welche Sprache die Kinder miteinander sprechen. Wenn du das am eigenen Leib nicht gespürt hast

Micro: One language during breaks and on the school yard

We recommend German, although / because	Pupils are free to use all languages, because
wir erwarten ein bisschen von den Kindern dass sie * ich sag deswegen ein bisschen weils natürlich nicht i * immer möglich ist und man es auch nicht erzwingen w... ... ... der Deutsch sprechen, weils im sozialen Bereich * angenehmer ist, weil (...) ist es sehr ausgrenzend ja, es ist uns aber durchaus bewusst dass die Festigung der Muttersprache ein Thema ist Solangs normal zugeht	Aber ich glaub wir brauchen da jetzt keine Diskussion führen, dass man in der Pause nicht vorgeben kann, welche Sprache die Kinder miteinander sprechen. Wenn du das am eigenen Leib nicht gespürt hast

Justification needed

Negative scenarios

Inclusion and exclusion

Emotionalised

Micro: German during breaks and on the school yard – pupils

I2	Und welche Sprache sprichst du in der Schule?	Deutsch. Sprichst du mit jemandem
S7	Deutsch.	

I2	auch Persisch in der Schule?	Mhhhhhh	
S7	Ja. Mit (( )) (( )) (( ))	Aber nicht	

S7	(do)/ nicht so viel.	
I2	Nicht so viel.	**Int 7**

I4	Wieso hast du auf deinem Sprachenportrait/ äh Serbisch hingeschrieben?	
S9	Weil ich die	

S9	meiste Zeit mit meinen Freunden in der Schule Serbisch spreche.	**Int 9**

Conclusions

- How is language regime realized during breaks?

- Regulations in school order

- „hidden regulations"

- No regulations, multilingualism as „natural thing"

Contradictions and discussions

- Languages used during breaks are not regulated, BUT there is "hidden pressure" to use languages that every child understands

- Written regulations do not have to correspond to the real language practice.

- Free language choice ⟷ loss of control.

- Creating a language policy is based on one's „own" experiences, not evidence based.

Individuals and their linguistic repertoire: Relating life-world and school-experiences?

The pupil's perspective on the linguistic regime and it's relationship with language experiences outside school

Research aims, methods and sample

Aims:

- Explore how pupils **experience the language political positioning** of schools

- Explore pupil's **linguistic repertoire** – relating life-world and school-experiences

- Explore pupil's perspective on the **linguistic regime** and its relationship with **language experiences outside school**

Methods:

- Language portraits and interviews

Sample:

- 19 pupils from Brno and Vienna
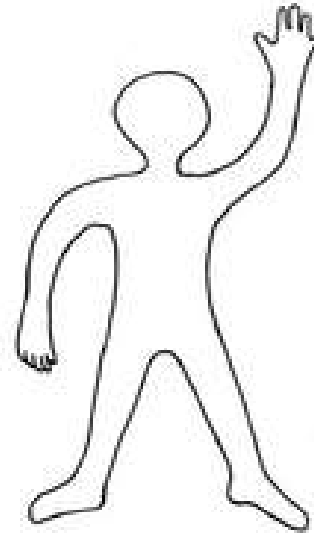
Development and use of Language Portraits

Developed by Ursula Neumann and one of her student's (Gogolin/Neumann 1991)

Krumm and Jenkins (2001) used the silhouettes in projects about   language awareness in multilingual primary school classes (Busch 2012)

Language Portraits provide the following informations:

• individuals linguistic repertoire, their experiences and associations related to languages

• their linguistic identities (Dressler, 2014)

• "metaphoric arrangements" in individuals environment (for example symbols or flags; Kress, 1997)

• the roles and the subjective importance of different languages

School A: Czech born girl

I was born in Czechia, Czech is my mother tongue, so it is closest to me… On the right I put German… because I like it very much, it's my favourite language. I put it in the right arm, because I often use it.
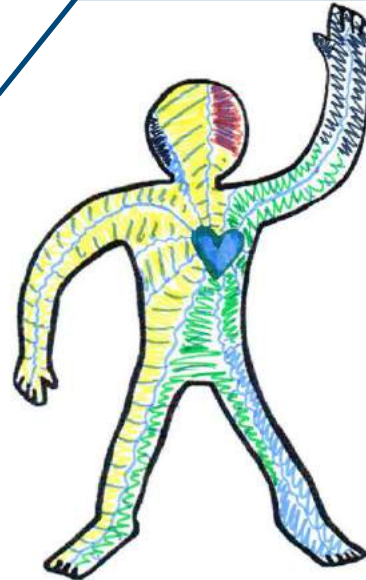
- **Czech** as mother tongue - closest relationship
- **German** as favourite foreign language at school (positive experiences from German classes, intrinsic motivation to learn it)
- **English** as another foreign language learned at school
- **French, Russian** as "desired languages", "periphery languages"

School C: Syrian born boy
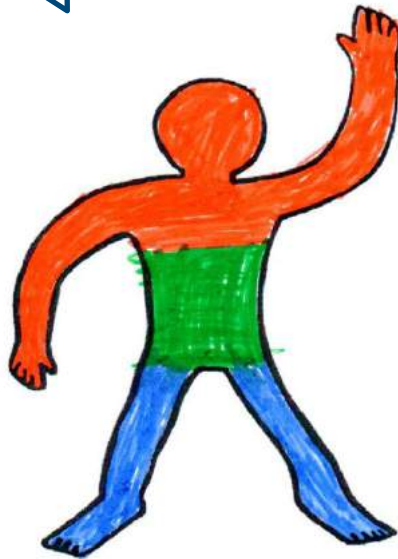
English as the most appealing language, school language; intrinsic motivation to learn English

Arabian as mother tongue, communication at home

Czech as the most important language, school language, communication with friends; used at home

School A: Dutch (first language)

I have been to the USA for three times, because my father lives there. I speak English with him.
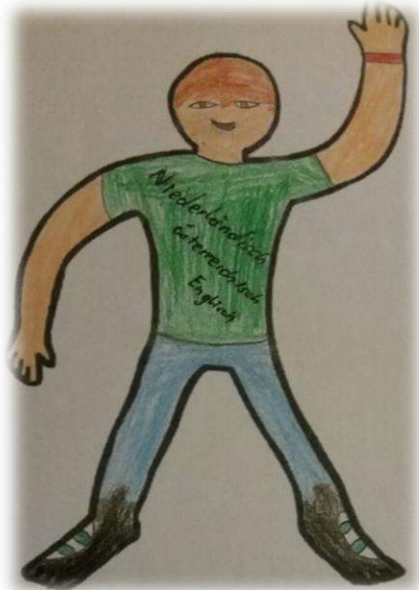
- **Dutch** as first language; born in the Netherlands

- **German** as a second language since the age of five in an Austrian school, he speaks of *Austrian* instead of German

- **English** as a foreign language, but he is affected to it, because of his father

School B: Serbian and Romanes (first languages)

> *I was drawing English in my head, because I need to think a lot when using it.*

- **Serbian** as first language, connected to the family

- **English** as a foreign language, which is hard to learn, but motivated to improve, because of its usefulness

- **Romanes** as first language, connected to the family either

- **French, Italian** and **Spanish** were mentioned because they are seen as the most important languages after English → "desired languages"

Conclusion – results of the project

- First language is located in a central part of the silhouette
  - visible dominance of the first language in the portait
  - other spots in the silhouette, or used colors, played a subordinate role
  - pupil's did not indicate to have more than one first language

- Categorization of languages and associations with concrete experiences and emotions
  - categorizations into family and school languages
  - associations to national boarders
  - categorizations into important or useful languages → "Desired languages" (Kramsch 2009)

- No percieved limitations to use family languages at school

Conclusion to our major aim:

- Explore pupil's linguistic repertoire – relating the life-world and school-experiences

→ **From the children's perspective life-world and school language-experiences don't seem to be related**

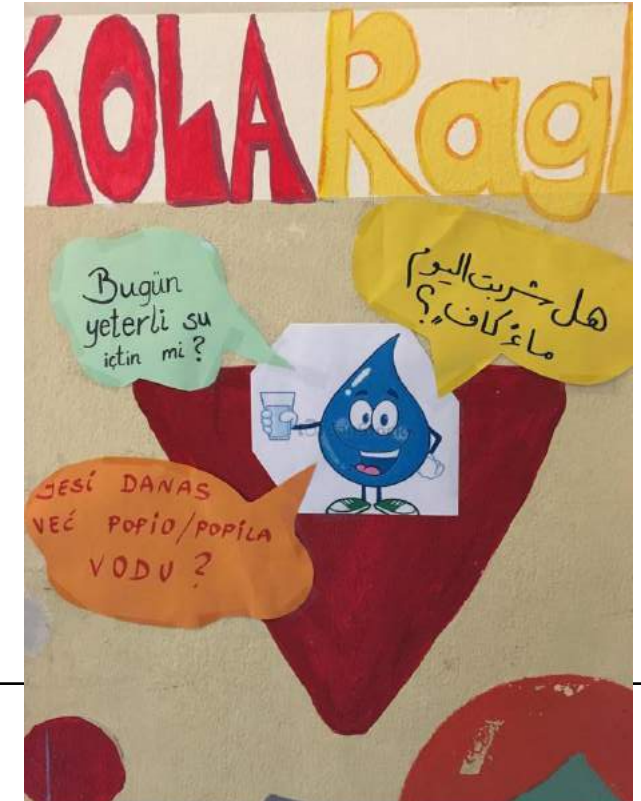# The multilingual school: Features of an empowering space

Positions: principals

- ich habe eine Schülerin, die noch kein Wort kann, natürlich versuchen wir ein Kind, bitte übersetz, aber

- solangs halbwegs normal zugeht, wenns nicht eskalieren anfangt, wenns zu Beschimpfungen kommt – jetzt redma bitte Deutsch

- Dass sie stolz sind auf ihre Muttersprachen, (...) dass sie merken, dass je besser sie ihre Muttersprachen können desto mehr Chancen sie in der Gesellschaft haben können

- dieses Wissen der Schüler, dass sie in ihrer Muttersprache respktiert werden, bildet so viel Frust ab und gibt so viel Raum für Interesse, (...) Selbstvertrauen, Selbstbewusstsein, bei vielen anderen, wo das so richtig zerschlagen wird, (...), hör auf das Herz, wenn man merkt wie sehr das kaputt gemacht werden kann

- wo die Kinder nicht einmal ihre Muttersprache perfekt können, unsere Kinder sind alle halbsprachig, (...) eine Sprache lerne ich durch Üben und durch ständiges sich damit Auseinandersetzen

Positions: pupils

S(?)   Warum willst du (andre) Sprachen nicht lernen?
S7   ICH will EH lernen aber ich kann noch nicht.

S(?)   Ja aber welche willst du lernen?   Mhhh Nur Englisch
S7   Ahhh. Englisch. • Ja nur Englisch   Nur Englisch

I2 ((2 s)) Warum findest du Englisch wichtig?
S7   Keine Ahnung weil/ andere Länder/ keine Ahnung/ •• verstehen Englisch mehr

I
S Ehm, (-) I, I, I can't speak English very well so I sometime, like, don't know the words, I confuse, (-) yeah, but I have the

I   OK. And Japanese?
S dictionary for, like, translating, so it's very helpful.   Ehm, Japanese I don't use, like, a lot in here so (-)
I
S But if I translated it in Japanese, like, I feel, like, good.

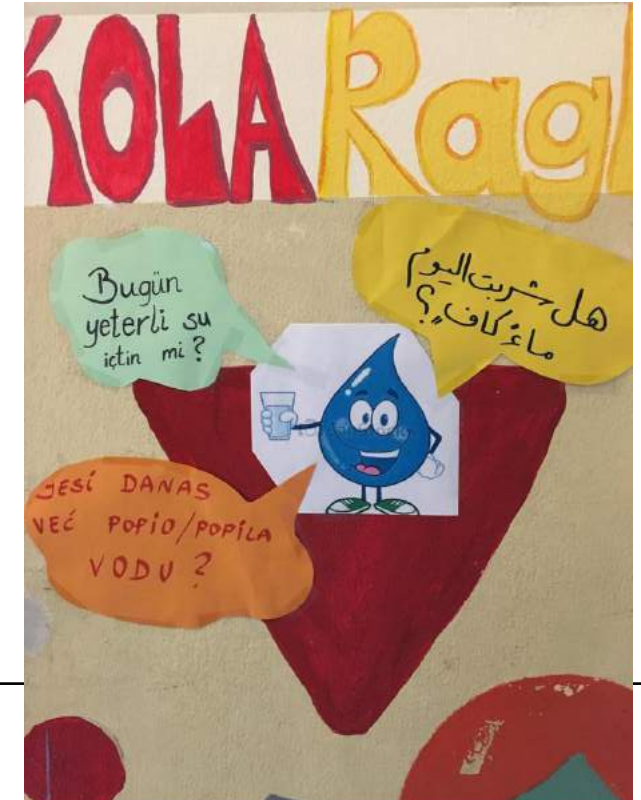# The multlingual school: Features of an empowering space
Discussion

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