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Master's Thesis

# Managing migration-induced multilingualism in German and Belgian primary schools through preparatory programmes

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Abstract

This thesis examines how newly arrived children are schooled in Berlin and the Wallonia-Brussels Federation through the establishment of preparatory programmes. These programmes aim to provide children with tailored support in the acquisition of the language of instruction to facilitate their integration into the mainstream education system. However, the organisation of these programmes is not always conducive to achieving their declared aims. This thesis is dedicated to analyse these structural tensions. It is claimed that schools in both contexts must undergo a restructuring process and adapt to their multilingual student body instead of adhering to historically constructed monolingual ideologies. Based on theoretical and empirical evidence, the *translanguaging* approach is presented as a powerful tool to challenge these monolingual ideal conceptions. Moreover, its implementation enables pupil-centred language support, as it builds on observable multilingual practices. Encouraging newly arrived students to make use of their whole linguistic repertoire can thus also support them in the acquisition of the language of instruction.

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# List of abbreviations

BBR: Berufsbildungsreife

CEB: Certificat d'Études de Base

CEFR: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

CESS: Certificat d'Enseignement Secondaire Supérieur

CQ: Certificat de Qualification

DASPA: Dispositif d'Accueil et de Scolarisation des élèves Primo-Arrivants et Assimilés

eBBR: erweiterte Berufsbildungsreife

FLA: Français Langue d'Apprentissage

FWB: Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles

ISS: Integrierte Sekundarschule

L1: First Language

L2: Second Language

MSA: Mittlerer Schulabschluss

UNCRC: UN Convention on the Rights of a Child

WK: Willkommensklasse

# 1 Introduction

Most nations of the world are bilingual and many are multilingual, even without accounting for the effects of migratory movements. Cultural and linguistic diversity is also deeply embedded in European societies, with migration leading to further diversification. Despite this, linguistic and cultural diversity are still often viewed as a deviation of the norm rather than a normality in many countries. A sector that is profoundly impacted by these migration processes is the educational one. The increasingly diverse student body not only sets schools before new challenges but also before new responsibilities to assume. Despite an increasingly multilingual student body, educational systems largely continue to operate within monolingual ideal conceptions. In consequence, bilingualism is often approached as *parallel bilingualism*, namely as two separate language systems that must be kept apart.

This thesis examines how primary schools in Berlin, Germany and the French-speaking Community of Belgium organise education for newly arrived children. In both contexts it is a common practice to establish specific preparatory programmes for newly arrived children that aim at teaching these children the language of instruction to enable them to integrate mainstream education. In Berlin, these preparatory programmes are known under the name *Willkommensklassen* while they run under the name *DASPA* in the Wallonia-Brussels Federation. In both countries, schools are granted considerable autonomy in the implementation of these programmes, resulting in significant variation in their realisation. Of special interest for this work are the parallel and the partial integrative model. While in the parallel model children are only taught in the preparatory programme, in the partial integrative model they attend both the preparatory programme and the mainstream class. This thesis argues that instead of creating parallel schooling structures for newly arrived children, mainstream education must be restructured to better accommodate and support newly arrived children, moving away from historically constructed heterogeneous and monolingual norms. In doing so, it examines the potential of adopting a translanguaging approach when teaching newly arrived children the language of instruction.

The research was initially informed by an interest in exploring the challenges that teachers working in preparatory programmes face. As the research evolved, it became clear that many of these challenges stemmed from broader structural conditions. Consequently, the focus of the study shifted towards examining the structural dimensions of preparatory programmes. This resulted in the elaboration of the final research question:

*What structural tensions can be identified between institutional requirements and the aim of pupil-oriented language support in the existing models of preparatory programmes at primary schools in Berlin and the Wallonia-Brussels Federation?*

This research question is particularly relevant because it builds upon the experiences and perspectives of teachers but centres on the objective of offering a pupil-oriented language support. It emerged from insights gained during fieldwork, which brought into focus the structural tensions between the current organisation of preparatory programmes and the objective of providing newly arrived children with targeted support in acquiring the language of instruction. In this work, structural tensions are understood as organisational framework conditions that are not or only partially conducive to the objective of preparatory programmes, which is the linguistic and social integration of newly arrived children into the mainstream education system. While both dimensions are important, this thesis focuses primarily on the linguistic aspect.

Institutional requirements refer to overarching regulatory frameworks applicable to all schools as well as to school-specific regulations for the implementation of preparatory programmes. Particularly relevant in this context is the underlying organisational model, which influences key parameters such as hours allocated for language support, criteria for group allocation, regulations for transition to mainstream education, and the availability of continued language support after the transition. Thereby, contrasting these models became a key analytical strategy, aimed at identifying good practices for supporting newly arrived children in acquiring the language of instruction.

The thesis begins with the theoretical framework. This includes a clarification of key terms, including among others the terms *bilingualism*, *multilingualism*, *first language* and *second language*. It explains how these terms are understood and used in the context of this thesis. A brief historical contextualisation follows, showing how contemporary beliefs about bilingualism and language use in schools are influenced by monolingual ideal conceptions that have been constructed at a time of European nation-state building. For Germany, the concept of the *monolingual habitus* is explored, while for Belgium it is examined how ideas of *parallel monolingualism* have been historically built. Although these ideologies persist into present days, they have also encountered criticism. Building upon this expressed criticism and the claim for the necessity of an approach that focuses on the actual practices of speakers rather than on the study of language systems themselves, I present the *translanguaging* approach according to García and Wei (2014). Therefore, the underlying idea of dynamic bilingualism is explained, in opposition to the conception of bilingualism as two separate linguistic systems. The section ends with a consideration of *translanguaging* as a pedagogical approach.

The next section provides an overview of the education systems in the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and Berlin, with particular attention to how newly arrived children are schooled in preparatory programmes. It outlines the organisation and aims of preparatory programmes and concludes with a discussion on practices that separate newly arrived children from mainstream education, given the criticism they encountered.

The methodology chapter presents the qualitative data collection approach, which combines interviews with preparatory programme teachers and participant observation within preparatory programmes.

After describing how I conducted fieldwork, I introduce the field in which I collected my data. This includes a demographic contextualisation of the districts Bressoux and Märkisches Viertel, where the Schools A and E are located. It provides a more detailed description of these two schools where I did my observation and the way they organised and exercised their preparatory programmes.

Finally, the last chapter describes how the collected data have been evaluated through qualitative content analysis. The analysis addresses the central research question. It provides insights into teachers' perspectives on the aims and benefits of preparatory programmes, the structural constraints between the aims and implementation of preparatory programmes and teacher's reactions to their students' multilingualism, highlighting the potential of adopting a translanguaging approach to make instruction of newly arrived children more pupil-oriented.

## 2 Definition of key terms

In order to facilitate comprehension of the work as intended, it is essential to define the meanings of some key terms in advance. The primary objective of this initial chapter is to define and reflect linguistic terms, including multilingualism and plurilingualism, mother tongue as well as first language (L1) and second language (L2). As is further outlined in this thesis, it is understood that languages are constructions and this is also reflected in definitions and terms employed to talk about languages (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, p. 22). Therefore, it has been challenging to find adequate wording to describe the subject of this work, as language and terms reflect these constructions that are grounded on assumptions of autonomous languages from which this work distances itself from (García & Wei, 2014, p. 52). The challenge lies in conveying new ideas through the same linguistic constructs that perpetuate traditional ones. Considering my occasional inability to find adequate terms, the way in which principal terms are employed and understood is clarified in this section.

### 2.1 Bilingualism, Multilingualism and Plurilingualism

The terms bilingualism, multilingualism and plurilingualism have traditionally been used to describe "a plurality of autonomous languages" in the sense of an additive character of a plurality of languages (García & Wei, 2014, pp. 11–12). Bilingualism is mostly used to describe

knowledge of two languages but has also been employed to refer to people who know more than two languages, what is also described by the term multilingualism (García & Wei, 2014, pp. 11–12). Multilingualism serves as a generic term to refer to "the social and the individual situation in which two or more languages are known and used by speakers" (Fortanet-Gómez, 2013, p. 3). If it is distinguished more precisely between the social and the individual situation, multilingualism refers to the society, while plurilingualism describes the individual condition (Fortanet-Gómez et al., 2021, p. 32).

The Council of Europe (2020: 30) employs the terms in the same way, as it states that multilingualism describes the "coexistence of different languages at the social or individual level" while plurilingualism refers to "the dynamic and developing linguistic repertoire of an individual user/learner". This adds another layer to the differentiation made by Fortanet-Gómez. The fundamental point that the CEFR highlights is that plurilingual individuals possess a single repertoire, understanding their competence as dynamic and uneven, meaning that user/learner's abilities in one language may differ significantly from those in another (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 30). This view is interesting for two reasons. One is that it aligns with the concept of *translanguaging*, which is discussed in greater detail subsequently. In addition, it emphasises that individuals are, plurilingual despite the variability in their proficiency levels across the languages within their linguistic repertoire. This perspective was and is not universally accepted as there are opinions that define bilingualism as a "native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield, 1935, p. 56). However, many definitions recognise bilingualism as existing on a continuum, ranging from minimal language proficiency to "native-like" competence. The latter, nonetheless, aligns more closely with the popular perception of bilingualism (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, pp. 6–7). This section does not aim to offer yet another definition to the debate on who qualifies as bilingual, but it seeks to define who is considered a bilingual in the context of the present work. In view of the *translanguaging* approach that is discussed later, a minimal proficiency perspective proves to be useful. Therefore, anyone demonstrating some level of competence in at least one of the four major language skills – listening, speaking, reading or writing – in a second language, is considered a bilingual in this work (Macnamara, 1967, pp. 59–60). In this sense, newly arrived children can be understood as emergent bilinguals latest as they start learning the language of instruction. Nevertheless, children often already show proficiency in multiple languages before their arrival in the new country of residence.

Coming back to the differentiation of societal and individual multilingualism, it is to say that societal multilingualism describes a situation in which a significant number of individuals within a society shares the competence of at least two languages. The individual multilingualism or plurilingualism on the contrary refers to the knowledge of at least two languages of a single

individual (Fortanet-Gómez et al., 2021, p. 33). Societal multilingualism should not be confused with official multilingualism. This differentiation is of special importance to this work while referring to the context of Belgium, which is an officially multilingual state. When addressing bilingualism, it is important to differentiate between official bilingualism and individual bilingualism. Official bilingualism means, that a state's principal institutions must offer their services in both official languages. It does not mean that all inhabitants are bilingual and thereby it is possible that most inhabitants of an official bilingual country might be unilingual. Thus, official bilingualism describes a characteristic of a state, but not of its inhabitants (Hambye & Richards, 2012, pp. 167–168).

This distinction is of particular relevance for the present work. The choice of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and Berlin as locations was also based on the assumption that the countries might have developed different approaches to multilingual education, as Belgium as a multilingual state might be more experienced in this field than Germany which has a long tradition of monolingual teaching (Gogolin, 2008). However, this assumption did not prove to be correct in the course of the work. Hambye and Richards (2012, p. 167) use Belgium and Canada as case studies to exemplify that contrary to what might seem obvious, official multilingualism does not necessarily correlate with a valuation of multilingualism. Indeed, a view of multilingualism as *parallel monolingualism* has turned out to be more accurate to describe the situation in the Belgian context.

## 2.2 Mother tongue, first language and second language

There is a great variety of terms for what is vernacularly most often referred to as *mother tongue*, including *native language*, *heritage language*, *family language*, *first language* among others. Yet none of these terms seems to carry the same apparent self-evidence as the term *mother tongue* (Schmidt, 2022, p. 1). However, this term proves to be highly contentious, and attempts have been made to avoid its use in the context of bilingualism. Often, *mother tongue* is equated with the language in which an individual demonstrates the highest proficiency, typically assumed to be the language acquired first. This assumption, however, does not account for the complexities of bilingualism. Bilingual individuals may exhibit balanced competence in both languages or, conversely, may exhibit greater proficiency in a language acquired later in life, challenging the notion that the first language learned is necessarily the one they master the best (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986, p. 35).

Further controversy arises from the metaphors of kinship and nativity that underpin the term *mother tongue* and other above mentioned terms (Bonfiglio, 2010, p. 1). These metaphors have a naturalising effect on language by suggesting that it is inherited from the mother, akin to being transmitted by lactation (Bonfiglio, 2010, pp. 72–73). They also ethnicise language by framing it as the language of a particular ethnic group from which an individual descends, and

nationalise language by reinforcing the notion of a natural unity between language and nation, as encapsulated in the idea "Muttersprache und Vaterland" (mother tongue and fatherland) (Bonfiglio, 2010, pp. 33–34; Schmidt, 2022, p. 1). The implementation of such biological metaphors has tangible impacts on language users up to present days (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, p. 25). The term *mother tongue* is inextricably linked to the notion of the nation-state, including the homogenisation of languages, language competences and language relations. This is evidenced by the projection of the conception of the nation state as a monolingual society to the level of the individual, whereby their linguistic resources are considered to be analogous to those of the national language (Schmidt, 2022, pp. 2–3).

An alternative term to *mother tongue* that is often employed in the context of multilingualism is the term first language, also abbreviated as L1. It is often accompanied by the term second language or L2, referring to the acquisition of a language other than one's first language. These are the terms used in this thesis. The choice of these terms is not based on their suitability, but rather on the recognition of a dearth of neutral terms that would adequately represent the subject matter of this work. As these terms are not free from criticism they are reflected here. Sharing my personal perspective, I have always been unable to identify with the concept of a first language. Since I was raised in three languages, I consider myself to have three first languages, namely German, Spanish and Basque, even though the proficiency across those languages is not balanced. My personal experience illustrates the first point of criticism of these terms. Languages are not as easy to count as they appear (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, p. 2). Furthermore, it becomes evident that this counting method also assumes a monolingual norm, according to which individuals have a first language to which a second language can be added. Even though this work employs the terms L1 and L2, this is only done to clarify that with L1 it is referred to the children's "mother tongues" and with L2 the language of instruction they are learning in school, in this case either French or German. A separation into L1 and L2 is however simplistic because children can have several first languages or already can have acquired a second language before they start to learn German or French. The separation into L1 and L2 is only employed to clarify which language is being discussed. However, this work clearly distances itself from the notion of an additive bilingualism based on the assumption of separate language systems. The absence of suitable terminology to accurately convey certain concepts, coupled with the necessity to clarify these terms and distance from their inherent meanings, underscores the challenge of navigating language. Paradoxically, the very use of the terms L1 and L2 perpetuate the ideologies I seek to critique, highlighting the pervasive influence of these ideologies (García & Wei, 2014, p. 55). The term *mother tongue* exemplifies this dynamic, as it is deeply intertwined with the historical formation of nation-states. The ways nation-state

ideology has shaped traditional notions of monolingualism and bilingualism is discussed into more detail in the next section.

## 3 The emergence of European nation-states and language ideologies

*Figure 1: Homogenisation of language and nation-state*

**Language Relations** ═════════ **Language** ═════════ **Language Competences**

Conception:
The nation-state as a linguistically homogeneous territory

Conception:
Individual languages as reified, homogeneous entities (countable and differentiable, uniform and pure)

Conception:
Homogenising equation of an individual's linguistic resources with the resources of a single language

**1 Country = 1 Language**

**Language X = Standard variety of X**

**1 Person = 1 Language**

Ethnicisation / Naturalisation
(Nation as Horizon)

**1 Nation (1 Country = 1 People = 1 Culture) = 1 Language**

*Source 1: (Schmidt, 2022, p. 3)[1]*

As already explained, the idea behind the term *mother tongue* implies a homogenisation of language relations, language and language competences. Figure 1 illustrates the idea that the nation-state constitutes a linguistically homogeneous entity. Language itself is also perceived as homogeneous, in the sense of being countable, differentiable, uniform and pure. This perspective extends to a homogenising assumption that an individual's linguistic repertoire aligns entirely with the structure of a single language. Consequently, individuals are seen as speaking only one language, namely the national language. Rooted in biologising, ethnicising, and nationalising ideologies, this construct fosters the conclusion that a nation comprises one country, one ethnic group with a shared culture, and one single common language (Schmidt, 2022, pp. 1–3).

This is also the case of the two countries which are subject to this thesis. In the German context a major reference in this field is the work of Gogolin (2008) on the emergence of what she calls the *monolingual habitus*. Although Belgium is a multilingual country today, historically it has

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[1] Own translation

been characterised by a similar process of territorial separation of languages which led to the development of a *parallel monolingualism*.

**3.1 The emergence of the monolingual habitus in Germany**

Germany does not explicitly declare an official language in its constitution or other legal regulations. Nonetheless, German is the only language used in public institutions, including the education system. Thus, German institutions effectively follow a monolingual structure (Vogel, 2023, p. 1). Although societies become increasingly multilingual due to migration, public institutions, including schools, continue to operate as if their members were monolingual (Thoma & Knappik, 2015, p. 9). This normalised assumption of monolingualism within schools has been conceptualised as the *monolingual habitus* by Gogolin (2008).

Educational institutions in Germany are shaped by a structurally rooted monolingual self-concept that must be overcome in multilingual contexts. The idea of the *monolingual habitus* builds on Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus*, understood as a system of dispositions that shape an individual's perceptions, actions and thoughts. The *habitus* is formed through life-long socialisation and experiences. It is both a product of objective structures and simultaneously, shapes an individual's practices that regenerate the very same structures. Conceptualising teachers' monolingual orientations as practices informed by a professional habitus provides a perspective through which to understand the complexities and contradictions in their professional actions (Gogolin, 2008, pp. 30–32).

Gogolin (2011, p. 242) traces the emergence of the *monolingual habitus* back to the ideologies of European nation-states. Since the late 18$^{th}$ century, the unity of language and state was promoted, leading to the establishment of monolingualism within nation-states or their sub-regions. In Germany, this process was closely tied to the development of a public school system at the beginning of the 19$^{th}$ century, which redefined the role of the German language in education. Until then, there was a predominant belief that education could not take place in a language that is used in everyday life. Therefore, Greek, Latin and sometimes French were employed as a mode of instruction (Gogolin, 2021, pp. 298–299).

Gogolin (2021, p. 299) divides this discussion on the role of the German language in education into two periods. The first period is labelled *Vormärz* and describes the time between the Vienna Congress in 1815 and the March revolution in 1848. In this period, the use of the German language should allow for access to education for every society member. The German language was therefore redefined as a medium of knowledge acquisition and served as a basis for participation in society. In the second half of the 19th century nationalistic reasons moved to the fore, especially after the foundation of the Empire in 1871. The idea of the German national language was naturalised, as something acquired by birth on German territory. The

education system would thus ground on predisposed language skills of the children (Gogolin, 2021, p. 300). During this period, the functional role of language as a tool for communication and participation was substituted by its role as an expression to allegiance to "Emperor, People and Fatherland" (Gogolin, 2011, p. 241).

There has been much evidence that contemporary ideas on language use in schools ground on these historically built ideologies of monolingualism (Göppert, 2018, pp. 142–143; Tark, 2024, p. 192; Thoma & Knappik, 2015, p. 9). It is precisely the neglect of the historical construction and naturalisation of these underlying ideas that Gogolin calls a *monolingual habitus*. According to this, contemporary German schools continue to build on the notion that children naturally predispose skills in the national language, so that the education system can resort to these. Another persistent belief is that the national language should be the medium through which teaching is imparted. However, the validity of these myths needs to be reconsidered in light of today's linguistic composition in German schools (Gogolin, 2021, p. 300). The continuity of a *monolingual habitus* in face of growing linguistic diversity generates tensions within schools (Tark, 2024, p. 192). The refusal of normalising multilingualism disadvantages students, restricting their ability to unfold their entire language potential (Gogolin, 2011, p. 243).

### 3.2 Multilingualism as parallel monolingualism in Belgium

Multilingualism is a longstanding topic of debates in Belgium (Hambye & Richards, 2012, p. 166). Although Belgium nowadays is an officially multilingual country, the Belgian case aligns with broader European patterns in which the ideology of "one nation, one language" became central to nation-state building in the 19th century (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, pp. 229, 232).

In 1830, when Belgium was founded, freedom of language choice was anchored in the constitution, however, in practice, French largely replaced Dutch and became the dominant language in administration and education due to its higher prestige (Van Der Wildt et al., 2017, pp. 872–873; Vogl & Hüning, 2010, pp. 236–237). This took place within a broader European context in which nation-state ideologies emerged that strove to establish linguistic and cultural uniformity as a state characteristic (Blommaert, 2011, p. 244). At the same time, minority language movements as the Flemish movement in Belgium emerged. These movements were also shaped by prevalent ideologies of linguistic and cultural homogeneity within a territory (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 233). As a result of sub-state nation building processes, the dominance of French started to be challenged by Flemish, leading to a gradual enforcement of Dutch as an official language in Flanders (Van Der Wildt et al., 2017, pp. 872–873).

With the establishment of the language frontier in 1936, Belgium was officially and administratively divided into regions according to the majority language, namely Dutch-speaking Flanders and French-speaking Wallonia, which also included the German-speaking

minority. This turned Brussels into the only officially bilingual region of Belgium. The language frontier marked a shift away from Enlightenment ideals of a multilingual state with equal language rights towards an ethnic-territorial conception of language (Blommaert, 2011, pp. 246–247). This "territoriality principle", meaning that territories are assigned specific languages, still characterises Belgium's language policy until present days. In 1993 Belgium became a Federal State structured along two types of federal entities, namely the three Regions (Walloon Region, Flemish Region and Brussels Capital Region) and three language-based Communities (French, Flemish and German-speaking) (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, pp. 229–230). While the region of Flanders coincides with the Flemish community, Wallonia compiles both the French and the German-speaking community. Brussels remains as an officially bilingual region (Blommaert, 2011, p. 241). As explained, official bilingualism means, that a state's principal institutions must offer their services in both official languages. It does not necessarily overlap with individual bilingualism (Hambye & Richards, 2012, p. 168). In Brussels, the need to guarantee access to public services in citizen's first languages has led to the establishment of "parallel monolingual networks", such as monolingual Dutch and monolingual French schools (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 230). The establishment of such monolingual sub-states has led to a denial of bilingualism in Belgium or to a situation that Heller (2006, p. 5) describes as *parallel bilingualism* (Blommaert, 2011, pp. 247–250).

Nevertheless, Belgium accounts for a new form multilingualism, which is linked to migration. While the use of English is perceived in a positive way, less prestigious languages tend to be problematised and lack public recognition (Blommaert, 2011, pp. 250–251). According to Blommaert (2011, p. 252) the continuity of a monolingual ideal denies diversity, to the detriment of minorities. This is also reflected in the education system, which, as a key institution of nation-states, plays a central role in reproducing language ideologies. Schools have adopted a "protectionist" role aimed at maintaining and promoting a community's vernacular language. In this context, the presence of multilingualism creates tensions as it challenges the school's function as a guardian of a community's language (Hambye & Richards, 2012, p. 167; Van Der Wildt et al., 2017, p. 868). Migration-induced multilingualism is rarely seen as an enrichment but tends to be evaluated as a challenge in the context of a traditional view of multilingualism that foresees that languages can be clearly separated, like nation-states. Deviations from such an ideal of a *parallel monolingualism* are often viewed through a deficit lens, framing individuals as *semi-lingual* rather than recognising their plurilingual resources. This deficit-oriented perspective places the responsibility for linguistic integration on pupils themselves blaming their linguistic and cultural background for their failure to integrate into the school system. Conversely, it is not considered that it could be the school's task to adapt to the linguistic and cultural realities of its student body (Hambye & Richards, 2012, pp. 175–177).

# 4 Questioning traditional views on language and bilingualism

The cases of Germany and Belgium demonstrate that nation-state ideologies have deeply influenced the school system. Historically, schools have served as key institutions in promoting national unity through linguistic homogenisation, with lasting effects on how multilingualism is approached to this day. Educational approaches still tend to treat bilingualism as dual or as additive, meaning as two separate language systems that must be kept apart (García & Wei, 2014, pp. 12, 51).

Such notions of additive bilingualism or multilingualism are directly linked to the notion of monolingualism, as they are based on a perspective that understands languages as entities. While monolingualism refers to a single entity, in additive bilingualism or multilingualism merely the number of entities increases while the underlying idea remains the same. This leads to a situation where multilingualism is nothing else than a pluralisation of monolingualism, also referred to as *parallel monolingualism* (Heller, 2006, p. 5; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, pp. 28–29). These ideologies extend into language education, as is evidenced by the notion of *second language acquisition*, which reflects strategies of enumeration and separation in the sense of a monolingual pluralisation (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, p. 36). The normalisation of such a language conception leads to the neglection or stigmatisation of multilingualism (Schmidt, 2022, p. 3). Such a homogenised notion of *mother tongue* and national language and the resulting conception of bilingualism as dual becomes particularly detrimental when it informs pedagogical approaches. This is evident in the persistence of "myths" surrounding multilingualism and a deficit-oriented perspective on multilingualism (García & Wei, 2014, p. 12; Schmidt, 2022, p. 9). This leads Makoni and Pennycook (2006, p. 36) to raise the question "what would language education look like if we no longer posited the existence of separate languages?" This question points out the necessity of a broader epistemological shift. It calls into question the very foundations of language ideologies shaped by colonial and nation-state paradigms.

However, nation-state and colonial language ideologies have not remained uncontested. They have faced growing critique, which aims to uncover subaltern knowledge (García & Wei, 2014, p. 9). This not only involves uncovering historical processes behind the construction of language ideologies, but also their reconstruction. This requires rethinking views on languages and their relation to identity and geographical spaces, moving beyond traditional notions of linguistics territorialisation that tie language to geographic locations. The intention is thus to understand the real effects that historical processes have had up to today and to rethink

language according to contemporary conditions. This is indeed necessary since the alleged language related problematic and the promoted linguistic solution all too often do not fit together (Karakayalı et al., 2017b, pp. 224–225; Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, p. 3). This discrepancy is also evident within educational institutions, where ideologies that uphold linguistic homogeneity as the normative standard clash with the linguistic diversity encountered among the students (Gogolin, 2011, pp. 239–240).

The rise of post-structuralism has further prompted a shift towards conceptualising language as social practices and actions performed by speakers that are inextricably located within social and cognitive relations (García & Wei, 2014, p. 9). This aligns with Baetens Beardsmore (1986, p. 3) stating that most theories focus on how a single language functions in a speaker's mind, emphasising linguistic structure while downplaying the importance of language use. He advocates for a theoretical approach to bilingualism that adopts a broader and more comprehensive perspective on speech behaviour, extending beyond a sole focus on structure. This necessitates a reorientation of the study of bilingualism from a focus on autonomous linguistic structures to an emphasis on practices (Heller, 2007, p. 15). Hard-science linguistics go a step further in that they advocate for a linguistic study free of concepts of language, focusing instead on people's linguistic properties. In this sense, linguistics become a scientific study centred on human interaction rather than language itself, emphasising the ways people communicate over the mere study of language (Yngve, 2004, p. 28). Makoni & Pennycook (2006, p. 31) further explain that analytical categories focused on language are a colonial approach, whereas pre-colonial categories rather focused on communication or social activities. Building on this, they argue that an approach that is inspired by a pre-colonial perspective, considers communication over language itself. These conceptual shifts pave the way for alternative approaches that prioritise the study of speaker practices over the study of language systems. One such approach is *translanguaging*.

## 5 Translanguaging

This chapter introduces the *translanguaging* approach according to García and Wei (2014).
In order to describe the meaning of the term translanguaging, I will divide it into its two components *trans* and *languaging*. The reflexions outlined in the previous chapter, which advocate for a shift from a structure-oriented to a speaker-oriented perspective in linguistics point to the consideration of *languaging* rather than language. The term *languaging* is used to emphasise the intrinsic relationship between human interactions and languages. The term is thus not restricted to the mastery or acquisition of a certain language code. Instead, it highlights the significance of interactions and cultural practices that shape the ways individuals engage with the world, as well as how their interactions influence the contexts surrounding them.

*Languaging* is thus comprehended as being embedded in systems of power. Therefore, *languaging* provides a term to describe the continuous process that is constantly created through people´s linguistic interactions with their surroundings. In sociolinguistics the term *languaging* has often been employed to describe the language practices of individuals while highlighting their agency in a continuous and interactive meaning-making process (García & Wei, 2014, p. 9). *Languaging* therefore describes a notion of language as a discursive practice or activity rather than a system of rules and structures (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 389).

*Translanguaging*, therefore, conceptualises language as a form of human interaction or activity rather than a fixed structure, in the same way as *languaging*. By focusing on language as an action, the understanding of how individuals use it, shifts. It highlights the agency of individuals, emphasising their creative and critical engagement with linguistic resources to acquire knowledge, make sense, and express themselves (García & Wei, 2014, pp. 9–10). In this sense, translanguaging is

> an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable. These worldwide translanguaging practices are seen here not as marked or unusual, but rather taken for what they are, namely the normal mode of communication that, with some exceptions in some monolingual enclaves, characterizes communities throughout the world. (García, 2009, p. 44)

In this way *languaging* and *translanguaging* distance themselves from a colonial approach that focuses on language and align with a pre-colonial approach rather focused on communication or social activities (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006, p. 31). Translanguaging further challenges the power asymmetries created by nationalist language ideology, as it allows for the creation of alternative representations and expressions that withstand the historical and cultural stances of monolingualism or additive bilingualism (García & Wei, 2014, p. 43).

However, García and Wei (2014, pp. 17) argue that a new term other than *languaging* is necessary to address complex multilingual situations. Therefore, they propose the term *translanguaging*. They relate the prefix *trans* to Ortiz' concept of *transculturación*. It captures a complex dynamic process of cultural transformation leading to the creation of an entirely new phenomenon in its own right (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 389; García & Wei, 2014, p. 21). In this sense,

> translanguaging does not refer to two separate languages nor to a synthesis of different language practices or to a hybrid mixture. Rather translanguaging refers to new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories, and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states. (García & Wei, 2014, p. 21)

As becomes evident in this quote, *translanguaging* does not simply aim at dismissing traditional views of bilingualism that see languages as autonomous and pure but insists on transforming these conceptions (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 389; García & Wei, 2014, p. 17). A fundamental aspect of this is an understanding of dynamic bilingualism as opposed to bilingualism consisting of two autonomous systems.

## 5.1 Dynamic Bilingualism

A conceptualisation of bilingualism as dynamic goes beyond an understanding of two autonomous language systems as it assumes one single linguistic repertoire (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 388; García & Wei, 2014, pp. 13–14).

*Figure 2: Difference between traditional bilingualism and dynamic bilingualism*



Traditional bilingualism:
Two autonomous linguistic systems

> L1
> F1, F1, F1, F1, F1, F1

> L2
> F2, F2, F2, F2, F2, F2

Dynamic bilingualism:
Translanguaging

> FnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFnFn

*L = Linguistic system F = Linguistic feature
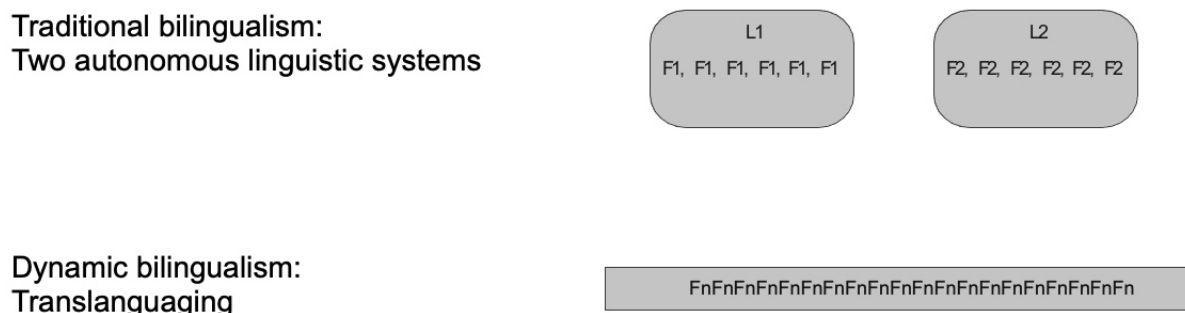
*Source 2: (García & Wei, 2014, p. 14)[2]*

The figure illustrates traditional bilingualism by two separated rectangles, representing each one autonomous linguistic system containing features from the corresponding language. The dynamic bilingual model, on the contrary, relies on a single linguistic system, represented as one single rectangle in Figure 2 which integrates all features (Fn) (García & Wei, 2014, p. 15). A metaphor that is useful to understand dynamic bilingualism is that bilinguals should not be viewed as the sum of two monolinguals within one person, which is the case in traditional bilingualism (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 387; Gorter & Cenoz, 2017, p. 245). Therefore, dynamic bilingualism can be understood as a resource that speakers draw upon in response to specific social and historical contexts, enabling them to creatively adhere to existing linguistic conventions or challenge them creating new ones (Heller, 2007, p. 15; Wei, 2011, p. 1223).

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[2] Own adaptation

The concept of dynamic bilingualism is also highly relevant for the language acquisition processes, meaning for people that are on their way to become bilinguals, referred to as emergent bilinguals in this work. This is because becoming bilingual then is not understood as a mere acquisition of linguistic forms but as a continuous adaptation of the linguistic resource to the affordances of a communicative situation in order to make meaning (García & Wei, 2014, p. 16).

### 5.2 Towards a Translanguaging Approach in Education

There has been much evidence that teachers and pupils make use of more than one language to teach and learn (Hilt, 2017, p. 597; Lewis et al., 2012a, p. 666; Macaro, 2005, pp. 67, 69). A *translanguaging* approach in education builds upon these existing multilingual practices by deliberately encouraging students to use their whole linguistic repertoire, thereby challenging conceptualisations of languages as separate entities (García & Wei, 2014, p. 69).

*Translanguaging* in educational settings can be initiated both by teachers and students. Teacher-led *translanguaging* typically involves planned and structured pedagogical strategies, whereas pupil-led *translanguaging* refers to *translanguaging* practices undertaken by the pupils themselves with the aim of facilitating understanding or making meaning (Lewis et al., 2012a, pp. 665–666). In this way *translanguaging* supports pupils in jointly solving tasks by deepening their understanding and fostering a creative and dynamic process of knowledge construction (Duarte, 2019, p. 162; Lee et al., 2011, p. 312). Concrete forms and functions of teacher-led and pupil-led translanguaging are further examined in the analysis. An important condition for teachers to implement *translanguaging* pedagogies is to take the role of a co-learner alongside their students (García & Wei, 2014, p. 110). In this way, *translanguaging* contributes to a reconfiguration of traditional power dynamics in the classroom by empowering learners to take charge of their own language practices and positioning teachers as facilitators who create learning opportunities for students that optimise *translanguaging* as a learning tool (García & Wei, 2014, p. 93). Before examining the potential of *translanguaging* for supporting newly arrived children in acquiring the language of instruction, the next section provides an overview on how these learners are integrated into the school systems of Berlin and the Wallonia-Brussels-Federation (FWB) through the establishment of specialised preparatory programmes.

## 6 Organisation of education in Belgium and Germany

At the European level, the right to education and access to education is laid down in several legal instruments: Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union (Art. 14), European Social Charter (Art. 17), European Convention on Human Rights (Protocol 1 Art. 2). In addition, children's right to education is also laid down in Article 28 of the UNCRC. To guarantee equal

opportunities the State Parties should provide accessibility to all levels of education and make primary education compulsory (Article 28 1. (a) UNCRC). Article 29 further establishes that education should support the child's development with respect for "his or her own cultural identity, language and values" (Article 29 1. (c) UNCRC).

This section examines the application of these rights for newly arrived children in two contexts, namely in Belgium and Germany. It provides an overview of the organisation of the school systems in the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and Berlin and further explains how newly arrived children are schooled within these systems. Particular attention is paid to the organisational frameworks implemented by the specific schools investigated in this study. Preparatory programmes differ significantly in their organisation from one school to another in both contexts under review. Consequently, the term "preparatory programme" does not inherently reveal how the education of newly arrived children is structured. To elucidate this complexity, it is helpful to categorise the various organisational forms using the models proposed by Massumi et al. (2015). Of the five models identified by the authors, the following four are pertinent to primary education: In the *submersive model* children are integrated directly into mainstream education. While internal differentiation within the mainstream class is possible, it is not a mandatory component of this model. Additional support, including language assistance, may be provided as part of the school's general support measures, depending on the child's performance. The *integrative model* also foresees children's participation in mainstream education. In addition, they receive targeted support in learning the language of instruction. In the *partial integrative model* children attend both a preparatory programme and a mainstream class. The *parallel model* confines children exclusively to a preparatory programme and foresees no participation in mainstream education (Massumi et al., 2015, p. 45). These models have been developed within the German context, however Meunier & Gloesener (2020, pp. 21-24) have proposed a similar categorisation into four models for the Belgian context, justifying its applicability across both contexts.

In the present work preparatory programmes are understood either as the submersive model or the partial integrative model. The integrative model is not considered as such in a strict sense as pupils predominantly participate in mainstream education and receive rather few hours of language support outside their mainstream class. Nevertheless, these models should not be regarded as rigid categories, but more as a continuum with varying degrees of language support and of participation in either mainstream classes or specialised programmes, as is illustrated in the figure below (Massumi et al., 2015, p. 43). The schools included in this study have shown that schools do not adhere to one single model but that several models can be followed at the very same school, contingent on the perceived needs of each child. A detailed overview of how the schools concretely put preparatory programmes into practice is provided

in Tables 2 and 3 in the appendix. This overview underscores the considerable variability in the implementation of preparatory programmes across different schools.

*Figure 3: Organisational models of preparatory programme*



## 6.1 Overview of the Belgian school system

In Belgium the responsibility for education is divided between the federal government and the Communities, granting most responsibility to the community level (European Commission, 2024b). In each community, instruction is provided in the community's official language (European Commission, 2024b; Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 2). Since this thesis only considers the French-speaking Community, this section is limited to the description of the school system of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation (FWB). For the sake of clarity, I limit the description to the primary and secondary levels, considering only regular education pathways and leaving out special educational pathways.

In the FWB education is organised in four educational networks (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 2). These networks are divided into *official education* and *free education*, consisting of two subdivisions each.

*Official education* is non-denominational and is organised by public authorities. It consists of two subdivisions: *official organised* schools which are directly administered by the FWB and *official subsidised* schools which are organised by other authorities such as the provinces, towns, municipalities or the French Community Commission (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, n.d.; Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 3).

*Free education*, on the other hand, is organised by private individuals or organisations, that are recognised by the government and receive funding (European Commission, 2024b; Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 3). There are also two subtypes: *free non-denominational subsidised* schools, which are organised by non-profit organisations and *free denominational subsidised* schools, which are mostly catholic (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 3). In addition to these four educational networks, there is a small number of private schools that are not recognised by the government and therefore do not receive public funding (European Commission, 2024b; Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 3) .

In Belgium the right to education has also been integrated into the constitution (Belgian Constitution, Art. 24, § 3). Children are further subject to compulsory schooling, regardless of their status (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, n.d.). Nevertheless, in practice, undocumented children face several barriers in claiming their right to education. These barriers can be rooted in individual, economic and institutional reasons. In some cases, schools may refuse undocumented children, restricting their access to education and limiting their freedom of school choice (De Clerck et al., 2011).

Compulsory schooling starts in the calendar year in which the child turns 5 and ends with the completion of the school year in which the pupil turns 18 (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, n.d.). The figure visualises how children can complete compulsory schooling in the Wallonia-Brussels-Federation.

*Figure 4: Education System Wallonia-Brussels-Federation*

| Grade | School type | | | | Age |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | | | | (Third Year) | 18 |
| 6 | General Third Stage | Technical Third Stage | Artistic Third Stage | Vocational Third Stage | 17 |
| 5 | | | | | 16 |
| 4 | General Second Stage | Technical Second Stage | Artistic Second Stage | Vocational Second Stage | 15 |
| 3 | | | | | 14 |
| 2 | Secondary School First Stage | | | | 13 |
| 1 | | | | | 12 |
| 6 | Primary School | | | | 11 |
| 5 | | | | | 10 |
| 4 | | | | | 9 |
| 3 | | | | | 8 |
| 2 | | | | | 7 |
| 1 | | | | | 6 |
| 3 | Preschool | | | | 5 |

Since compulsory schooling starts at the age of 5, it starts with pre-school education. Pre-school education is accessible from the ages 2,5 to 6 and is widely attended even though it is not fully compulsory. Primary education comprises the ages 6 to 12 (European Commission, 2024b). At the end of primary education, children undergo an exam, the *Certificat d'Études de Base (CEB)* (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 4). The decision about which school a child attends, is taken by its parents as there is a freedom of school choice (Art. 24 § 1 Belgian Constitution). This principle of parental school choice leads to a significant ethnic and socio-economic segregation within the Belgian school system, as middle class families often try to avoid schools with a high proportion of working class children and pupils with a migrant background (Agirdag et al., 2013, p. 49).

Secondary education comprises the ages 12 to 18. It is composed of three stages, each stage lasting for two grades. There is a common curriculum for the first stage (European Commission, 2024b). If children didn't pass the *CEB* they can retake the exam in the course of a differentiated first stage (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 4).

In the second stage, pupils choose between four different types of education: general, technical, artistic and vocational. These types are divided into two streams: the transition stream and the qualification stream. The transition stream is meant to prepare pupils for higher education but also provides pathways to enter the labour market. The qualification stream aims at preparing pupils to enter the labour market but also provides ways to access higher education. General education is organised in the transition stream, while vocational education is organised in the qualification stream. Technical education and artistic education can be offered in either the transition or qualification stream (European Commission, 2024b).

At the end of the third stage, students undergo a certification test: the *Certificat d'Enseignement Secondaire Supérieur (CESS)* and/or the *Certificat de Qualification (CQ)*. The *CESS* grants access to higher education (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020a, p. 4). In the case of the vocational education type the completion of a third year within the third stage is necessary to obtain the *CESS* (European Commission, 2024b). This multi-tiered system has far-reaching consequences for newly arrived children who struggle to overcome challenges related to their lateral entrance or prior educational experiences. By not showing age-appropriate performance, they are likely advised to follow academically less rigorous tracks making access to higher education more difficult (Damery, 2020; Thomas et al., 2022, p. 7).

## 6.2 Organisation and aims of DASPA classes in Belgium

In Belgium, each community has its own immigration and education policies, meaning that the integration and education of newly arrived children are handled differently in each community. In the French-speaking Community of Belgium, French language classes for newly arrived

children have been offered since the 1980s (Desmée & Cebotari, 2023, p. 1466). Since 2001 there has been a temporary programme to receive newly arrived children. This programme was running under the name *classe-passerelle* until 2012 and has been replaced by the *DASPA* ever since (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020b, p. 19). The reform made the programme accessible to all newly-arrived children, regardless of their language skills and residential status (Desmée & Cebotari, 2023, p. 1466). DASPA is an acronym for "Dispositif d'Accueil et de Scolarisation des élèves Primo-Arrivants et Assimilés" (Reception and Schooling Programme for Newly-Arrived and Assimilated pupils). It is defined as an

> educational structure designed to ensure the reception, schooling and integration of newly-arrived and assimilated pupils into mainstream education from the third year of pre-school onwards, in primary or secondary education aimed at meeting the objectives set out in Article 3.[3] (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 2, 5°)

The goals mentioned in article 3 are (1°) "to ensure the optimal reception, orientation and insertion of newly arrived, assimilated and FLA students into the education system of the French Community, (2°) "to offer academic and pedagogical support adapted to [these] pupils' teaching profiles and linked to difficulties relating to the mastery of the language of instruction and the school culture, in particular by granting lessons of the language of instruction" and (3°) "to offer an intermediate stage of schooling accompanied by gradual integration before their long-term integration into a school year" (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 3). Article 14 summarises these objectives that apply specifically to DASPA as follows: intensive learning of the French language, familiarisation with school culture and preparation of pupils to reach the required level to integrate into their appropriate school year as swiftly as possible. It also refers to the general objectives for primary and secondary education mentioned in Art. 6 of the Décret 24-07-1997 (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 14, § 1).

Children are supposed to stay in DASPA for a period lasting between one week and one year that can be extended for the duration of maximum 6 months. This period can be prolonged for another 6 months in the case of illiterate children (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 13, § 1). The decision to prolong the time in a DASPA as well as to enrol the student in his or her mainstream class is made by an integration council together with the parental authority or with the student if there is no parental authority (Décret 07/02/2019, Art 13, § 2 & § 3). This integration council is chaired by the school principal or their delegate and is further composed by teachers responsible for the grade level corresponding to the pupil's age, a member of the psycho-medico-social centre

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[3] *Own translation;* structure d'enseignement visant l'accueil, la scolarisation et l'intégration des élèves primo-arrivants et assimilés dans l'enseignement ordinaire à partir de la troisième année de l'enseignement maternel, dans l'enseignement primaire ou dans l'enseignement secondaire visant à répondre aux objectifs fixés à l'article 3 (Décret 2019, Art 2, 5°)

responsible for the support of newly-arrived children and eventually a representative of the reception centre responsible for educational support and up to two experts (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 16, § 1). It is foreseen that the children shall gradually integrate into their mainstream classes at the latest after a period of ten months. It can, however, take place at any time. After ten months, children must attend at least six lessons per week in their mainstream class. After twelve months this minimum increases to twelve lessons per week and after eighteen months it rises to eighteen lessons a week (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 15).

Before entering the DASPA programme, children undergo a language proficiency test. Based on the results, they may be placed in different levels, such as literacy, beginner, intermediate, or advanced, if such distinctions are available at the school. Over time, children can move up or down levels depending on their progress in French. This classification based on language skills often results in a wide range of ages within a single DASPA class. Furthermore, the curriculum of the DASPA classes is developed at the school level (Desmée & Cebotari, 2023, pp. 1466-1467).

The decree from 2019 outlines three pathways for acquiring the qualifications needed to teach in DASPA. The first option is to hold a diploma or certificate obtained through initial or continuing education. The second involves completing coordinated professional development courses, totalling at least eight half-days. The third is to possess certified experience in DASPA programmes (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 23, §1 & §2). Due to the plurality of options, teachers involved in the DASPA programme are not necessarily required to undergo additional training (Desmée & Cebotari, 2023, pp. 1467).

### 6.3 Overview of the German school system

In Germany the responsibility for the education system is shared between the Federation and the Federal States. According to the Basic Law, the Federation has legislative powers only where explicitly specified. In all other cases, the Federal States retain the authority to legislate. Therefore, education is predominantly administered by the Federal States (European Commission, 2024a). As the empirical part of this work only considers schools located in Berlin, I limit the description of the education system to the one of the Federal State of Berlin.

In Berlin there is a compulsory schooling period of ten years, which is fulfilled by attending a primary school and then attending a secondary general school (§ 42, Section 4 Sentence 1 SchulG Berlin). Since the school year 2024/25, an 11th compulsory school year (11. Pflichtschuljahr) has been introduced to enable a successful transition to vocational qualification after the tenth grade (SenBJF, 2024a, p. 25). Compulsory schooling begins for children in the school year in which they reach the age of six by 30 September at the latest (§ 42, Section 1, Sentence 1 SchulG Berlin). Compulsory schooling in Berlin also applies in part

to children and adolescents who do not have a residence permit in Germany, namely if they have requested asylum or if they have obtained a toleration[4] (§ 41, Section 2 SchulG Berlin). Children and adolescents who are required to leave the country are not subject to compulsory schooling but have a right to education (§ 2 SchulG Berlin; SenBJF, 2023, p. 2). Therefore, according to the *Guideline for the integration of newly arrived children and adolescents into school*, they can attend school "voluntarily and under the same conditions as school-age children and adolescents" (SenBJF, 2023, p. 2). The guideline further refers to § 87, Section 1 and 2 AufenthG, according to which schools are not obliged to inform the immigration office if they become aware of a person without a residence permit (SenBJF, 2023, p. 3). This has in fact only been the case since November 2011, when an amendment was made to the aforementioned paragraph and schools and other educational institutions were explicitly exempted from the obligation to report people without a residence permit, to which other public bodies remain subject (Funck et al., 2015, p. 10). As a result, de jure, undocumented children can attend school without having to fear that their residence status will be reported to the immigration office. De facto, however, several barriers remain that make it difficult for undocumented children to attend school. The study of Funck et al (2015, p. 12) has shown that parents might not always be aware of the right to education or that they might fear being detected. This is a well-founded concern, since many schools were not aware of the right to education and some also weren't informed about the exemption from the duty of disclosure and consequently assumed that they would need to inform the police if an undocumented child would be enrolled (Funck et al., 2015, p. 5).

In the following I offer a description of how children fulfil their compulsory schooling in the federal state of Berlin. I limit this description to the primary and secondary levels, considering only general education pathways and leaving out special educational and vocational pathways. Following these containments, the school system of Berlin can be represented as shown in the following chart.

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[4] A toleration (Duldung), is a temporary suspension of deportation for factual or legal reasons and does therefore not constitute a residence permit (§ 60a, Section 2 AufenthG).

| Grade | School Type | | | Age |
|:---:|:---:|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| 13 | | Integrated Secondary School | Common School | 18 |
| 12 | Grammar School | Integrated Secondary School | Common School | 17 |
| 11 | Grammar School | Integrated Secondary School | Common School | 16 |
| 10 | Grammar School | Integrated Secondary School | Common School | 15 |
| 9 | Grammar School | Integrated Secondary School | Common School | 14 |
| 8 | Grammar School | Integrated Secondary School | Common School | 13 |
| 7 | Grammar School | Integrated Secondary School | Common School | 12 |
| 6 | Primary School | | Common School | 11 |
| 5 | Primary School | | Common School | 10 |
| 4 | Primary School | | Common School | 9 |
| 3 | Primary School | | Common School | 8 |
| 2 | Primary School | | Common School | 7 |
| 1 | Primary School | | Common School | 6 |

The primary level comprises grades 1-6 and is usually attended as part of primary school (SenBJF, 2024a, p. 30). For this reason, Berlin was chosen for observation in the German context. With the exception of Brandenburg, primary education in the other federal states covers only grades 1-4 (European Commission, 2024a; KMK & EURYDICE, 2023). As primary schools in Belgium also cover grades 1-6, the federal state of Berlin offers better comparability in this case. However, in Berlin there is also the possibility to leave primary school after the fourth grade and to attend the fifth and sixth grade at a secondary school if the child demonstrates adequate ability and aptitude (SenBJF, 2024a, pp. 20, 30). The primary school a child attends is usually determined by the area in which it lives (§ 55a, Section 1 SchulG).

Children who are signed up for a preparatory programme are assigned to their schools on decision of the school authority (Berliner Familienportal, n.d.).

At the end of primary school, pupils move on to secondary level 1 (Sekundarstufe 1). The custodians are free to choose between different types of school (§ 56, Section 1, Sentence 1 SchulG Berlin). However, attendance at grammar school (Gymnasium) is only possible with a recommendation from the primary school based on the child's academic performance. Without this recommendation a child can only attend grammar school by approving its aptitude through a trial lesson (§ 56, Section 3 SchulG Berlin). Otherwise, it is only possible to attend the integrated secondary school (ISS) or the common school (Gemeinschaftsschule)[5] (SenBJF, 2024a, p. 6). There they can obtain all school-leaving certificates (SenBJF, 2024b). Students can achieve the vocational training entrance qualifications *Berufsbildungsreife (BBR)* after grade nine or ten and *erweiterte Berufsbildungsreife (eBBR)* after grade ten. After grade ten they may also achieve the *Mittlere Schulabschluss (MSA)*. With the *MSA* and the necessary authorisation, students are eligible to transfer to upper secondary school (gymnasiale Obersufe) (SenBJF, 2024a, pp. 25, 29). Then they can aim to obtain the *Allgemeine Hochschulreife* which is the general higher education entrance qualification and can be obtained after two years at grammar school and after three years at the ISS or the common school (SenBJF, 2024a, p. 28).

There is a special requirement for pupils transiting from a preparatory programme to secondary education. Pupils who attain German language proficiency at the A2/B1 level (CEFR) are advised to enrol in an integrated secondary school or a common school. However, if a student demonstrates strong academic performance alongside B1 level proficiency across all linguistic subskills, enrolment at a grammar school is possible after passing an aptitude test by attending a trial lesson (SenBJF, 2025, p. 1). Children who wish to transfer from a regular class to a grammar school only need to take an aptitude test if they have not received a recommendation to attend grammar school  (SenBJF, 2024a, p. 8). How schooling for newly arrived children and adolescents is managed within the outlined education system is subject of the next section.

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[5] The Gemeinschaftsschule was set up as a pilot project in the 2008/2009 school year and is an integral part of Berlin's school system since 2018. It is a type of school that covers all school levels, from first to tenth or even thirteenth grade, and leads to all school-leaving certificates. It was set up with the aim of "creating more equal and fair opportunities through longer joint learning and optimal support of the individual abilities and skills of all pupils" (SenBJF, 2024b).

**6.4 Organisation and aims of Willkommensklassen in Germany**

In Germany the Federal States have developed different models to teach newly arrived children and to support them in the acquisition of the language of instruction. There is a basic distinction between a direct integration into mainstream classes and preparatory programmes, which in Berlin are known under the name *Willkommensklasse* (welcoming class) (Göppert, 2018, p. 133). The conditions for schooling newly arrived children and youth in Berlin are defined in the guideline *Leitfaden zur Integration von neu zugewanderten Kindern und Jugendlichen in die Schule*, provided by the Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Familie (SenBJF).

As far as the form of schooling is concerned, this guideline differentiates two types of schooling which are called *Direktintegration* and *Willkommensklassen*.

The *Direktintegration* forsees that children are directly integrated into mainstream classes. According to the guideline, this is possible in all grades of general education, especially if the students have received a good previous education. Decisions on admission are made by the school in consultation with the custodians, the coordination centre and the school authority. If the children are directly integrated into mainstream classes, they receive additional German language support in small groups. The extent of this support depends on the pupils' language skills (SenBJF, 2023, p. 13). This corresponds to the *integrative model* described by Massumi et al. (2015, p. 45).

On the other hand, since the schooling year 2011/12 there is the model of the *Willkommensklassen*, which are defined as

> special learning groups in accordance with § 15 Section 2 SchulG, in which pupils are prepared for the transition to mainstream classes who have so little command of the German language that they cannot follow the lessons in a mainstream class sufficiently.[6] (SenBJF, 2023, p. 4)

This definition already indicates one of the aims of *Willkommensklassen*, namely, to prepare pupils for the transition to their mainstream classes. This aim is closely linked to another central objective which is to acquire the German (written) language as a prerequisite for a successful participation in mainstream education (Fürstenau, 2017, p. 42; Göppert, 2018, p. 134; SenBJF, 2023, p. 14).

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[6] *Own translation*; besondere Lerngruppen gemäß § 15 Absatz 2 SchulG, in denen Schülerinnen und Schüler auf den Übergang in Regelklassen vorbereitet werden, die die deutsche Sprache so wenig beherrschen, dass sie dem Unterricht in einer Regelklasse nicht ausreichend folgen können. (SenBJF, 2023, p. 4).

The transition to the mainstream class should take place as early as possible and is therefore possible at any time. Children should stay in the *Willkommensklasse* for a maximum of one year. An extension for a further year is possible on application. Children who need alphabetisation are generally taught in a *Willkommensklasse* for at least 2 years. The decisive factor for the transition to the mainstream class is whether the pupils are able to successfully participate in regular lessons. Therefore, in primary schools German language skills corresponding to an A2 level in all sub-skills are recommended (SenBJF, 2023, p. 28). However, no general standards have been formulated that need to be met to transit into a mainstream class. It is mostly the teachers themselves that decide when a child is ready to join the mainstream. This is often decided by self-designed evaluation tests. Since there are no overall regulations when a child has to be offered the possibility to transit into a mainstream class, there is also no possibility for the parents to sue for it (Karakayalı et al., 2017a, pp. 252–253, 2017b, p. 230).

Nevertheless, it is recommended that students be (partially) integrated into the mainstream class from the very beginning. Subjects that are less reliant on language, such as physical education, music, and art, are particularly well-suited for this purpose. Considering the pupils' subject-specific knowledge and their increasing proficiency in German, their participation in additional subjects within the mainstream class should be gradually expanded  (SenBJF, 2023, p. 14). However, according to the guideline of the Senatsverwaltung, children do not automatically get the right to be part of a mainstream class at the same school where they visited a *Willkommensklasse*. There are schools who exclude the possibility of transition to a mainstream class right from the beginning (Göppert, 2018, p. 135; Karakayalı et al., 2017a, p. 252; SenBJF, 2023, p. 82). This can be the case of overcrowded mainstream classes where a transition to mainstream teaching is only possible by changing the school (Fürstenau, 2017, p. 46). It is thus pertinent to question whether, in such circumstances, it is truly feasible to categorise newly arrived children and mainstream pupils as being on equal terms, as outlined in the aforementioned guideline (see SenBJF, 2023, p. 82).

As far as the organisation is concerned, *Willkommensklassen* are set up for the period of one schooling year in close consultation between school authority and the school inspectorate. There is a guideline frequency of 12 pupils per *Willkommensklasse* in general education (SenBJF, 2023, p. 4). According to the guideline, first and second grade students are usually directly integrated into mainstream classes. From the third grade onwards, they can be schooled in *Willkommensklassen* (SenBJF, 2023, p. 3). Within a *Willkommensklasse* students from different ages are schooled together. If a school has several *Willkommensklassen*, these are organised according to different language levels. Differentiation according to age can also

be useful (SenBJF, 2023, p. 14). The mentioned guideline describes some framework conditions for teaching in *Willkommensklassen* but allows for a high level of flexibility in its implementation. For this reason, schooling of newly arrived children is handled differently from school to school. This also applies for the contents of the classes since there is no foreseen curriculum. It remains unclear what exactly the children are supposed to learn, how and with which material. Teaching contents are therefore determined by the teacher (Göppert, 2018, p. 135; Karakayalı et al., 2017a, pp. 250–251, 2017b, p. 229). Among the principles to teach newly arrived children that are set out in the guideline, one is of particular interest for this work. It emphasises the importance of valuing multilingualism. Therefore, it highlights that incorporating students' first languages and previously learned foreign languages into teaching strategies can positively impact their acquisition of German. Recognising and appreciating students' first languages not only enhances their motivation to learn but also facilitates the clarification of linguistic phenomena through language comparison. While students should have opportunities to use their first languages, it is established that the communication in the classroom should predominantly occur in German (SenBJF, 2023, p. 10).

**6.5 Discussion on measures of separate schooling of newly arrived children**

The empirical examples demonstrate the feasibility of a range of models in the schooling of newly arrived children. This encompasses not only direct integration and separate schooling, but also a wider continuum between these two extremes or their combination. This assertion is further substantiated by the modest number of schools analysed in this study. It is therefore of utmost importance to delineate with precision how the preparatory programmes of concern are organised. In this regard, the models proposed by Massumi et al. (2015) offer a valuable framework for further precision. The provision of detailed data on organisational choices of preparatory programmes are of central importance when it comes to detect processes of inclusion and exclusion of newly arrived children within a specific educational context (Kemper et al., 2022, p. 625).

*Criticism on separated schooling*

It has been shown that in both examined contexts, the officially stated aim of preparatory programmes is to integrate newly arrived students into the mainstream education system and to offer adapted support in the acquisition of the language of instruction (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 2, 5° & Art. 3; SenBJF, 2023, pp. 4 & 14). The separation of pupils from mainstream education may appear contradictory to the objective of fostering their inclusion within the mainstream system. In fact, research has demonstrated that preparatory programmes often simultaneously employ inclusive and exclusionary practices, despite their overarching aim of promoting inclusion (Hilt, 2017, p. 587; Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 224). A closer examination of the interplay of inclusive and exclusionary structures is necessary to evaluate whether

preparatory programmes are a useful measure for the fulfilment of their aims. Therefore, it is important to highlight which organisational model is subject of critique when talking about preparatory programmes.

Preparatory programmes receive much critique on behalf of their separating practices. In particular, the parallel model has been subject to criticism (Kemper et al., 2022, p. 623). The critique of separated schooling for newly arrived children is indeed not a new development. Even prior to the establishment of the *Willkommensklassen*, migrant associations, teachers, and school administrators in Germany voiced significant concerns, arguing that such segregation neither fostered language acquisition nor improved educational prospects, but was nothing more than a discriminatory practice (Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 226).

The pedagogical value of separated schooling warrants critical examination, as immersion in an environment where a specific language is actively used can facilitate unconscious and implicit language learning processes. Teachers observed that children in regular classes with additional German support acquired the language more effectively than those in Willkommensklassen, as the use of German as a lingua franca fostered greater motivation to learn, while German was used less in groups where many pupils share the same first language. This ability is particularly pronounced in younger children, who acquire languages rapidly through peer interaction and participation in classroom activities (Göppert, 2018, pp. 139–140). Therefore, language-based separation seems less reasonable in primary education than at an advanced subject-level characteristic of secondary education (Göppert, 2018, p. 134).

*The continuity of separation*

Separate teaching in preparatory programmes not only makes the conditions for learning the language of instruction more difficult, but also the social integration of the children into the school community. So, if the structure does not serve the children, it could be assumed that it serves to facilitate the organisation of everyday school life (Göppert, 2018, p. 142). Karakayalı et al. (2017b, p. 224) show from an organisational theory perspective that decisions within organisations are guided by overarching institutional interests rather than by individual actors. In response to the complexity of a situation, organisations often develop routines. It is common to fall back on available "solutions" and only then formulate a definition of the problem and seek legitimisation for the "solution". In the context of schools, one such available "solution" to respond to migration is the historical tradition of separate schooling for newly arrived children (Karakayalı et al., 2017b, pp. 224–225).

The principle of separate education according to the differentiating characteristic of German language skills follows a historical tradition of separation according to ethnic and national

affiliation. In Germany, the practice of separate schooling for children of non-German nationality became established in the 1960s with the recruitment of labour forces and the establishment of preparatory classes for children of Turkish origin, even if the practice itself goes back even further. In the 1980s, separate schooling was enshrined and led to the separate education of German and non-German children in districts with a high proportion of migrants. In the so-called "Ausländerregelklassen" (regular classes for foreigners) the children also received lessons in their first language in order to facilitate their possible return and reintegration into a school in their country of origin. Separate schooling was legitimised with the argument that the children could be given targeted support in learning German. However, the model was also justified on the grounds of the narrative that the children had a low level of educational success and that an excessive proportion of newly arrived children could have a negative impact on teaching in mainstream classes. This view reveals a deficient view on newly arrived children. These "Ausländerregelklassen" persisted until 1995 and were abolished after migrant associations criticised the segregation of children. However, the formal abolition did not result in the removal of separate schooling, but merely in the shift of the criterion legitimising separation away from origin towards a perceived language deficit, as the former was no longer justifiable due to anti-discrimination requirements (Fürstenau, 2017, p. 42; Göppert, 2018, p. 144; Karakayalı et al., 2017b, pp. 225–226).

*Language deficit as structural principle*
Using language skills as a criterion for difference reflects a fundamental structural principle of the German school system, namely the creation of homogeneity (Gomolla, 2009, p. 23). This becomes particularly evident through its multi-tiered structure and early selection process based on performance. Consequently, heterogeneity is often perceived as a problem within these educational structures. This idea becomes evident in the organisational principle of preparatory programmes, as they are intended to create homogeneous learning groups. Using language alone as a criterion for difference, however, leads to extremely heterogeneous learning groups (Göppert, 2018, p. 142). Lacking skills of the language of instruction includes children in preparatory programmes while excluding them from mainstream education at the same time, leading to a situation of *including exclusion* (Hilt, 2017, pp. 591–592). It could therefore be argued that the establishment of preparatory programmes should serve to maintain homogeneity in mainstream classes by sorting out what is perceived as "other" (Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 227). This results in the risk of reinforcing what is perceived as the homogeneous norm and consequently also processes of "othering" of what differs from this constructed norm, as exclusion becomes institutionalised (European Commission, 2013, p. 74; Gomolla, 2009, p. 22).

If the disparities between the educational logic and the educational reality, namely between mainstream students and their newly arrived peers are perceived as too significant for integration into regular education, preparatory programmes are regarded as necessary compensatory measures to address the differences of children who deviate from the established norm. In this way, separating newly arrived children with the help of preparatory programmes reflects a deficit-based perspective, suggesting that they must be "resocialised" to be able to participate in mainstream education. This practice of separation further allows mainstream education to avoid processes of self-questioning and of adapting the education system to the migration society (European Commission, 2013, p. 74; Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 226; Kemper et al., 2022, pp. 624–625). The fact that children with little or no proficiency in the language of instruction cannot be taught regularly in a school is not a given characteristic of schools but has to do with how they are constituted. In Germany, this is closely linked to the controlled language homogenisation that took place in schools in the 19th century to foster the creation of a national identity and the resulting establishment of a *monolingual habitus* (Gomolla, 2009, p. 24; Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 227). It can thus be seen as a continuity of a historical development (Kemper et al., 2022, p. 625).

This compensatory measure aligns with an integration discourse often marked by assimilationist ideas, as is also evidenced by the limited recognition of plurilingual approaches. Even though recently there has been a tendency to open up towards pupils' languages and cultures, there has still been evidence that plurilingual and intercultural approaches remain underrepresented in schools. Instead, school-internal language policies have shown a tendency to establish monolingualism in the classrooms and to even prohibit the use of other languages at the school (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020b, p. 20; UNIA, 2018, p. 65). The practice of keeping newly arrived children's first languages apart through the establishment of preparatory programmes is therefore another continuation of the *monolingual habitus* (Göppert, 2018, p. 143).

Given the significant criticism of student segregation, the *parallel model* appears neither to be an adequate nor a non-discriminatory approach to the education of newly arrived children. The prevalence of monolingual approaches further leads to the question how education should support children to develop respect of their own languages as is claimed by the UNCRC (Article 29 1. (c) UNCRC).

In both contexts a progressive integration into mainstream classes has been recommended (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 15; SenBJF, 2023, p. 14). This would correspond to the *partial integrative model*. However also the *partial integrative model* needs to undergo critical examination. Hilt (2017, p. 597) has shown that mere physical inclusion into a classroom does not guarantee full inclusion. Students with limited proficiency in the language of instruction are

often excluded, as they struggle to follow lessons or actively participate in communication. While Hilt's observations focus on preparatory classes, these findings are equally applicable to mainstream classrooms. In such contexts, students' first languages can play a crucial role in fostering inclusion, as students form networks based on their first languages to facilitate engagement in educational communication. However, despite the potential of first languages to support comprehension and participation, teachers frequently attempt to regulate their use, permitting them solely for educational purposes while discouraging non-educational applications. Moreover, while first languages may enhance inclusion for some, they simultaneously risk excluding those who do not share knowledge of the employed language, leading to a situation of *excluding inclusion* (Hilt, 2017, pp. 597–598).

In practice, preparatory and mainstream education often function separately from each other due to a lack of collaboration between both students and teachers. The development of a shared curriculum and planned learning progress by the educational team is rare. Instead, communication between teachers is often limited to informal exchange (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020b, p. 23). This is critical since there is evidence that cooperation between the entire school is more effective for language education than separating the task of language education (Fürstenau, 2017, p. 53). Furthermore, there is a lack of continuing support after students leave the preparatory programme (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020b, p. 23). This is also the case in most schools that have been contacted for the empirical part of this study. While most of them offer general support measures that are available to all students, specific language support is rare after the children leave the preparatory programme as is shown in Tables 2 and 3.

In consequence, preparatory classes often develop into a form of parallel structure to regular education. In such cases, migration is given little consideration in the development of regular lessons. Such parallel structures can be perpetuated if there is no structural change in the school system and no paradigm shift in teaching. Despite continuity in the separate schooling of newly arrived children, this is characterised by a lack of concept and short-termism (Fürstenau, 2017, pp. 44–45; Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 231). This is not a new phenomenon. As early as the late 1970s, insufficient ad-hoc measures were favoured over a reorganisation of the school system in Germany (Gomolla, 2009, p. 28). A continuity of this "Adhocracy" has been observed in educational policies dealing with migration (Emmerich et al., 2016, p. 116 quoted in Karakayalı et al. 2017b, p. 231). In summary, what is needed is a paradigm shift that puts children's needs first, and a school structure that adapts to current realities. Preparatory programmes might not inherently contradict this, provided they are organised in an inclusive manner (Kemper et al., 2022, p. 624).

# 7 Methodology

This chapter aims to ensure transparency in the data collection process by outlining the employed methodology. Ethnographic fieldwork provided the framework to collect the data for my analysis. To collect data "in the field", I had to enter preparatory programmes, which constitute the everyday professional environments of teachers and pupils (Beer & König, 2020, p. 9; Emerson et al., 2011, p. 1). The first step in accessing the field involved identifying schools in the FWB and Berlin that offered preparatory programmes for newly arrived children. According to the FWB, 187 primary schools were implementing a DASPA programme in the school year 2023/24. As I reached out to school principals to request permission for DASPA class observations and teacher interviews, some schools reported that they were not operating DASPA classes, so the number might in fact be a bit lower than stated by the FWB. In the end, I have been able to conduct my observation at School A in Liège and to interview the DASPA teachers from this school, as well as from Schools B, C and D located in Brussels

In Berlin, access to the field proved more challenging, as schools rarely include information about Willkommensklassen on their websites. Consequently, I contacted the school authorities of all twelve districts of Berlin to request which schools had established Willkommensklassen. I received answers from five districts. For pragmatic reasons, I focused my research on the district of Reinickendorf, where Schools E, F, and G are located. Notably, I found that the school authority of Reinickendorf formally didn't distinguish between the models *Direktintegration* and *Willkommensklasse*. This became evident when I contacted Ms Fedorova[7] at School F, who clarified that her school did not operate *Willkommensklassen*. Instead, students were schooled in mainstream classes where they received specialised support. They were only taken out of their mainstream classes during German language lessons to receive lessons in small groups in the subject German as a second language. Due to Ms Fedorova's availability for an interview, I included the School F in my study despite this variation, given the possibility to contrast this approach with my research focus on preparatory programmes.

Although fieldwork serves as the central method of this research, it should rather be understood as a framework within which various data collection techniques are implemented (Beer & König, 2020, p. 9). I decided to combine participant observation with interviews to ensure data triangulation and enhance the data's validity as the methods would supplement and control each other (Beer & König, 2020, pp. 9–10; Flick, 2012, p. 285). I have conducted participant observation in the DASPA classes of Mr Arnaud at School A in Liège, Bressoux from June 17th to 21st, 2024 and in the Willkommensklasse of Ms Essa at School E in Berlin, Märkisches Viertel from June 25th to 28th, 2024. In addition, I have carried out interviews with

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[7] All names in this work have been anonymised.

preparatory programme teachers from Schools A, B, C and D in the FWB and E, F and G in Berlin. Due to greater difficulties to contact teachers in Germany, there is an imbalance in the number of interview partners from Belgium and Germany.

**7.1 Participant Observation**

Although I had informed myself with the organisational structures of preparatory programmes in both examined contexts, I found it difficult to conceptualise their implementation without direct engagement. Recognising the importance of first-order understanding in addressing my research question, I decided to embed my data collection into participant observation (Beer, 2020, p. 64; Brinkmann, 2023, p. 20). This method entails immersion into the field, allowing the researcher to observe from an inner perspective of a participant while remaining aware of the reactive effects of the researcher's participation (Emerson et al., 2011, pp. 3–4; Flick, 2012, p. 287). By combining data collection with observation, I aimed to develop a deeper familiarity with the field, allowing me to identify features particular to teachers of preparatory programmes (Cicurel, 2011, p. 324).

One major difficulty I encountered while doing participant observation was to participate and observe at the same time. The smaller a field is, the more difficult it becomes to be in it without participating (Flick, 2012, p. 284). In School A, Mr Arnaud actively involved me into some activities, where I took more the role of a participant of the class. On the contrary, in School E, Ms Essa occasionally asked me to actively take over teaching activities. In these instances, my focus shifted towards directing instruction, limiting my ability to observe what Ms Essa was teaching other students in the meantime.

In addition to this limited ability to observe all simultaneously occurring classroom interactions, it was impossible to integrally document all observed situations (Flick, 2012, p. 289). Due to a limited memory, the observed events can only be reproduced in a summarising, reconstructive form (Bergmann, 1985, p. 308). Jotting down notes during observations could have mitigated information loss (Hauser-Schäublin, 2020, p. 51). However, I refrained from doing so due to the potential discomfort this might cause the children. Instead, I made use of breaks to write down key observations and compiled detailed fieldnotes after each day of observation. Voice recordings turned out to be useful to contain information and thus preserve the quality of the data if I didn't have the possibility to write them down immediately (Beer, 2020, p. 66).

These fieldnotes make up a considerable part of my data set. It is essential to acknowledge that they do not constitute objective representations of reality. Rather, they are multiple filtered impressions. The act of writing fieldnotes constitutes a process of translation of the observed actions into written language. Therefore, writing fieldnotes constitutes the starting point of a

construction process that is continued at the redaction of this final work presenting the research and its findings (Emerson et al., 2011, pp. 5–6; Hauser-Schäublin, 2020, pp. 51–52).

Although participant observation offered valuable insights, some aspects relevant to my research question were not directly observable. To address this limitation, I complemented my observations with interviews which offered insights on teachers' biographical backgrounds and knowledge that influences their actions (Flick, 2012, p. 295).

**7.2 Interviews**

Complementary to the participant observation, I conducted nine semi-structured interviews. In addition, one teacher has responded to my questions in written form.

To ensure comparability between the different interviews, I have developed an interview grid outlining central topics and specific questions. After the first day of observation I readjusted the previously formulated questions to the specific context and modified the grid along my first observations and informal talks to increase the likelihood that it will consider those areas that are relevant to the interviewees (Flick, 2012, p. 294; Schlehe, 2020, p. 98).

I adopted a flexible use of the grid. Therefore, I adapted the order of the questions to the course of the conversation and included spontaneous and follow-up questions arising from the conversation. Moreover, I offered interviewees the opportunity to bring up topics that they considered to be important (Brinkmann, 2023, p. 18; Schlehe, 2020, p. 98). Hence, I tried not to formulate the questions too densely or too directly. I therefore structured the grid into an opening section with direct questions, which was more of an interrogative character, in order to obtain background information relevant for contextualisation and a section that was more of a conversational character with more opened questions (Schlehe, 2020, p. 104).

Regarding the media of interviewing, I have conducted five face-to-face interviews and four interviews via (video)call. In addition, one teacher answered my questions in written form. All these different media have advantages and disadvantages.

Face-to-face interviews and interviews via (video)call turned out to work in a quite similar way. While the advantage of face-to face interviews is that they provide more information in terms of body language, it has to be admitted, that this has not been used productively in the analysis since the analysis was based on the transcript that did not include documentation of body language (Brinkmann, 2023, p. 25). The face-to-face interviews all took place at the schools. This meant that teachers had to find time and space for my interviews during their busy school day (Dilger, 2020, p. 294). Therefore, these interviews were often subject to time constraints and short interruptions by pupils or teachers. The pre-arranged (video)calls provided a more controlled setting to conduct the interviews but were occasionally interrupted by an unstable connection. Interviews usually lasted between half an hour and an hour. Only in case of data saturation or time constraints they would be a bit shorter.

Both formats made it possible to carry out the interview in the form of a conversation, though without equal dialogue (Schlehe, 2020, p. 91). What was said could be picked up and follow-up questions could be made. However, I sometimes had the impression, that the exposure to direct communication prompted interviewees to provide quick responses. In some cases, I wished for more reflexivity before answering. I felt this particularly when I was asking about the disadvantages of preparatory programmes as most teachers replied that there weren't any, especially those who had rather short experience in teaching (in preparatory programmes). This stood in high contrast to the amount of criticism that preparatory programmes encounter in literature (Kemper et al., 2022, p. 623).

The interview in written form did not have a conversational character. The interviewee has received my questions in form of a questionnaire that can be consulted in the appendix. To facilitate clarity, I have formulated the questions from the interview guide in a more precise way and let the respondent know which questions were the most important ones to me so that she could focus on these questions. After examining the answers, I e-mailed the interviewee to further clarify a few answers, but I didn't receive any further response so that this form of interview did not include an actual interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. In contrast to the oral interviews, it was carried out asynchronous (Brinkmann, 2023, p. 26). I had the impression that the answers were more thought through, maybe due to the absence of pressure resulting from direct communication that allowed the respondent to take more time to reflect on my questions (Schlehe, 2020, p. 101).

Beyond formal interviews, in the field I engaged in informal conversations with teachers, social workers and other school staff. These exchanges provided valuable information that further deepened my understanding of formal interview responses and observed actions, and enhanced data triangulation. Even though these persons knew that I was doing the observation for my thesis, it remained unclear how they understood my role as a researcher. For this reason, I did not include insights gained from informal talks with staff other than preparatory programme teachers into my knowledge production.

## 7.3 Sampling considerations

In terms of sampling, it proved difficult to select it purposefully. As I had no background information on the teachers before contacting them, it was difficult to ensure in a controlled way that the sample would represent the heterogeneity found in the research field. Therefore, coincidence played an important role in determining the sample, as it often does in ethnographic research (Schlehe, 2020, pp. 102–103). Despite this, my sampling reflects diversity among the teachers in terms of academic and professional backgrounds, teaching

experience and linguistic profiles. Notably, in Germany all interviewed teachers were lateral entrants who had undergone different trajectories before entering the teaching profession. This trend has also been documented in literature (Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 230). Research has further revealed that preparatory programmes in Berlin are deliberately used to facilitate lateral entrance to candidates without a teaching degree (Hoffmann, 2021, p. 189). In contrast, most Belgian teachers had formal training in primary or preschool education and more extensive experience in mainstream education. However, their educational and professional backgrounds are also heterogeneous, which is consistent with findings in literature as well (Meunier & Gloesener, 2020b, p. 13).

Furthermore, three of the four teachers in Germany did not have German as their first language. There were also differences in the age of the teachers. In terms of gender, I have only been able to interview and accompany one male teacher. While the sample could have been more diverse, it nonetheless offers insights into the heterogeneous profiles of preparatory programme teachers. The profiles of the teachers participating in this study have been summarised in tables 4 and 5 which are provided in the appendix.

## 8 Description of the Field

According to the 2021 census, the proportion of Belgium's population born abroad was 17.7%. This percentage varied across the country, with 14% in Flanders, 15% in Wallonia, and a significantly higher 46% in the Brussels-Capital Region. Within Brussels, the municipality of Saint-Gilles recorded an above-average proportion of foreign-born residents, with 55.9% of its population born outside Belgium. This makes Saint-Gilles the fourth municipality in Brussels with the highest share of foreign-born inhabitants. The teachers interviewed for this thesis all work in schools located in the municipality of Saint-Gilles. Outside of Brussels, large cities tend to exhibit a higher proportion of foreign-born residents, with Liège being one of them (Statbel, 2021).

In Liège, I have carried out my fieldwork at School A, which is located in the centre of the district Bressoux. In Berlin, fieldwork was conducted at School E, located in the quarter Märkisches Viertel of the district Reinickendorf. Interviews were further conducted with a teacher from the School F, located in the same quarter and School G, located in the neighbouring quarter Lübars. Bressoux and the Märkisches Viertel share common characteristics, including an above-average proportion of immigrant and young populations, as well as a historically constructed negative image. After providing a demographic overview of these two locations, I provide a description of the implementation of preparatory programmes in the two selected Schools A and E, drawing on observations and interviews.

## 8.1 Description of Bressoux

The school A is located to the east of Liège, in the centre of a district called Bressoux.

The population of Bressoux has been reported to have a disproportionately high number of both young residents and immigrant residents, in contrast to the average of the city of Liège. It has been reported that the immigrant population concentrated in economically more fragile areas as the centre of Bressoux (Mandin, 2013, p. 24). Based on the data of the 2021 census, I could conclude that this is still the case in more recent days. While the percentage of the population of the city Liège who has been born outside of Belgium is of 29,64%, in Bressoux-Centre 49,83% have been born outside of Belgium. The amount of residents born in a EU member state other than Belgium with 10,68% in Bressoux-Centre is only slightly higher than the average of Liège with 9,25%. However, residents born outside the EU make up 39,14% of the population of Bressoux-Centre, which is twice as much as the average of Liège with 20,39% (Statbel - Census 2021)[8]. In addition, Bressoux has been reported for its disproportionately high number of young residents, especially below the age of 20 (Mandin, 2013, p. 24). However, it has proved difficult to find more recent data on this.

As far as the reputation of the district is concerned, Bressoux and its residents have been subject to stigmatisation. The district has commonly been portrayed as an unsafe neighbourhood, often associated with youth crime (Mandin, 2013, p. 28). This image of Bressoux is directly linked to its one-sided representation in the local media that has historically portrayed the quarter as a socially deprived area and its population of immigrant origin as the root of delinquency and incivility (Lafleur & Stangherlin, 2016, p. 198; Mandin, 2013, p. 29).

## 8.2 Organisation of DASPA classes in the School A

At the time I visited the School A, there were 33 children enrolled in the DASPA programme. This accounted for approximately 10% of the pupils enrolled in the primary school. It was the second year that the DASPA was in operation. School A had three teachers dedicated exclusively to DASPA instruction. Ms Anne and Ms Amandine were employed part-time. They were both trained preschool teachers. For this reason, they mainly taught the younger children from first and second grade. Mr Arnaud, the main DASPA teacher, held a full-time position. It was his initiative to open a DASPA programme at the school, prompting him to approach the principal with a request to undergo specialised training for DASPA teachers and to set up the class. It was him who developed the model in use at School A.

Children enrolled in the DASPA are also enrolled in a mainstream class, corresponding to their age. This equates to the *partial integrative model* described by Massumi et al. (2015, p. 45).

He developed a system where he takes the children out of their mainstream classes to teach them French in small groups that are formed according to the children's age and language

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[8] The percentages have been calcualted based on the absolute numbers from the 2011 census.

proficiency. For the time of observation, he was in charge of the children from third to sixth grade and was working with the following schedule:

*Table 1: Schedule of the DASPA groups in School D*

|        | Monday     | Tuesday    | Wednesday  | Thursday   | Friday     |
|--------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| P1     | Lire 1     | Lire 1     | Lire 1     | Lire 1     | Lire 1     |
| P2     | Lire 3     | Lire 3     | Lire 3     | Lire 1     | Lire 4-5-6 |
|        |            |            |            |            |            |
| P3     | Lire 5-6   | Lire 5-6   | Lire 1     | Lire 4-5-6 | Parler 3-4 |
| P4     | Parler 5-6 | Lire 1     | Lire 4-5-6 | Lire 3     | Parler 3-4 |
|        |            |            |            |            |            |
| P5     |            | Parler 5-6 |            | Lire 5-6   | Lire 5-6   |
| P6     |            | Parler 3-4 |            |            |            |

The schedule shows the lessons Mr Arnaud imparts. He divided his students into small groups. Every group is assigned a colour and consist of 4 to 6 students. Only the orange group consists of 11 students. The children form part of several groups and are taken out of their mainstream classes when their groups have lesson with Mr Arnaud. The purpose of these groups is to create a certain degree of homogeneity between pupils from different backgrounds. To achieve this, Mr Arnaud assesses each child's French proficiency, mathematical competence and reading comprehension skills in its first language. The mathematics test is a non-verbal test. For reading comprehension he uses standardised tests with pre-defined answers that are available in several languages, including French. This allows him to evaluate the tests without knowing the child's first language. On the basis of the outcomes, he places pupils together into groups according to their skills. In addition, he considers the age of the children and the time they have already passed in Belgium. He usually taught children from third and fourth grade together as well as children from fifth and sixth grade. He had one group with children that had recently moved to Belgium (1-3 months), while the other children had arrived at the beginning of the school year in September.

Some groups were more based on oral language while others were more based on reading. Every child attends the groups according to its needs. At the beginning children spend half of the time in their mainstream class and the other half in the DASPA. This equates to twelve hours a week in each class. The time spent in the preparatory programme is adjusted to the child's needs and diminishes with increasing French language proficiency. Therefore, there are students who spend twelve hours a week with Mr Arnaud, while others are only taken out of their mainstream classes for three hours a week. Mr Arnaud is flexible with his schedule,

meaning that the children change groups depending on their language level. If necessary, he changes the schedule and opens new groups to meet the children's needs.

Since he works in small groups, this allows him to implement teaching methods that are rather unconventional for mainstream teaching. During my week of observation, he rarely did frontal teaching. Most of the time the groups would work all together, be it on a worksheet, a song, a story or another task. Also, the structure of the room favoured group work and communication, as the tables were grouped together and not primarily orientated towards the blackboard. Mr Arnaud further often implemented games to teach vocabulary which the children enjoyed a lot. Ms Anne also provided support to sixth-grade students within their mainstream class for a few hours. Mr Arnaud expressed his intention to expand support for DASPA students within their mainstream classes in future. After completing the DASPA programme, students do not receive any further specialised French language support. The support is thus limited to the general support available to all students within their mainstream class.

**8.3 Description of Märkisches Viertel**
The school E is located in the district Märkisches Viertel in Berlin-Reinickendorf. The district Märkisches Viertel is composed of a large housing estate that was built between 1963 and 1974 on the northern edge of West Berlin near the Wall to East Berlin in response to the housing shortage at the time (Reinecke, 2014, p. 215).

The first residents of the Märkisches Viertel were often low-income tenants. The proportion of welfare recipients in the Märkisches Viertel was high and the average income in the Märkisches Viertel was significantly lower than was usual in West Berlin, due to a higher proportion of workers over salaried employees, officials and self-employed people compared to the average for West Berlin (Reinecke, 2014, p. 218). Also the amount of young families among the inhabitants was higher-than-average (Reinecke, 2014, p. 227).

In the late 1960s, the Märkisches Viertel attracted a great deal of media attention, mainly by external actors who sought to use the Märkisches Viertel as an example to draw attention to the problems of contemporary urban planning policy and capitalism. As a result, the Märkisches Viertel was portrayed as an exceptionally problematic neighbourhood. Reference was made to the concentration of low-income people but the neighbourhood was also portrayed as being "little human" and "little democratic" (Reinecke, 2014, pp. 222–224). The depictions centred on so-called "problem families", with media narratives attributing local conflicts to families with many children and parenting difficulties (Reinecke, 2014, p. 227). During my observation at School E, I noted that the discourse surrounding families allegedly failing to provide adequate care and upbringing for their children remains prevalent. This perception was echoed by all individuals I engaged with in the field. It would be valuable to

examine whether this portrayal is substantiated or whether it rather reflects persistence of historically constructed narratives.

The Märkisches Viertel and its residents were stigmatised in these portrayals, so that by the end of the 1960s, just a few years after the start of its construction, the estate was already seen as a place of social decline (Reinecke, 2014, p. 228). This negative image persists until present days (Böhm, 2022, p. 361). Even though social problems were certainly present in the Märkisches Viertel, they were overrepresented as a result of concentrated media attention, which developed a momentum of its own (Reinecke, 2014, p. 233).

Until the 1990s, migration did not play a significant role in the portrayal of the Märkisches Viertel (Reinecke, 2014, p. 228). Nowadays, the Märkisches Viertel exhibits an over-average proportion of residents with a migration background, compared to both Reinickendorf and Berlin (Bezirksamt Reinickendorf, 2024). In winter 2018/2019, the newly built accommodation centre on Senftenberger Ring provided a new home for around 400 refugees. It is mainly inhabited by families with children. Therefore, the population of the accommodation centre is mostly young. Half of the residents are under the age of 18 (BENN, n.d.). Also the Märkisches Viertel has a higher proportion of minor residents, compared to the average of Reinickendorf and Berlin (Bezirksamt Reinickendorf, 2024).[9]


## 8.4 Organisation of Willkommensklassen in the School E

At the time of observation, approximately 650 pupils were enrolled at School E, of whom 20 attended a preparatory programme. These 20 children were distributed between two teachers, Ms Essa and Ms Evseeva. Both were teaching exclusively in the preparatory programme. Ms Evseeva held a part-time position and was responsible for seven students, while Ms Essa, who was employed full-time, instructed the remaining. Although I had the opportunity to interview both teachers, my classroom observations were limited to the Willkommensklasse led by Ms Essa.

Ms Essa has been teaching in the preparatory programme at the School E since 2017. The programme itself was already in place at the time of her arrival. According to her, it has likely been established in 2014 or 2015. The School E has developed a *partial integrative* ideal model, whereby the children who attend the Willkommensklasse are also enrolled in a mainstream class. They should attend physical education, music, art and subjects in which they demonstrate particular strength, often maths, in the mainstream class and spend six to eight hours a week in the Willkommensklasse. The school opted for this model since it

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[9] This source refers only to the „Planungsraum Märkisches Zentrum", which constitutes the centre of the Märkisches Viertel. It is used here due to limited accessibility of more precise data on the Märkisches Viertel as a whole.

regarded participation in the mainstream class as beneficial for the children's vocabulary development. This ideal model however is not consistently implemented in practice. Certain students, due to their specific needs, are fully educated within the Willkommensklasse. On the contrary, first and second grade children are fully schooled in mainstream classes. The preparatory programme is thus only directed towards students from the grades three to six. Therefore, the School E practices the *integrative*, *partial integrative* and *parallel* models (Massumi et al., 2015, p. 45). The transition into the mainstream class occurs gradually, meaning that with increasing German language skills, the children participate more hours in their mainstream class. Although the Willkommensklasse is officially designed as a one-year programme, this timeframe is often considered insufficient, and in most cases, students remain in the programme for two years. Some students even continue into a third year.

The assignment of the children to one of the two Willkommensklassen in place did not follow any formal criteria. The allocation was conducted without consideration for factors such as language proficiency or age, as outlined in the guideline for the integration of newly arrived children and adolescents. Consequently, the Willkommensklasse exhibited significant heterogeneity. Students from grades three to six were taught together, with some having recently arrived in Germany while others were in their third year of preparatory education. In addition, several social factors as well as the children's individual trajectories further differentiated the students, resulting in considerable variations in German language proficiency within the class.

In reaction to these great varieties, Ms Essa often implemented differentiated teaching, letting the children work individually or in small groups on tasks that she selected based on the individual skills and needs of the children. However, when lessons were not differentiated, they were primarily geared toward younger students in grades three to five. This approach often resulted in disengagement of a sixth-grade student who was exclusively schooled in the Willkommensklasse. She displayed little interest in participation and tended to isolate herself. Nevertheless, attributing her behaviour solely to instructional methods would be an oversimplification.

In contrast to Mr Arnaud's approach, Ms Essa's teaching style aligned more closely with traditional instructional methods, resembling the approach I experienced during my own primary education in Berlin. This became evident not only in her reliance on whole-group frontal instruction but also in the physical arrangement of the classroom, which was oriented toward the blackboard, reinforcing a conventional teacher-centred dynamic, positioning the teacher as the primary knowledge provider and the students as learners.

Furthermore, Ms Essa's lessons appeared to follow a more structured format compared to those of Mr Arnaud. She and her students established daily rituals that fostered consistency and routine. Each morning, she began the class with a circle-time activity, discussing the day of the week, the date, and the season. This was followed by oral language activities, often incorporating playful elements. Through the use of chunks, students practiced essential expressions for everyday communication while simultaneously internalising grammatical structures. These phrases were reinforced daily through repetition and variation. Although Ms Essa's teaching methods were more traditional than those of Mr Arnaud, it is important to note that she also integrated instructional strategies that are less common in mainstream education. For example, on one occasion, she took the students to the playground, where they engaged in both free play and structured group activities. She also used this opportunity to introduce them to the local flora and fauna, incorporating elements of experiential learning into her teaching approach.

A major difficulty Ms Essa faced was the school's practice of sending students with a support status to the Willkommensklasse for a few hours a week. This was done due to the smaller class size that allowed them to receive more individualised support. However, this practice could pose considerable difficulties as these additional students could disrupt the overall classroom dynamic and interfere the instruction of the other students within the Willkommensklasse. Some of these students with a support status were former students of the Willkommensklasse. While there is no specific German language support programme after leaving the preparatory programme, some children can receive a general support status.

## 9 Analysis

This section describes how I evaluated the collected data by describing the procedure I followed during the qualitative content analysis. Afterwards the research findings are presented in light of the formulated research question:

*What structural tensions can be identified between institutional requirements and the aim of pupil-oriented language support in the existing models of preparatory programmes at primary schools in Berlin and the Wallonia-Brussels Federation?*

To provide a well-founded answer to the research question, the analysis addresses the following three subordinate aspects:

1. Teachers' perspectives on the aims and benefits of preparatory programmes
2. Structural constraints between aims and implementation of preparatory programmes
3. Teachers' reactions to their students' multilingualism

**9.1 Qualitative Content Analysis**

When analysing data material, it is important to choose an appropriate approach that aligns with the research question (Dresing & Pehl, 2018, p. 34). In my case, I opted for qualitative content analysis (QCA). QCA is an evaluation method employed in social sciences for analysing texts and is suitable for examining observation protocols and interview transcripts, which are the primary data sources in this thesis (Mayring & Fenzl, 2014, p. 543). The interviews, recorded with the informed consent of the participants, were transcribed using the software TurboScribe.

There is not one specific way of conducting QCA, rather, it encompasses a range of approaches that can be adapted or combined to suit the specific needs of the research (Dresing & Pehl, 2018, p. 36; Schreier, 2014, paras 4, 57). This flexibility allows the method to be tailored to the unique demands of the subject under investigation. It is the combination of the suitability of the matter of study and the systematic approach that characterises the qualitative content analysis method. The systematic approach is guaranteed by a defined sequence of work steps that allow for variations in implementation that enable researchers to maintain at the same time the appropriateness to the subject matter (Schreier, 2014, para. 59). I opted for a content-structuring content analysis. This approach entails a content-related or thematic structuring and description of the data (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 101; Schreier, 2014, para. 8).

The basic principle of the method is the assignment of codes to text passages. For this reason, Mayring & Fenzl (2014, p. 544) write that QCA is a qualitatively orientated text analysis that is led by codes. Schreier (2014, para. 4) describes qualitative content analysis as a systematic, rule-based, valid and reliable method that seeks to describe selected text passages. This process entails the generation of codes that represent pivotal aspects of meaning and the subsequent assignment of relevant text passages to these codes. This was done with the QDA software MAXQDA. It is crucial to emphasise that the creation and application of the code system not only serves as a preliminary step in the analytical process but is also an integral component of the analysis itself. This is an interpretive and analytical activity that should be laid out (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 95; Schreier, 2014, para. 4).

Kuckartz' model for a structuring content analysis served as a guidance for the procedure. It comprises seven phases. In contrast to quantitative content analysis, these phases are not carried out in a rigid sequence, rather, there is room for iteration (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 46).

1) In the first phase, I conducted initiating text work, meaning that I carefully read through my data material, marked relevant excerpts and wrote down initial comments in memos (Dresing & Pehl, 2018, pp. 37–38; Kuckartz, 2018, p. 101).

2) In the second phase, I developed the main codes deductively, based on the interview grid (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 97; Schreier, 2014, para. 9). I developed a code guide in which I established definitions and examples for the application of the codes. Before I started the actual coding process, I tested the applicability of the developed categories and their definitions on a part of the data and revised the initial code guide (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 102; Mayring & Fenzl, 2014, p. 548).

3) In the third phase, I determined the coding unit and afterwards coded the entire material by assigning text sections to the main codes (Kuckartz, 2018, pp. 102–104).

4) In phase 4, all text passages coded with the same main code were compiled (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 106). This was done automatically with help of the QDA software MAXQDA.

5) In phase 5, I formed subcategories inductively from the material in order to further differentiate the relatively general deductive code system. For this purpose, all text passages relating to one main code were compiled in a window. The subcodes were then formed directly from the material (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 106). The guideline developed by Kuckartz (2018, pp. 83-86) for creating codes from the material served as orientation. Initially, I used open coding (Kuckartz, 2018, pp. 84, 108). Subsequently, I systematised and summarised the newly formed subcodes and added them to the coding guide along with definitions and examples that I set up for their implementation (Kuckartz, 2018, pp. 86, 93). The final code system was thus developed in a mixed deductive-inductive manner (Kuckartz, 2018, pp. 95–96; Schreier, 2014, para. 12). It is provided in the coding guide, which is included in the appendix. This guide contains the code definitions that I developed for the assignment of the text passages (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 86; Mayring & Fenzl, 2014, p. 549).

6) In phase 6, I carried out a second coding process using the supplemented code system. The further differentiated codes were assigned to the text passages that had been previously coded with the main codes (Kuckartz, 2018, p. 110).

7) In phase 7 the actual analysis took place in the form of a code-based evaluation along the previously developed topics and subtopics. It was crucial to identify what was said about each topic but also to consider what was not or only preliminarily mentioned (Kuckartz, 2018, pp. 117–118). This led to the results presented in the next section.

## 9.2 Research findings

1. *Teachers' perspectives on the aims and benefits of preparatory programmes*

*Preparing newly arrived pupils for mainstream education in safe learning spaces*

As outlined in previous chapters both the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and the German federal state of Berlin formally define the overarching aim of preparatory programmes as the integration of newly arrived students into the mainstream education system and as tailored

support in the acquisition of the language of instruction (Décret 07/02/2019, Art. 2, 5° & Art. 3; SenBJF, 2023, pp. 4 & 14).

The empirical data confirm that the interviewed teachers across both countries broadly align with this officially formulated aim of preparatory programmes. They emphasise the importance of enabling students to transition into regular classes without facing difficulties related to the language of instruction. To achieve this main aim of integration to mainstream education, two interrelated sub-goals emerge prominently in the interviews: the acquisition of the language of instruction and the creation of an emotionally safe and relationally supportive environment.

In means of language learning, teachers mentioned that the aim was to offer the children a personalised learning programme tailored to them. The objective is to facilitate rapid progress toward a level of linguistic competence that enables students to follow mainstream classes, to communicate and make friendships. In this context, one teacher explicitly referred to the Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning, Teaching and Assessment (CEFR), noting that a B1 or B2 proficiency level was considered desirable for successful integration into the mainstream class.

The second core dimension identified in the data is the emphasis on students' emotional wellbeing. Teachers across both settings repeatedly described the preparatory class as a safe space, an environment where trusting relationships can be built, and students' socio-emotional needs can be addressed. Feelings such as sadness, anxiety, insecurity, and inferiority were mentioned as being frequently represented among newly arrived students. In reaction to this, teachers viewed the establishment of a space of comfort and wellbeing as a foundational condition for effective language learning. This key aspect is captured succinctly in the following statement:

> The aim of the DASPA classes is to make them feel comfortable as quickly as possible in the school environment, in their everyday lives, so that they become students as quickly as possible, students who fully follow lessons in French. That's the aim of the DASPA class. It's about well-being and learning French. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 95)[10]

The statement expresses the idea that preparatory programmes serve to put students at ease in the school, so that they become able to follow mainstream education in the language of instruction. This reveals an underlying idea of deficit that frames newly arrived students as

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[10] L'objectif des classes DASPA, c'est les mettre le plus vite à l'aise dans le milieu scolaire, dans leur vie de tous les jours, pour qu'ils deviennent des élèves le plus rapidement possible, des élèves qui suivent les cours en français de manière complète. C'est ça l'objectif de la classe DASPA. C'est un bien-être et un apprentissage du français. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 95)

temporarily unfit for mainstream education. The notion that it is the students who must be trained to participate in mainstream education suggests that standard educational environments are not yet sufficiently inclusive or responsive to its diverse student body. The interviewed teachers have attributed this need for preparation primarily to three factors: insufficient proficiency of the language of instruction, specific socio-emotional needs and unfamiliarity with the school culture (Hilt, 2017, p. 591; Kemper et al., 2022, pp. 624–625). On this basis, the institutional separation of students who deviate from historically constructed norms of homogeneity becomes a self-reinforcing mechanism, perpetuating processes of othering that, in turn, serve to justify the very act of separation (European Commission, 2013, p. 74; Gomolla, 2009, p. 22).

In sum, the aims of preparatory programmes, as interpreted by teachers, encompass both the instrumental goal of language acquisition and the relational aspect of fostering students' wellbeing. These objectives are interdependent and embedded in broader institutional logics that construct newly arrived students as "not (yet) ready" for participation in the regular system, thus raising critical questions about the inclusiveness and adaptability of mainstream schooling itself (Bunar & Juvonen, 2022). Despite this, all interviewed teachers regarded their school's preparatory programme as a beneficial setup for helping their students achieve the envisioned aims.

*Targeted language support in response to the limits of the mainstream*

One advantage of preparatory programmes mentioned by the teachers is the small group setting of preparatory programmes, which enables targeted instruction and fosters interaction and dialogue. Teachers emphasised that in large mainstream classes newly arrived students are often left to fend for themselves because the mainstream teachers don't have the capacity to offer specialised attention to newly arrived children. In a small group on the contrary, the teacher can offer individualised support to the children and thus dedicate time and attention to the child to explain the subject matter according to its skills and needs. As Ms Béatrice notes, in a large class differentiation is pedagogically necessary but often not implemented in practice, probably due to overload of the mainstream teacher:

> So, here, I think that in the school where I work, the teachers have very large classes. They have a minimum of 24 pupils. And so, for my pupils, there would need to be a lot more differentiation. And that's not done, in fact. That's not done because I think they're overloaded. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 268-269)[11]

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[11] Donc, ici, je trouve quand même que dans l'école dans laquelle je travaille, les enseignants, ils ont des très grosses classes. Donc, ils ont 24 élèves au minimum. Et donc, pour mes élèves, il faudrait beaucoup plus différencier. Et ça se fait pas, en fait. Ça se fait pas parce que je pense qu'ils sont surchargés. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 268-269)

Ms Claire further explains that in this sense, preparatory programmes also serve as a support mechanism for mainstream teachers, as they operate as a pedagogical workaround to systemic limitations in mainstream education. They not only provide linguistic support to the children but also relieve mainstream teachers, who are unable to meet the needs of newly arrived pupils under current classroom conditions. This suggests that the function of preparatory programmes extends beyond the support of children. They also serve to preserve the established functioning of mainstream classes. Rather than transforming mainstream education to become more inclusive, preparatory programmes often compensate for its limitations.

*The cocoon as a protective learning environment*
A further recurring theme is linked to the mentioned aim of the creation of an emotionally safe and relationally supportive environment. Teachers described that preparatory programmes provide a more secure space for children to arrive at the school, a space where teachers can centre on gaining the child's trust and where children can learn gently at their own rhythm. To describe this safe space, several teachers employed the metaphor of a "cocoon" or "cotton wool", offering newly arrived children a soft landing in the school environment. However, Ms Fedorova, working within an integrative model, challenged the assumption that such safety can only be created in spaces separated from the mainstream education system. In her experience, relational safety can also be built within mainstream classrooms**.**

She has paraphrased a conversation on this topic that she had with a preparatory programme teacher from another school:

> We once had a discussion about it with another welcome class teacher, not a discussion, we talked about it. She said that a closed *Willkommensklasse*, is like a protective cocoon. They are allowed to unfold and develop there first and then go out into real life. And I said that we achieve that as well. Of course, it's a different format, but in a different format it's also possible that the class becomes a reference group for them. And that's also a way. They know they have a buddy there. The children are familiar with this from the mixed-age classes. And they actually look after the welcome children. That usually works quite well. And they have that too. (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 230-231)[12]

Her reproduction of that discussion shows that partial integrative and parallel models are not the only format in which such an atmosphere of safety can be created but that it is also possible to create this safe space within the mainstream class, provided that adequate structures are

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[12] Wir hatten mal eine Diskussion darüber, dass mit einer anderen Willkommensklassen-Lehrerin, was heißt Diskussion, wir haben darüber gesprochen. Sie meinte, wenn das eine geschlossene Willkommensklasse ist, das ist wie so ein Schutzkokon. Sie dürfen sich da erstmal entfalten, entwickeln und dann in echtes Leben rausgehen. Und ich habe dann auch gesagt, bei uns schaffen wir das auch. Natürlich, das ist ein anderes Format, aber in einem anderen Format geht es auch, dass die Klasse für sie so eine Bezugsgruppe ist. Und das ist dann auch eine Art. Sie wissen, da gibt es ein Patenkind. Die Kinder, sie kennen das hier durch JüL-Klassen. Und sie kümmern sich tatsächlich um die Willkommenskinder. Das klappt meistens ganz gut. Und sie haben das auch. (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 230-231)

in place. In the case of School F, the children receive targeted support within their class through Ms Fedorova. The mainstream classes further become reference groups for the children through a buddy programme. Newly arrived children are mentored by a peer of their mainstream class and according to Ms Fedorova this system works very well. When I asked Ms Gerger what she would change about the organisation of the preparatory programme at School G, she replied, among other things, that she would introduce a buddy system in which pupils from the regular class would "assist their peers from the welcome class during breaks or school activities in order to promote social interaction and integration" (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, item 30).[13]

M Arnaud further stated that in the next school year, in addition to the DASPA teachers he would like to have a teacher that supports the children within their mainstream classes so that they can follow the classes and offer the children more personalised attention, what would be difficult for the mainstream teacher due to the size of the class. The example of School F illustrates that the development of an emotionally safe and relationally supportive environment is not limited to preparatory programmes but can also be fostered within mainstream classrooms. Several teachers expressed the intention to cultivate such an environment at their schools. Considering, that the provision of a safe environment for newly arrived children is not inherently dependent on preparatory programmes, their existence may be interpreted as serving to safeguard the mainstream school system from the perceived disruption posed by students who do not align with dominant normative expectations.

## 2. Structural constraints between aims and implementation of preparatory programmes

While preparatory programmes offer various benefits, they are also accompanied by notable limitations. Although some teachers did not perceive any disadvantages, others identified specific challenges. Overall, teachers tended to assess the programmes positively, with perceived advantages outweighing the drawbacks. However, the disadvantages highlighted point to structural tensions between the intended objectives of preparatory programmes and their actual outcomes. Thus, this section aims at rendering these tensions visible alongside good practices that have proven to be beneficial for the fulfilment of the aims of preparatory programmes.

*Missing Frameworks: Lack of curricular guidelines and adequate teaching material*

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[13] Schülerinnen aus der Regelklasse könnten als "Buddys" fungieren und ihren Willkommensklassen-Kolleginnen in den Pausen oder bei schulischen Aktivitäten beistehen, um soziale Interaktion und Integration zu fördern. (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, Pos. 30)

A key structural challenge identified in both research contexts concerned the absence of curricular guidelines for preparatory programmes. None of the schools involved had developed a formal curriculum specifically designed for the education of newly arrived pupils. While several teachers appreciated the resulting pedagogical autonomy, they simultaneously reported a lack of professional orientation. This lack of reference points was also perceived with regard to the availability of adequate teaching material tailored to newly arrived children. Available materials were often designed either for early childhood education or addressed adult learners. It was challenging to find age-appropriate materials that are both linguistically accessible and thematically relevant for primary school students. This lack of overarching structural support, both in terms of curricular frameworks and context-sensitive teaching materials, creates a situation in which the responsibility for the design and implementation of teaching practices is delegated to individual teachers (Karakayalı et al., 2017a, p. 253).

*Language support before and after transition to mainstream education*

In both contexts, Berlin and the FWB, children are supposed to remain in the preparatory programme for the duration of one year. Both countries offer some flexibility, allowing for the possibility of extending a child's stay in the preparatory programme. Nevertheless, several teachers of both countries have stated that this period is too short, particularly for children with interrupted or no prior schooling experience. This standardised timeframe does not accommodate the diverse educational backgrounds of children, raising critical questions about equity and fairness.

These considerations underscore the necessity for sustained long-term support for newly arrived children. Language acquisition cannot be considered complete upon the conclusion of a preparatory programme. This may stand in contrast to the expectations of mainstream teachers regarding the performance of pupils transitioning from such programmes, potentially complicating their integration into regular instruction (Bunar & Juvonen, 2022, p. 1000; Desmée & Cebotari, 2023, pp. 1474–1475). This issue gains further significance in light of findings that students who migrate after the age of six typically require five to seven years to approach age-appropriate academic proficiency levels (Cummins, 1981, p. 9). Moreover, language development continues beyond this period, as it constitutes a lifelong process (Gorter & Cenoz, 2017, p. 233). This underscores the necessity of ensuring ongoing language support beyond the preparatory programme, as is also emphasised by Ms Evseeva:

> I currently have a pupil who still spends 5-6 hours with me. But next year, she will be released into the regular class, and I think there really are these difficulties with the transition. I think they might need extra support. Not a welcome status, but perhaps 2, 3, 4 hours of extra support per week. (Interview Ms Evseeva, Pos. 97-99)[14]

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[14] Ich habe jetzt eine Schülerin, die ist jetzt noch 5-6 Stunden bei mir. Aber ab nächstem Jahr wird sie ja quasi entlassen, in die Regulärklasse und da denke ich, gibt es wirklich diese Schwierigkeiten beim Übergang. Ich denke, da brauchen sie vielleicht doch noch extra Förderungen. Keinen

Although some children at School E receive a support status after leaving the preparatory programme, this does not happen systematically for all children with a welcome status. Ms Evseeva makes clear that continued support is not accessible for all children in the current model. Tables 2 and 3 reveal that continued support of newly arrived children is not systematically implemented in most interrogated schools, even though it is key to children's further school carrier in the mainstream system (Siarova & Essomba, 2014, p. 3).

*Individualised support in heterogeneous learning groups*
Several teachers point to the challenge of teaching in highly heterogeneous groups, a concern that resonates with existing research (Desmée & Cebotari, 2023, p. 1472). As outlined, the creation of homogeneity constitutes an important structural principle within the mainstream school system (Gomolla, 2009, p. 23). However, teachers' accounts indicate that considerable diversity persists within mainstream classrooms. This diversity is even more pronounced in preparatory programmes, where student heterogeneity is amplified by the wide range of pupils' prior life experiences:

> In a regular class, we always say no two children are the same. But still, there's always a certain level of homogeneity. But here, no two children are alike, no two have the same life experiences. That's very rare. Every time I receive a family their experience is different from the last. And at DASPA, we are obliged to try to understand that experience, to find out a little about the emotion of that child. So that's the biggest challenge. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 227-228)[15]

Several teachers underscored the pronounced heterogeneity within preparatory programmes and identified it as a significant professional challenge. This diversity manifested across multiple dimensions. As Mr Arnaud has elucidated, life experience exerts a significant influence on the children's emotional status. However, other factors must also be considered, including age, the proficiency in the language of instruction and the first language. Certain factors could be circumvented or mitigated through the restructuring of the preparatory programme, as elucidated by the following statement by Ms Claire:

> It's more at the organisational level. There are some days where I am alone with a lot of children. For example, on Mondays, I'm all alone with the children. I have 17 children just by myself. So, I'm limited in what I can do in terms of activities. Because when you have 17 children aged between 8 and 12, who have been here for 6 months, who have just arrived, who have different ages, different rhythms, managing all of them is tough. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 128-129)[16]

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Willkommensstatus, aber vielleicht 2, 3, 4 Stunden pro Woche extra Förderung bekommen. (Interview Ms Evseeva, Pos. 97-99)

[15] Dans une classe régulière, on dit toujours un enfant n'est pas l'autre. Mais bon, il y a toujours quand même une certaine homogénéité. Mais ici, il n'y a pas deux enfants qui se ressemblent, il n'y a pas deux enfants qui ont le même vécu. C'est très rare. Chaque fois que je reçois une famille, elle a un vécu différent d'une autre. Et en DASPA, on est obligé d'essayer de comprendre ce vécu-là, savoir un petit peu quelle est l'émotion qu'a derrière cet enfant-là. Donc ça, c'est le plus gros défi. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 227-228)

[16] C'est plus au niveau organisationnel. Il y a parfois des jours où je me retrouve seule avec beaucoup d'enfants. Par exemple, le lundi, je suis toute seule avec les enfants. J'ai 17 enfants à moi toute seule. Et donc, je suis limitée par rapport à mes activités. Parce que quand vous avez 17 enfants qui ont entre

Ms Claire is confronted with a distinctive challenge in that she is entrusted with the responsibility for a considerable number of pupils on specific days of the week. All other schools had created significantly smaller learning groups. The substantial number of pupils presented a challenge to providing individualised support to each child within the group. Ms Claire's teaching responsibilities encompassed a broad age range, spanning from eight to twelve years, which corresponds to the grades of three to six. In addition, every child has its own unique rhythm and level of learning. These challenges were also evident in other schools where lessons were taught in smaller groups. For example, Ms Essa was also teaching students from grades three to six in one group. During my observation, I could see that she frequently differentiated teaching by assigning distinct tasks to the children, letting them work individually or in small groups. However, this necessitates the capacity for children to work autonomously. Ms Beatrice emphasised that her pupils were very dependent on her and not yet able to work independently. This phenomenon also reflected in my observations:

> During this lesson, Ms. Essa assigned individual tasks to each child. David watched a film about pandas because he needed to prepare a presentation on pandas for his mainstream class. Arthur received a reading comprehension task, while other children were cutting out and colouring materials. Meanwhile, Adem was working in a workbook. Ms Essa focused on two older girls from the fifth and sixth grade. Unfortunately, I didn't manage to observe what they were doing and how she was working with them. At first, I was sitting at the edge of the classroom, but Ms Essa encouraged me to walk around and help the children, so I did. That gave me a better insight into what the children were doing but I completely missed out what Ms Essa and the older girls were working on. Since the cutting and colouring activities didn't require much support, I spent most of the time with Arthur. He struggled to concentrate on his own and didn't get very far with his reading. Adem continued working in his workbook, though he didn't complete the tasks entirely correctly. Ms Essa mentioned that it didn't really make sense for Adem to work in that book, as it was still too difficult for him. However, Adem insisted by saying that he loves writing. It became clear how challenging it is to engage a group of children of different ages and learning levels with tasks that are tailored to their needs. Despite this complexity, Ms Essa managed the situation well. Adem may not have solved his task correctly, but that seems to reflect a structural challenge: In such a heterogeneous group, it is difficult to provide targeted and differentiated support. (Fieldnotes, 25.06.2024)

In this situation Ms Essa sought to support each child individually by assigning tasks tailored to the specific skills they needed to develop. This approach aligns with the principles of differentiated instruction, which aim to address the varied learning needs within a classroom setting (Subban, 2006). However, the situation illustrates the difficulty of organising differentiated teaching in a manner that offers children personalised support at the same time. For example, Adem would have needed a task that would have been feasible for him in autonomous work or more personalised assistance to understand his task correctly. So did Arthur who in this situation needed someone to sit next to him and motivate him to do his task, due to difficulties to concentrate on his own. Such situations show that sometimes preparatory

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8 et 12 ans, qui sont là depuis 6 mois, qui viennent d'arriver, qui ont des âges différents, des rythmes différents, gérer tout le monde, c'est costaud. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 128-129)

programmes fail their aim of offering targeted support and that children are sometimes left to fend for themselves, similar as it has been described to happen in mainstream classes. Ms Beatrice explained that children would need constant personal support by an adult until they develop the ability to work independently. The system developed by Mr Arnaud proved to be particularly efficient in this regard. Establishing several small groups composed of pupils with comparable linguistic abilities and learning needs, allowed him to support and monitor each child more closely. Similarly, Ms Gerger highlighted that grouping pupils according to their language proficiency and learning levels would enhance the organisation of the preparatory programme at her school, as it would enable more targeted support. The structure of group allocation thus plays a crucial role in either facilitating or hindering the objective of providing tailored support to newly arrived children. Especially the School E, which has two preparatory programme teachers, could profit from a division of the children according to their language and learning level and their age, as is also suggested in the guideline for the integration of newly arrived children and adolescents (SenBJF, 2023, p. 14). However, the allocation of the children did not follow any criteria at the time of the observation.

Other teachers already structured their groups according to different criteria. At the School B, the children were divided according to their age. However, Ms Beatrice emphasised that she would find a division according to language level more appropriate, because a division according to age is not always pertinent, as there are considerable individual differences in language level within an age group (Gomolla, 2009, p. 25). Mr Arnaud and Ms Deborah made such a division according to competences. Therefore, they tested the children's skills in their first language on arrival. Mr Arnaud's flexible approach to his model, which consists of many small groups, allowed him to create a group for children who had arrived during the school year. At the time of the observation, there was a group of four children who had arrived in Belgium between one and three months ago. This allowed him to establish a degree of homogeneity in the children's learning levels. Preparatory classes are characterised by a high degree of fluctuation, as pupils enter and exit these programmes throughout the school year, either due to transitions into mainstream classes, school changes, or, in some cases, deportation (Karakayalı et al., 2017a, pp. 250–251). Almost all the teachers saw it as a challenge to integrate children during the school year. Ms Claire experienced a large increase in the number of children in her school over the course of the school year. In March six Brazilian pupils had joined her preparatory programme. This changed the whole dynamic of the class and led to huge differences in French language levels among her pupils. As a result of the increase, the school was able to employ a part-time teacher at DASPA so that the children could be divided into small groups according to language level two days a week. These two examples highlight the benefits of establishing a flexible organisational model that can be adapted to changing circumstances.

Interestingly, when talking about languages, diversity was not perceived as a challenge. On the contrary, several teachers pointed out that they perceived language homogeneity as challenging, as pupils tended to employ their shared first languages rather than the language of instruction to communicate with each other. This perception is consistent with research findings (Desmée & Cebotari, 2023, p. 1471). The next section analyses language practices within preparatory programmes, focusing on teachers' perception and reaction to their students' multilingualism.

### 3. Teachers' reactions to their students' multilingualism

Considering that the mainstream education system is oriented towards children that master the language of instruction, this section presents how the multilingual student body is encountered within preparatory programmes, building on empirical evidence that teachers as well as students make use of more than one language to teach and learn (García & Wei, 2014, p. 57). The analysis focuses on the roles assigned to both the language of instruction and the pupils' first languages, examining when, how, and for what purposes these languages are implemented.

The section begins by outlining how teachers perceive their students' first languages. All teachers expressed a general appreciation of their students' first languages and further recognised them as resources for acquiring the language of instruction. Considering the translanguaging approach, this section analyses the extent to which students' linguistic repertoires are integrated into classroom practices within preparatory programmes. Although all teachers incorporated their pupils' first languages to varying degrees, they sometimes also restricted their use. This section aims to shed light on the transformative potential of translanguaging for designing language instruction more oriented at newly arrived children.

*Valorisation of children and their first languages*
The statements of the teachers reveal a generally appreciative stance towards their pupil's first languages. For example, Mr Arnaud, Ms Anne and Ms Essa emphasised the importance of showing genuine interest in their students' first languages, viewing such gestures as expressions of respect towards the students and opportunities to value and empower them. Ms Anne gave an example how she employed her students' first languages to value them:

> We also did a rhyme, and we asked if they knew a rhyme in their language. So, they were valued, because they spoke the language well, and we joked around saying, 'if I had to repeat what you're telling me, I wouldn't know'. So, they'd say, 'ah Madame can't speak like me'. You see, they laughed about it. They were proud to know so many languages. (Interview Ms Anne, Pos. 124-125)[17]

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[17] On avait fait une comptine aussi et on demandait s'ils connaissaient une comptine dans leur langue. Donc eux, ils étaient mis en valeur, parce qu'ils parlaient bien la langue, que nous, justement, on jouait

Ms Anne shows the pedagogical value of engaging in students' first languages as this valorises them and promotes pride (Sayer, 2008, p. 110). Also, Ms Essa expressed valuation of children's language skills. She critically questioned the deficit-oriented view on multilingualism and argued in favour of viewing children's multilingualism as an enrichment:

> Children who already know three languages and are learning a fourth and yet are treated like 'you can't do it' and they are given the feeling 'yes, you simply can't do it'. I think that's heavy, this deficient view." (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 395-396)[18]

> So, the richness of these children is not seen. The focus is on the deficit. (Interview Ms Essa, pos. 65)[19]

*Beyond the deficit lens: Embracing a resource-oriented perspective*

Beyond appreciation, many teachers recognised their pupil's first languages as a resource they could use in learning the language of instruction. Several teachers referred to the cognitive and linguistic advantages of building on prior knowledge in students' first languages to support the acquisition of the language of instruction. Thereby skills that have been developed in the first language serve as a base to acquire these skills in the language of instruction. For instance, Mr Arnaud emphasised that literacy competencies in the first language could significantly facilitate the acquisition of reading and writing skills in French. For this reason, he assessed children's literacy abilities in their first language upon arrival. These skills will make it easier for the child to learn how to read and write in French compared to children who have had no previous exposure to reading and writing in any language.

Similarly, Ms Béatrice and Ms Claire observed that linguistic proximity between pupils' first languages and French could ease the initial stages of language acquisition. They compared the experiences of Brazilian and Ukrainian pupils, noting that Brazilian students generally faced fewer initial challenges due to lexical similarities and familiarity with the Latin alphabet, enabling them to transfer knowledge to French. Ukrainian children on the contrary, of whom most knew both Ukrainian and Russian, first needed to be alphabetised in the Latin alphabet. However, according to Ms Beatrice, these early differences in reading levels diminish over time and level out by mid of the school year. At that point, rather than linguistic factors, individual factors as motivation and learning capacity would be at play.

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sur l'humour en disant que moi, 'si je dois répéter ce que tu es en train de me dire, je ne saurais pas'. Donc ils disaient, 'ah madame, elle ne sait pas parler comme moi'. Tu vois, ils rigolaient avec ça. Ils étaient fiers de savoir autant de langues. (Interview Ms Anne, Pos. 124-125)

[18] Kinder, die drei Sprachen schon mitbringen und eine vierte lernen und trotzdem noch behandelt werden wie, ‚du kannst das nicht' und ihnen das Gefühl vermittelt wird ‚ja du kannst das eben nicht'. Das finde ich einen Hammer, dieser defizitäre Blick. (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 395-396)

[19] Also der Reichtum dieser Kinder wird nicht gesehen. Es wird auf das Defizit geschaut. (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 65)

*Going back and forth between languages: Translanguaging as an analytical tool*

Ms Deborah also highlighted the importance of the children's first language skills by stating that the better these are developed, the quicker the children catch up in the language of instruction, underlining the relevance of prior schooling experience. Ms Deborah stated that she actively pushed her students to make use of their entire linguistic repertoire while learning French by encouraging them to make cross-linguistic comparisons to deepen their understanding of grammar and vocabulary (García & Wei, 2014, pp. 120–121):

> I tell them, 'but you can always compare with your language'. For example, I know that in Spanish there's only one word to express negation, but in French there are two. So, I tell them to compare, to say, 'ah yes, in Spanish there's only one, but in French there are two, in Spanish it's this one, in French it's those.' To always go back and forth between their language, both in terms of grammar and conjugation, to look 'what's the same in my language and what's different', and that way they have a fine analysis of the more technical notions of the language in their language and that enables them to draw parallels with French. In general, that works quite well, but for that a good level of language acquisition in their mother tongue is needed. (Interview Ms Deborah, Pos. 250-251)[20]

Ms Deborah describes that the practice of „going back and forth" between languages can function as a valuable analytic tool for children, enabling them to gain new insights into the French language by drawing on their first language. Her observations align closely with the findings of Martín-Beltrán (2010), who articulated a similar idea, noting that „two languages can go back and forth symbiotically as mediational tools and objects of analysis" (Martin–Beltrán, 2010, p. 256).

During my observation of Mr Arnaud's classes I witnessed a situation in which such a process of "going back and forth" between languages was initiated by a third-grade student and encouraged by Mr Arnaud. In this instance, the comparison between Italian and French was used as a strategy to facilitate the acquisition of new vocabulary. I documented this episode in my fieldnotes as follows:

> We read a text, it was a recipe for Galette des Rois. Apparently, they had already treated this topic. Mr Arnaud began by asking the children whether they remembered what a Galette des Rois was and they were able to recall it. As usual, Mr Arnaud read the text aloud while the children followed along, tracing the words with their fingers. After reading the text, he asked the children what type of text it was. Iman responded by saying, "It explains what you need for the Galette des Rois and how to make it." However, she did not say the word *recipe* that Mr Arnaud was looking for. Thus, he prompted the class by asking, "What's the word?" At that point, Eli said, "I know it in Italian". Mr Arnaud asked her, "What is it called in Italian?" She replied, "ricetta".

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[20] Moi je leur dis, 'mais vous pouvez toujours comparer avec votre langue'. Par exemple, je sais qu'en espagnol il n'y a qu'un seul mot pour marquer la négation, en français il y en a deux. Et donc je leur dis mais comparez, dites-vous, 'ah mais oui en espagnol il n'y en a qu'un, mais en français il y en a deux, en espagnol c'est celui-là, en français c'est ceux-là'. De toujours faire des allers-retours entre leur langue, tant au niveau de la grammaire qu'au niveau de la conjugaison, de regarder, 'tiens, qu'est-ce qui est pareil dans ma langue, qu'est-ce qui est différent', et comme ça, ils ont une analyse fine des notions plus techniques de la langue dans leur langue et ça leur permet de faire le parallèle avec le français. En général ça fonctionne plutôt bien, mais pour ça il faut utiliser un bon niveau d'acquisition de la langue dans leur langue maternelle. (Interview Ms Deborah, Pos. 250-251)

Mr Arnaud then pointed out that the French word sounds very similar and then Eli came up with the word "recette" herself. I don't know whether she already knew the word and recalled it or whether she deduced it logically from Italian in that moment. I had the impression that once she said "recette" the other children, whose first languages where Spanish and Arabic also understood it. Iman appeared surprised by the fact that Mr Arnaud mentioned that Italian and French are similar and asked him why he said this. Mr Arnaud then explained that both languages were originally the same language, and that French and Italian had developed from it.[21] (Fieldnotes, 20.06.2024)

This interaction shows how the student Eli used her knowledge of her first language Italian to participate in class and thus used it to create agency. In this situation, it has proved important for the teacher Mr Arnaud to show himself responsive to this and to provide the space to share the Italian word. By saying that the French word was similar to the Italian one, he encouraged the student to "go back and forth" between the languages, which let her find the corresponding French word. When the other student Iman showed herself surprised about the statement that French and Italian resembled one another, Mr Arnaud explained their same origin, providing a deeper insight why Italian could serve as a resource for learning French. This situation furthermore shows that the children's language repertoires do not only help them individually to deduce new vocabulary. Even though, in this situation Eli's "going back and forth" between Italian and French was key to find the word *recette*, the other three students also understood the word, once it was said. The situation shows that translanguaging can serve as a collective meaning making process and that the inclusion of the students' language repertoires cannot only enrich their individual language learning but that of the whole group. This aligns with further findings of Martín-Beltrán (2010), concluding that "student interactions offer rich affordances for language learning when students are given the opportunity to draw on two or more languages simultaneously, in dialogue with members of distinct linguistic communities as they participate in joint activities" (Martin–Beltrán, 2010, p. 260).

*The role of first language in accessing academic vocabulary*
Ms Fedorova and Ms Evseeva both underscored the significance of translation in the process of vocabulary acquisition. Ms Fedorova stressed that the children's first languages provide a foundational basis for learning a new language. She highlighted the crucial role of translation in supporting this process, noting that while the acquisition of everyday language tends to be rather easy, the first language becomes especially important when it comes to mastering an academic register. Her remarks point to a fundamental distinction: the language children are expected to use in educational settings differs substantially from the informal language used in everyday interactions. This distinction aligns with Cummins' (1981) differentiation between *basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS)* and *cognitive/academic language proficiency*

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[21] The speech in my fieldnotes is not verbatim, as conversations in class were not recorded. It is a reconstruction of the situation from my memory, which does not reflect the wording, but the content of the interaction.

*(CALP)*. According to Cummins, children acquire age-appropriate everyday communication skills within one to two years, whereas the development of age-appropriate academic language proficiency generally takes five to seven years. Recognising this distinction is essential, as academic success is closely tied to a student's proficiency in the language of instruction (Cummins, 1981, pp. 9–10; Stanat & Edele, 2016, p. 2). Consequently, it is essential that children receive ongoing support to develop the academic language skills needed for educational success. School D recognised and addressed this need by offering children continued support within their mainstream class through the programme *Français Langue d'Apprentissage (FLA)*, which specifically targets the academic register necessary for success in mainstream classrooms.

The data reveal a shared pedagogical perspective among the teachers that a well-developed first language serves as a crucial foundation for the acquisition of languages. Several teachers advocated for an approach that actively values and builds upon pupils' existing linguistic repertoires. Ms Gerger, for instance, contended that strengthening German proficiency should not come at the expense of students' first languages. She emphasised the importance of school initiatives that recognise multilingualism as a resource. In addition, Ms Essa and Ms Deborah both underscored the important role of parents in supporting their children's development of the first language. While Ms Essa criticised a lack of parental support, noting that some children predisposed little linguist knowledge to build on, Ms Deborah pointed to instances where parents, often with good intentions, prioritised the use of French over the first language at home. She observed that this practice can lead to the fossilisation of errors in French which become increasingly difficult to correct over time, hindering children's progress in French. The development of the first language at home indeed plays a crucial role in the acquisition of the language of instruction at school. Low proficiency in the first language may constrain the acquisition of a second language (Krashen, 1981, p. 69). Consequently, schools should actively promote collaboration with parents to support the continued development of the child's first language.

*Negotiating language use at the crossroads of translanguaging and monolingualism*
Teachers have mentioned that children who share the same first language often support each other during lessons by clarifying the subject matter to one another in their native language. This is a commonly observed action and can be categorised as a form of pupil-led translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014, pp. 91–92). This peer interaction not only enhances the students' understanding but also serves as a valuable resource for teachers, particularly when they face challenges in providing clear explanations to their pupils due to language barriers. In such cases, it facilitates a more seamless teaching process. Ms Beatrice noted that this

dynamic was particularly beneficial when she had newly arrived students with whom she did not share a common language:

> And there, I rely a lot on students who have been here for several months to translate for students who have just arrived, who don't understand. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 249)[22]

Ms Claire also stated that students who had arrived prior to others, could assist their peers by communicating in their shared first language. Even though this serves a resource, she restricts first language use:

> But I control that actually. It's mainly when they arrive, when they're new, that they're a bit lost. So, that's when I let the old ones talk a lot to the new ones in Portuguese or whatever. But after a while, I stop. Because otherwise, they'd go on speaking Portuguese all day, all week. And they still have to learn French. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 251-252)[23]

This quote highlights that while first languages can be utilised as a valuable resource for learning French, their potential is recognised only to a certain extent. When employed more frequently, they appear to be in competition with French, as expressed by Ms Claire. This perspective was widely shared by many of the teachers interviewed. García and Wei (2014, p. 73) argue that a theory of translanguaging can facilitate teachers to understand that both languages do not strive against each other, but support each other, as due to the abolition of distinction between L1 and L2 it is a non-competitive approach. Although the teachers acknowledged the importance of the children's first languages and recognised their potential as a resource for language acquisition, most teachers imposed limits on their use. Ms Claire was the only teacher who explicitly stated that she had established a rule for the use of languages in her classroom:

> So, it's important not to completely cut them off from their mother tongue all day long. So, in fact, the rule I've set is: 'You can speak in your mother tongue during free time, at snack time, at break time. But during the lessons, I speak French.' (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 241)[24]

In this statement, multilingualism is valued, as it is stated that it is important not to separate the children from their first languages. However, multilingualism is valued in the form of parallel monolingualism, where languages are perceived as separate systems rather than forming one fluid, hybrid system (Heller, 2006, p. 5). In this way, this rule reflects a traditional understanding

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[22] Et là, je m'appuie beaucoup sur des élèves qui sont là depuis plusieurs mois pour traduire aux élèves qui viennent d'arriver, qui ne comprennent pas. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 249)

[23] Mais ça, je contrôle, en fait. C'est surtout quand ils arrivent, quand ils sont nouveaux, qu'ils sont un peu perdus. Alors là, effectivement, je laisse beaucoup les anciens parler en portugais ou autre aux nouveaux. Mais après un certain temps, je stoppe. Parce que sinon, eux, ils sont partis pour parler portugais toute la journée, toute la semaine. Et il faut quand même apprendre le français. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 251-252)

[24] Alors, c'est important, en fait, de ne pas les couper totalement de leur langue maternelle toute la journée. Donc, en fait, la règle que j'ai fixée, c'est : 'On peut parler dans sa langue maternelle pendant les moments de gratuité, de collation, à la récréation. Mais pendant les heures de cours, là, je parle français, en fait.' (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 241)

of bilingualism as additive, thus as two language systems that must be kept apart from each other (García & Wei, 2014, p. 51). While all languages are tolerated, their use is separated by function: The first languages may be used during breaks, but French is expected to be spoken during lessons. This is a common practice that has also been emphasised in bilingual education with the aim of avoiding so-called cross-contaminations. Thereby, separation can be handled differently, e.g. by teacher, by time, by subject, by space. This leads to alternating periods of instruction where only one language is used and thus promotes a parallel development in two languages that are not meant to cross (García & Sylvan, 2011, p. 388; García & Wei, 2014, p. 55; Gorter & Cenoz, 2017, p. 235; Lewis et al., 2012b, p. 643). In this way, practices that combine both first and second language as is for example the case in code-switching have been perceived as unfortunate and regrettable by teachers, even though they may acknowledge their necessity at the same time (Macaro, 2005, p. 68; Sayer, 2008, p. 94). This mirrors traditional conceptualisations of first language and second language acquisition as two separate developments rather than considering bilingual language development as a continuous and integrated process, as is suggested in translanguaging (Martin–Beltrán, 2010, p. 255). Preparatory programmes show multiple forms of separation. Not only the one described by Ms Claire that differentiates language use within preparatory programmes. Separation already starts with the implementation of schooling structures separate from the mainstream. In models, where students simultaneously are part of a mainstream class, separation by time, meaning a certain number of hours or by subject that the students spend in their mainstream class, as could be physical education, arts, music and maths are common. In addition, there are specific teachers assigned to teach in those programmes. Such separations reinforce ideas of parallel monolingualism. While preparatory programmes mostly take over the responsibility of second language teaching, the mainstream lessons are not required to adapt to the multilingual reality as it is handled separately (Karakayalı et al., 2017b, p. 226). Translanguaging is therefore an important approach for the school to take with its multilingual pupils. It allows for the creation of alternative representations and expressions since it withstands the historical and cultural stances of monolingualism or additive bilingualism, freeing people from traditional linguistic norms and ideologies as e.g. parallel monolingualism (García & Wei, 2014, p. 43).

Of particular interest in this regard is how Ms Evseeva and Ms Fedorova handle language use with regard to their first language Russian. Ms Fedorova even mentioned that the shared language with Ukrainian children motivated her to apply for a position at the school. Both teachers explained that a selective use of Russian could be useful for teaching German, they primarily used Russian to clarify more complex topics:

When I see that I have to explain something, yes, something that is a bit more complex, yes, and their knowledge is not sufficient, then I can either explain it briefly in Russian or I can also translate some things, for example. But when I see, okay, someone is continuously trying to speak to me in Russian, I interrupt that now. Then I say, 'this is a German class, this isn't a Russian club, so we speak German.' So, at certain moments, I don't consider it wrong, it helps sometimes. (Interview Ms Evseeva, Pos. 141-145)[25]

At the beginning, I questioned myself, 'how often should I do this?' [...] I only used German in class and spoke Russian with them beyond class. Now I'm about the same. I try to use German in the lesson. And apart from that, I can often support them in their mother tongue. That's all that's missing, to explain something, to motivate, whatever. I think that's very valuable. I can simply give them more than other children. All my psychological skills are fully involved. As they are exposed to German the whole day, I don't feel guilty. If I were with them the whole day, I would think about how I could do it differently. (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 280-286)[26]

Ms Fedorova also seems to strive to use German during lessons, while allowing more space for Russian outside of class. Nonetheless, she incorporates Russian into her teaching when explaining concepts or motivating the students. The shared language enables her to utilise all her skills more effectively, including the psychological ones. In her view, the use of Russian allows her to support these children better than those with whom she does not share a common language. Nevertheless, she emphasises that it is crucial for the children to speak enough German. She justifies her decision of employing Russian by explaining that the children at School F primarily engage in regular school activities and are frequently exposed to German. However, in a parallel model, she would approach this differently. Her need to justify her decision suggests that she might have an underlying idea that it would not be correct to resort to the first language even though she has stressed the utility of doing so. This would resonate with Macaro's (2005, p. 69) findings that teachers reported to feel guilty when they fell back to their first language they shared with their students.

It was particularly insightful to observe how Mr Arnaud and Ms Essa approached their students' first languages. Both teachers appreciated their students' languages and made efforts to incorporate them into their teaching. For Mr Arnaud, the primary focus of language use is

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[25] Wenn ich sehe, dass ich irgendwas erklären muss, ja, so was ein bisschen komplexer ist, ja, und die Kenntnisse reichen nicht aus, dann kann ich entweder so kurz auf Russisch erklären oder ich kann ja zum Beispiel Sachen auch übersetzen teilweise. Aber wenn ich sehe, okay, da versucht jemand, mich dann in Russisch so durchgehend anzuquatschen, also das unterbreche ich inzwischen. Dann sage ich, ‚das ist Deutschunterricht, das ist keine Russisch-AG, deswegen sprechen wir auch Deutsch.' Also das heißt also punktuell finde ich das nicht so, also nicht verkehrt, das hilft manchmal. (Interview Ms Evseeva, Pos. 141-145)

[26] Am Anfang war das noch für mich auch so ein Fragezeichen. Wie oft mache ich das? […] Ich habe im Unterricht dann nur Deutsch gemacht, außerhalb des Unterrichts dann Russisch mit ihnen gesprochen. Jetzt bin ich auch ungefähr so. Ich versuche mal im DAZ-Bereich Deutsch zu benutzen. Und ansonsten kann ich sie ja sehr oft abholen auf der Muttersprache. Das ist ja alles, was fehlt, dann irgendwas erklären, zu motivieren, zu weiß ich was. Das ist schon sehr wertvoll, glaube ich. Ich kann ihnen einfach mehr geben als anderen Kindern. Da ist das ganze Psychologische, was ich kann und ausübe, ist mit eingesetzt in voller Kraft. Dadurch kommt es ja, dass Sie den ganzen Tag auf Deutsch haben. Deswegen habe ich auch kein schlechtes Gewissen. Wäre ich den ganzen Tag mit ihnen, würde ich noch überlegen, wie ich das anders mache. (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 280-286)

communication. He emphasised the importance of mutual understanding among students and highlighted the central role of French as lingua franca:

> I don't forbid it. But I remind that we're here to communicate with each other. If I have two Arabic speakers talking and laughing together, the others don't understand. So, I remind them, 'explain to us why you're laughing.' Then you'll have to explain it in French. So, there has to be a just balance. But it's not banned, it's not forbidden. I don't forbid it, and I never will. But I do require that we communicate. And if we communicate, we have to find a common language. And the common language here is French. Even if they don't master it very well yet, we're going to make sure it's going to be common to everyone. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 86-90)[27]

My observations confirmed that Mr Arnaud consistently put this attitude into practice. He frequently demonstrated a tolerant stance toward the use of students' first languages, often refraining from intervening when pupils communicated in their first languages:

> Especially in the last lesson, I could see how the children sometimes spoke in their first languages, for example in Arabic or Italian. This wasn't forbidden. Mr Arnaud didn't address this at all. He just tolerated it. Most of the time children spoke French with each other, even when they shared the same first language, but occasionally they would use another language. (Fieldnotes, 17.06.2024)

> At one point, the two boys were speaking in Arabic. One of the girls pointed this out to Mr Arnaud, saying that they were speaking Arabic and that they should be speaking French. Mr Arnaud hadn't shown any reaction to the boys initially, but he intervened when the girl pointed it out and the boys stopped talking in Arabic. It seemed that the boys weren't talking about something that was related to the topic of the lesson but rather having a private chat. A similar situation already happened yesterday in another group. A girl who had only been in Belgium for a few weeks was speaking Italian with another girl who had been there since the beginning of the school year. Another girl then pointed out to Mr Arnaud that they should be speaking in French. His answer was that it was okay because the girl had been asking for clarification about the lesson. (Fieldnotes, 19.06.2024)

Mr Arnaud showed himself very opened towards the students' first languages as he let the students use them. But he also seems to be in favour of interaction and communication within the whole group that has an inclusive character, as he remarked in the interview. So, he intervened in the case where a student complained and set a limit where the children's first languages exclude other children, creating a situation of *excluding inclusion*. His approach further corresponds with Hilt's (2017, pp. 597-598) findings, which suggest that teachers tend to be more receptive to the use of students' first languages when it serves educational purposes, whereas they are generally less supportive of its use for non-educational ends.

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[27] Moi, je ne l'interdis pas. Mais je rappelle quand même qu'on est là pour communiquer ensemble. Si j'ai deux arabophones qui parlent ensemble et qui rigolent ensemble, les autres ne comprennent pas. Donc je leur rappelle, 'expliquez-nous pourquoi vous riez.' Là, vous allez devoir l'expliquer en français. Donc il y a un juste milieu à avoir. Mais ce n'est pas banni, ce n'est pas interdit. Donc je ne l'interdis pas et je ne l'interdirai jamais. Mais je demande qu'on communique. Et si on communique, on doit trouver une langue qui est commune. Et la langue qui est commune ici, c'est le français. Même si eux ne la maîtrisent pas encore très bien, on va faire en sorte qu'elle soit commune à tout le monde. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 86-90)

*Teachers as co-learners: Empowering children in their language learning process*

García & Wei (2014, p. 110) have described that translanguaging entails shifts in traditional power dynamics between teachers and pupils. Since translanguaging seeks to empower learners to take charge of their own language practices, teachers rather act as facilitators. Therefore, creating learning opportunities for their students that optimise translanguaging as a learning tool is as important as taking the role of a co-learner (García & Wei, 2014, pp. 93, 110).

During my observation I could indeed observe that power dynamics between teachers and pupils in preparatory programmes were less strong than in my own experience in mainstream education, especially in the case of Mr Arnaud. He had developed a strong tie to its students and instead of providing frontal teaching he often sat among his students, putting himself more into the position of a learner instead of an instructor. The design of the classroom played a pivotal role in this. The arrangement of the desks into group tables not only encouraged communication between the pupils but also broke with the traditional arrangement of desks around the blackboard and the teacher, favouring a more pupil-centred approach. This shows that the role of room design should not be underestimated in the implementation of the translanguaging approach.

Several teachers understood their role as that of a co-learner. The following statement of Ms Amandine illustrates this in a good way:

> Sometimes I ask them to teach me some words in their language so we can have an exchange, so that I also learn a few words, to show, 'I also make an effort to learn something in your language.' They're very happy about it. And then we exchange. I teach them in my language, which is French here, and that way they learn French. But it's an exchange. (Interview Ms Amandine, Pos. 136-137)[28]

Ms Amandine described that she asked her students to teach her words in their first languages. Asking the children how something was said in their first languages was a common practice among all interviewed teachers. The motivations behind it were varied. The case of Ms Amandine reveals that she understood language acquisition as a two-way process, which puts her in the position of a co-learner. Such behaviour can have a positive effect, as the teacher functions as a role model for its students. If teachers take a risk to learn a language they don't master, this can encourage the pupils to take such a risk in the language they are learning (Flores & García, 2013, p. 253). I was also able to observe a special moment of co-learning in Mr Arnaud's lesson:

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[28] Il y a des fois, moi, je leur demande qu'ils m'apprennent des mots de leur langue à eux pour avoir un échange, pour que moi, j'apprenne aussi quelques mots, pour montrer, 'moi aussi, je fais l'effort d'apprendre quelque chose dans ta langue.' Eux, ils sont tout contents. Et après, alors, on échange. Moi, je leur apprends dans ma langue, qui est le français ici, et comme ça, eux, ils apprennent le français. Mais c'est un échange. (Interview Ms Amandine, Pos. 136-137)

> I gave the children a little something to thank them for allowing me to take part in their lessons this week. One pupil then said a sentence to me in Arabic and explained that it is something you say when someone has done something well. Mr Arnaud stood up, took a notebook out of a drawer, came back to the table we were sitting and asked the pupil to say it again. She repeated the phrase, and he wrote it down as he understood it. He then read out other sentences in Arabic from his notebook that other students had taught him, along with their meanings. The pupil managed more or less to understand him, so he asked her for the correct pronunciation. (Fieldnotes, 21.06.2024)

By taking out his notebook to write down what the pupil said, Mr Arnaud positioned himself as a co-learner. This gesture showed his interest in the pupil's first language. At the same time, he placed the pupil in the role of an expert by acknowledging his limited knowledge of Arabic when he was asking her to help him with the correct pronunciation of the sentences he read aloud (Flores & García, 2013, p. 253).

Despite such two-way approaches, care should be taken not to romanticise co-learning. Especially in the context of preparatory programmes, the aim of language learning remains a unidirectional process. The aim is that pupils learn the language of instruction to access mainstream education. There is a clear hierarchy between the languages and no equal exchange (Baker, 2010, p. 62; Gorter & Cenoz, 2017, p. 234). Nevertheless, taking on the role of a co-learner is still useful for the implementation of translanguaging. Teachers can act as role models and encourage their students to take risks in the language of instruction. Moreover, this role challenges traditional hierarchical structures between teachers and students, thereby fostering a more learner-centred approach to language acquisition in which teachers act as facilitators supporting students throughout the learning process.

## 10 Conclusion

This thesis grounds on the understanding that nation-state ideologies have constructed conceptions of monolingualism and bilingualism that persist into present days. These ideologies are deeply embedded in linguistic terminology. Terms such as *mother tongue*, *native language*, *heritage language*, *family language* but also the terms *first language* and *second language* employed in this thesis, reproduce these traditional understandings, making it difficult to express new conceptions of bilingualism.

A consequence of nation-state formation has been the homogenisation of language relations, languages and language skills. This is based on the idea that a nation-state is a linguistically homogeneous entity, with a single language within its borders. This perspective extends to the assumption that an individual's linguistic repertoire entirely aligns with the national language. In the context of Germany, this ideology has led to the emergence of the *monolingual habitus*. While German was initially used as the language of instruction at the beginning of the 19th century with the aim of making education accessible to all members of society, by the second

half of the century its role was to foster nationalism. The concept of German as a national language became normalised, so that schools expected children to predispose German language skills. The *monolingual habitus* describes the persistence of these ideas to this day, as well as the neglect of the fact that these ideas have been constructed and are taken as natural realities. Consequently, schools continue to expect children to predispose German language skills, and the national language is still considered the most appropriate language of instruction. In the case of Belgium, it has been demonstrated that despite being an officially multilingual country, it has also been influenced by nation-state ideology. According to the "territoriality" principle, specific languages have been assigned to regions. This has resulted to the emergence of *parallel bilingualism* in Belgium.

Although these historically rooted ideologies remain influential, they have been increasingly challenged. Critical voices have emphasised the importance of prioritising the practices of speakers over the study of linguistic systems. The *translanguaging* approach conceptualises language as a form of human interaction rather than a fixed structure, and normalises bilingualism by focusing on observable bilingual practices. It gives rise to new language practices that transform traditional understandings of bilingualism as two autonomous linguistic systems. Instead, it proposes understanding bilingualism as a single dynamic repertoire containing all linguistic features. Therefore, *translanguaging* provides a useful approach for education because it builds on existing multilingual practices as it encourages students to use their entire linguistic repertoire.

This thesis has further shown how primary schools in Berlin and the Wallonia-Brussels Federation organise the schooling of newly arrived children through the implementation of specialised preparatory programmes. In both contexts, the official aim of preparatory programmes is to provide children with an intermediate stage of schooling in which they can acquire the language skills needed to follow mainstream classes. The implementation of these programmes varies greatly from school to school.

Preparatory programmes have been criticised for creating parallel schooling structures for newly arrived children. While integration to mainstream education is the overarching goal of preparatory programmes, they first exclude children from mainstream classes. Preparatory programmes frequently employ both inclusive and exclusive practices, raising questions about their adequacy to fulfil their stated objectives. There has been evidence that separating newly arrived students is not pedagogically valuable, as immersion has been shown to facilitate language learning processes. Rather than supporting educational goals, separation based on language proficiency appears to function as a proxy for discriminatory practices. As justifications based on ethnic or national affiliation have become untenable due to anti-

discrimination regulations, the focus has shifted towards a perceived language deficit. Using language deficit as a criterion for difference further grounds on a fundamental structural principle of the school system, namely the creation of homogeneity. As language-based differentiation creates highly heterogeneous learning groups within preparatory programmes, it could be argued that it maintains homogeneity within mainstream education by sorting out what is perceived as "other". This results in the risk of reinforcing the homogeneous norm and consequently also processes of "othering" of what differs from this constructed norm, as exclusion becomes institutionalised. Preparatory programmes then are regarded as necessary compensatory measures to address the differences of children who deviate from the established norm. In this way, separating newly arrived children with the help of preparatory programmes reflects a deficit-based perspective, suggesting that they must be "resocialised" to be able to participate in mainstream education. This practice of separation further allows mainstream education to avoid processes of self-questioning and of adapting the education system to the migration society. This compensatory measure aligns with an integration discourse often marked by assimilationist ideas, as is also evidenced by the limited recognition of plurilingual approaches. The practice of keeping newly arrived children's first languages apart through the establishment of preparatory programmes is therefore a continuation of the *monolingual habitus* and *parallel bilingualism*.

In both examined contexts, rather than establishing rigid separate structures as in the parallel model, it has been recommended to pursue a progressive integration into mainstream education, as described in the partial integrative model. However, mere physical inclusion into a mainstream classroom does not guarantee inclusion. Students with limited proficiency in the language of instruction are often excluded, as they struggle to follow lessons or actively participate in communication. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to establish inclusive structures within the mainstream classroom. Through the establishment of parallel schooling structures for newly arrived children, migration is given little consideration in the development of regular lessons. Therefore, a paradigm shift that puts children's needs first, is necessary. School structures need to be reconfigured according to the contemporary student body.

Preparatory programmes reveal structural tensions between their organisation and their objective of providing newly arrived children targeted support in acquiring the language of instruction. This means that the way they are organised is not or only partially conducive to the objectives of preparatory programmes. This has led to the following research question:

*What structural tensions can be identified between institutional requirements and the aim of pupil-oriented language support in the existing models of preparatory programmes at primary schools in Berlin and the Wallonia-Brussels Federation?*

To provide a well-founded answer to the research question, the analysis has addressed the following three subordinate aspects:

1. Teachers' perspectives on the aims and benefits of preparatory programmes
2. Structural constraints between aims and implementation of preparatory programmes
3. Teachers' reactions to their students' multilingualism

The analysis has shown that teachers in both countries agreed with the officially formulated aim of preparatory programmes. Teachers have highlighted two sub-goals to reach the overarching goal of integration into mainstream education: the acquisition of the language of instruction and the creation of an emotionally safe and relationally supportive environment. These objectives are interdependent and embedded in broader institutional logics that construct newly arrived students as not apt for participation in mainstream education, revealing a lack of inclusiveness and adaptability of the mainstream system towards newly arrived students. The establishment of preparatory programmes is thus perceived necessary, primarily because mainstream education lacks the structures and resources to provide targeted language support for newly arrived students. In this sense, preparatory programmes operate as a pedagogical workaround to systemic limitations in mainstream education. Rather than transforming mainstream education to become more inclusive, preparatory programmes often compensate for its limitations. Instead of separating newly arrived children from mainstream education, schools could respond to their needs by offering specialised in-class support through an additional teacher, as is the case in the School F. The experience of the School F has further shown that in order to create an emotionally safe and relationally supportive environment, it is not necessary to separate newly arrived children from mainstream education. Such an environment can also be created within mainstream classes, provided that adequate structures are in place.  Apart from receiving in-class support, this can be reached through the establishment of a buddy system. In this way, pupils assist their newly arrived peers during school activities and breaks, promoting social interaction and integration.

The analysis has shown that one key structural challenge for providing children tailored language support are missing frameworks as curricular guidelines and adequate teaching material. As a result, the responsibility for designing and delivering instruction is largely delegated to individual teachers. This highlights the necessity for the development of teaching materials that are specifically tailored to newly arrived children. In addition, the provision of overarching curricular guidelines would offer valuable reference points for teachers.

Another structural constraint identified, relates to the duration of support. In both countries, teachers have found that support provided for one year is often insufficient, even if it can be extended. Most investigated schools lacked a long-term support system for newly arrived children. The analysis highlighted the importance of providing continuous support for all newly arrived children, bearing in mind their future education in the mainstream system.

Providing individualised support within highly heterogeneous learning groups has also proven to be a significant challenge. Preparatory programmes are often organised in ways that bring together children of different ages and language proficiencies. In this context, differentiated instruction becomes a crucial pedagogical approach to respond to the diverse learning needs present within one single classroom. However, it has proven to be challenging to organise differentiated teaching in a manner that offers children a personalised support. In this way, preparatory programmes are not always a useful structure to offer targeted support as children are sometimes left to fend for themselves, similar as it has been described to happen in mainstream classes. If the preparatory programme is not organised in a way that enables the provision of individualised support, children's separation from mainstream education becomes even less tenable.

The last part of the analysis examined teachers' responses to their students' multilingualism. It became evident that both teachers and pupils used several languages to teach and learn the language of instruction. This highlights the potential of adopting a *translanguaging* approach when working with newly arrived children. All participating teachers have shown to appreciate their students first languages. Beyond mere appreciation, teachers have even shown to recognise their students first languages as a resource for the acquisition of the language of instruction.

Several moments of *translanguaging* have been observed, initiated both by pupils and teachers. However, teachers did not engage in systematically planned translanguaging practices. Their translanguaging practices were mostly limited to asking children how something was said in their first languages. Some teachers have also shown to take the role of a facilitator encouraging pupils to *translanguage*. Nevertheless, the *translanguaging* moments were of great value. Students would mostly employ *translanguaging* for three aims, (1) to participate in class, (2) enhance communication and (3) to clarify the subject matter with the help of their peers through the use of their first language. Teachers showed more variation of aims among their *translanguaging* practices. They have employed *translanguaging* to (1) valorise students and promote pride, (2) encourage cross-linguistic analysis, (3) explain complex concepts, (4) motivate children and (5) encourage students to take a risk in the language they are learning. Thereby it has been emphasised that it is important that teachers

take the role of a co-learner. This role challenges traditional hierarchical structures between teachers and students, thereby fostering a more learner-centred approach to language acquisition in which teachers act as facilitators supporting students throughout the learning process.

Even though *translanguaging* provides a valuable resource for language teaching, teachers often restricted the use of the first language. Some teachers have adopted an approach where the language of instruction should be used during the class, while the first languages could be used during the breaks. Such a division reflects ideas of *parallel bilingualism*, where languages can be separated from each other. However, to effectively make use of the children's linguistic resources it is important that teachers provide a space where children can actively use their whole linguistic repertoire. In this way, language support becomes pupil-centred as it normalises dynamic bilingual practices. This thesis has shown that teachers do not necessarily need to master their student's first languages to include *translanguaging* as an educational approach. The teachers' rather spontaneous *translanguaging* actions have shown to be of great value to valorise students and to support them in making meaning. Nevertheless, teachers could integrate *translanguaging* in a more planned way to support their students, especially if they have a certain proficiency of their first languages.

In the observed contexts, preparatory programme teachers have shown great awareness in appreciating their students first languages and using them as a resource to facilitate the acquisition process of the language of instruction. At the same time, they reproduced ideas of *parallel monolingualism*. Newly arrived students are thus taught within tensions that result from the coexistence of these opposed ideologies. Nevertheless, a shift appears to be taking place in how preparatory programme teachers engage with multilingual students. This shift needs to be further extended and institutionalised within the mainstream education system.

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# 12 Appendix

Overview of the organisation of preparatory programmes in the participating schools

*Table 2: Organisation of DASPA in schools in Belgium*

| School | A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Location** | Bressoux, Liège | Saint-Gilles, Brussles | Saint-Gilles, Brussles | Saint-Gilles, Brussles |
| **Preparatory Programme since** | 2022/23 | N/A | N/A | 2023/24 |
| **Students enrolled in preparatory programme** | 33 | 15 | Grades 1-2: 10 Grades 3-6: 17 | ~ 30 |
| **Organisational model according to Massumi et al. 2015** | Partial Integrative | Grades 1-2: Submersive Grades 3-6: Partial Integrative | Parallel - Partial Integrative | Partial Integrative - Integrative |
| **Concrete implementation** | DASPA for pupils from grades 1 to 6. | Grades 1 and 2 are only schooled in mainstream classes. DASPA for pupils from grades 3 to 6. | DASPA for pupils from grades 1 to 6. | DASPA for pupils from 3rd year of preschool to grade 6 of primary school. |
| | Children spend half of the time in their mainstream class and half of the time in the DASPA (12 hours each). | Children spend half of the time in their mainstream class and half of the time in the DASPA. | Children should only be schooled in the DASPA. | Children are taught maths, history and science in their mainstream class and attend the DASPA for French (6-8 hours a week). Grades 1 and 2 are taught much less hours in DASPA. |
| | The DASPA is organised in small groups of 4-6 pupils according to their age and skills. | The DASPA is organised in two groups of ~ 8 pupils according to their age (grades 3-4 and grades 5-6). | There are two DASPA classes divided by age. Grades 1-2 attend the DASPA 5 days a week. Grades 3-6 are taught in DASPA 4 days a week and once a week in their mainstream class. | Grades 1 and 2 are taught separately from grades 3-6. Grades 3-6 are organised in small groups (6-11 students) according to their reading level and level of French language acquisition. |
| | Sixth grade students in addition receive a few hours of support within their | - | - | - |

|  | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | mainstream class. | | | |
| **Duration of preparatory programme** | One year Possibility to prolong | Up to one year Possibility to prolong | Up to one year Possibility to prolong | One year Possibility to prolong |
| **Transition into mainstream education** | Gradual transition: Children progressively are taught more hours in their mainstream class until they transit completely. | Once the children are autonomous in French, they only attend their mainstream class. | Usually after 6 months children start to visit their mainstream class for 1 or 2 additional days a week until they transit completely. But the transition can also happen suddenly.<br><br>The DASPA teacher of grades 1 and 2 organises ateliers for some hours a week where the DASPA students participate together with their mainstream peers. | N/A |
| **Language support after transition into mainstream** | Not available<br><br>General support for mainstream class students | N/A | Former DASPA students can join the DASPA when their mainstream class has Dutch lesson (3-5 hours a week).<br><br>General support for mainstream class students if available | FLA support within the mainstream class possible |
| **Teachers (grades)** | Mr Arnaud (3-6; full time) | Ms Béatrice (3-6; part time) | Ms Claire (3-6; 4 days a week) | Ms Déborah (3-6) |
| | Ms Anne (1, 2, 6; 3 days a week) | | Ms Chantal (3-6; 2 days a week) | Ms Denise (preschool, 1-2) |
| | Ms Amandine (1, 2, 3, 6; 2 days a week) | | Ms Charlotte (1-2; full time) | |

*Table 3: Organisation of Willkommensklassen in schools in Germany*

| School | E | F | G |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Location** | Märkisches Viertel, Reinickendorf, Berlin | Märkisches Viertel, Reinickendorf, Berlin | Lübars, Reinickendorf, Berlin |
| **Preparatory programme since** | 2014/15 ? | 2022/23 | 2023/24 |
| **Students enrolled in** | 20 | 11 | 12 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **preparatory programme** | | | |
| **Organisational model according to Massumi et al. 2015** | Grades 1-2: Submersive Grades 3-6: Partial Integrative, Parallel | Grades 1-2: Submersive Grades 3-6: Integrative | Grades 1-2: Submersive Grades 3-6: Partial Integrative |
| **Concrete implementation** | Grades 1 and 2 are only schooled in mainstream classes. WK for pupils from grades 3-6. | No WK but *Direktintegration* into mainstream classes with additional language support! | Grades 1 and 2 are only schooled in mainstream classes. WK for pupils from grades 3-6. |
| | Children should attend a mainstream class and the WK. They should attend physical education, music, art and subjects of particular strength in the mainstream class and spend 6-8 hours a week in the WK. Some children were only schooled in the WK. | Grades 1 and 2 are only schooled in their mainstream class without further language support. Grades 3-6 are schooled in their mainstream class and receive specialised language support when their mainstream class has German. Children with very little skills can further be taken out during natural and social science. | Children attend the WK 4 days a week, once a week they attend their mainstream class. They further participate in their mainstream class for physical education, music and art. |
| | - | Ms Fedorova also accompanies the children during their mainstream classes and organises that children receive tuition outside of school. | - |
| **Duration of preparatory programme** | One year Usually prolonged to two years | One year Usually prolonged (up to two years) | 6 months up to 2 years |
| **Transition into mainstream education** | Gradual transition: Children progressively are taught more hours in their mainstream class until they transit completely. Organisation of joint activities with mainstream students | Buddy-System: Every child is assigned a buddy that supports and orientates the newly arrived child in school activities and breaks. Idea to accompany end of support by a ritual. | There is a partial integration into the mainstream class from the beginning. Once the teachers determine that the children are able to follow the lessons in all subjects, they fully join the mainstream class. |
| **Language support after transition into mainstream** | Not available General Support Status | Not available | German as second language Other support measures |
| **Teachers (grades)** | Ms Essa (3-6, full time) Ms Evseeva (3-6; 2 days a week) | Ms Fedorova (3-6) Felicia (3-6; assistant) | Ms Gerger (3-6) |

## Interviews

*Table 4: Overview Interview Sample Belgium*

| Teacher | Teaching Experience | Studies | Formation Preparatory Programme | First language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Mr Arnaud** | ~ 25 years teaching in primary school | Teaching in primary schools (~ 25 years ago) | 15 days of formation to teach in DASPA within 1 year | French |
| **Ms Anne** | Since 2016 Preschool teacher at school A Since 2023/24 DASPA | 2012-2015 Studies for preschool teaching | No DASPA formation | French |
| **Ms Amandine** | Preschool teacher Since 2023/24 DASPA | Studies for preschool teaching (FLA?) | FLA and DASPA formation | French |
| **Ms Béatrice** | Several years of logopedic support in schools Since February 2024 DASPA | 2013 Master in Logopaedic | 2 days of DASPA formation by IFEC | French |
| **Ms Claire** | 24 years teaching Since 2022/23 DASPA | 2000 graduated as a teacher | 8 days of formation to teach in DASPA (2023) | French |
| **Ms Déborah** | 20 years teaching at school D | N/A | French as foreign and second language at UCL | French |

*Table 5: Overview Interview Sample Germany*

| Teacher | Teaching Experience | Studies | Formation Preparatory Programme | First language |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ms Essa** | Since 2017 WK at school E | Media documentation (D) German, Political Science and Spanish (D) | 3-months German as second language training programme from the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) | German |
| **Ms Evseeva** | Started in School E as a trainee Since 2020 language support Since 2023/24 WK | Design (D) Chemical Technology (Russia) | N/A | Russian (from Russia) |
| **Ms Fedorova** | Since 2022/23 at school F German as second language support | Recognition of German as second language (D) Psychology (D) Naturopath (D) Social Pedagogy (D) English and German for teaching (Russia) | German as second language within regular studies | Russian (from Russia, living in Germany for 21 years) |

| Ms Gerger | Since 2021 at School G Since 2023 as WK teacher | 2021 Examination for teaching at primary school (D) 2019-2021 Traineeship for teaching (D) 2018-2021 Studies for teaching profession (D) 2018 recognition of the subject German at primary school (D) 2010-2016 Promotion in comparative literature and cultural studies (D) 2013-2014 professional training in family counselling (Turkey) 2005-2009 Master in German Studies (Turkey) 2001-2005 Bachelor in Sociology (Turkey) | German within regular studies | probably Turkish, (other?) |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Interview grid

*General/Personal*

Since when does your school have a Willkommensklasse?

How many WK classes are there currently? What is the focus of these classes?

How/when are WK classes opened at schools?

How many children are there in these classes?

What mother tongues do the children have?

How long have you been a teacher? When did you study to become a teacher?

And how long have you been a WK teacher?

What motivated you to become a WK teacher?

*Preparatory programmes*

What do you think is the aim of WK classes?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of preparatory programmes? (compared to direct integration into mainstream classes)

How long do the children stay in the WK class?

How does the transition to mainstream classes work?

How does the co-operation with the teachers of the regular classes work?

How do the children continue to be supported in their language acquisition after the transition to mainstream classes?

How do the children feel in the WK classes?

What is it like to have children of different ages in the same class?

Are you in regular contact with other WK teachers at this school or at other schools?

What are your biggest challenges as a WK teacher?

What would you need to counteract these challenges?

What would you change about the welcome class if you could?

*Education*

How did you prepare to become a WK teacher?

How did your studies prepare you to become a WK teacher? To teach children who do not speak German?

What skills have you developed over the years to successfully teach in WK classes?

What do you think needs to be part of teachers' training so that they are able to work with children who do not speak German?

*Multilingualism*

Do you as a school have a multicultural, multilingual curriculum?

What role do the children's mother tongues play at school or in the classroom? Do you make reference to them?

*Conclusion*

Describe an experience that has impacted you as a welcome class teacher or made you change your perspective.

Is there anything else you would like to tell me that is important to you?

Questionnaire

Allgemeines zur Organisation der Willkommensklasse an Ihrer Schule

1. **Seit wann gibt es an Ihrer Schule eine Willkommensklasse?**

2. Wie viele Schüler gibt es derzeit an Ihrer Schule? Wie viele davon besuchen die Willkommensklasse?

3. **Wie ist die Willkommensklasse an Ihrer Schule organisiert?**

4. Über welchen Zeitraum besuchen die Kinder die Willkommensklasse?

**5. Wie erfolgt die Transition aus der Willkommensklasse in eine Regelklasse?**

6. Werden die Schüler nach dem Verlassen der Willkommensklasse weiterhin im Erwerb der deutschen Sprache unterstützt? Wenn ja, wie?

**7. Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach das Ziel von Willkommensklassen?**

8. Welche Vorteile hat das Format der Willkommensklassen?

**9. Welche Nachteile hat das Format der Willkommensklassen?**

10. Was würden Sie an der Organisation der Willkommensklasse Ihrer Schule ändern, wenn Sie es könnten?

<u>Zu Ihnen</u>

**11. Schildern Sie bitte Ihren akademischen und beruflichen Werdegang.**

12. Seit wann unterrichten Sie in der Willkommensklasse?

**13. Wie gestalten Sie Ihren Unterricht?**

14. Welche Lehrmethoden haben sich als mehr oder weniger erfolgreich herausgestellt?

**15. Stehen Sie in regelmäßigem Austausch mit anderen Willkommensklassen-Lehrern? Wenn ja, wie profitieren Sie von diesem Austausch? Wie kooperieren Sie?**

**16.** Was hat Sie dazu motiviert in einer Willkommensklasse zu unterrichten?

17. **Was mögen Sie an Ihrer Arbeit am meisten?**

18. Was fällt Ihnen an Ihrer Arbeit am schwersten?

**19. Was sind die größten Herausforderungen in Ihrem Beruf?**

20. Was bräuchten Sie, um diesen Herausforderungen entgegenzuwirken?

**21. Was sind die wichtigsten Fähigkeiten in ihrem Beruf?**

22. Was muss Ihrer Meinung nach Bestandteil der Ausbildung von Lehrkräften sein, damit sie erfolgreich mit Kindern arbeiten können, die kein Deutsch sprechen?

**23. Schildern Sie bitte eine Situation in Ihrem Beruf, die Sie geprägt hat oder Ihre Perspektive erweitert hat.**

Mehrsprachigkeit

24. Haben Sie als Schule ein multikulturelles, multilinguales Curriculum?
Falls ja, könnten Sie es bitte mit mir teilen oder die grundlegenden Aspekte hier zusammenfassend aufführen?

25. Welche Muttersprachen haben die Kinder?

**26. Welche Rolle spielen die Muttersprachen der Kinder in Ihrem Unterricht?**

27. **Gibt es etwas Weiteres, was Ihnen wichtig ist und Sie mir mitteilen möchten?**

Analysis

Coding guide

| Liste der Codes | Memo | Häufigkeit |
|---|---|---|
| Codesystem | | 566 |
| Aims of PP | Definition: Everything that is said to be the aim of preparatory prrogrammes, no matter if it is fulfilld or not.<br><br>Example: Das Ziel von Willkommensklassen ist, dass die Kinder hier ankommen mit Herz und Kopf. (Ms Essa 154) | 0 |
| Integration to mainstream education system | Definition: Everything that points out that the overall aim is to support the children so that they can be schooled in the mainstream education system without having difficulties related to the language of instruction or other factors.<br><br>Example: C'est de faire réussir les enfants qui, dans une classe normale, ne sauraient pas comprendre. Et là, on peut retraduire, retravailler, jouer avec eux sur les mots pour qu'ils comprennent et qu'ils réussissent alors à revenir en classe normale.  (Ms Amandine 43) | 8 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wellbeing | Definition: Everything that points out that the overall aim is to create an environment in which the children feel good, safe, that boosts their sel-esteem.<br><br>Example: Mais ça passe par un bien-être aussi, parce qu'au début, ils ne sont pas bien. Ils ne sont pas... Ils ont des émotions, ils ont des tristesses. Donc il faut d'abord régler tout ça. Il faut d'abord mettre... Régler, non. Je n'ai pas le pouvoir de régler, mais il faut d'abord mettre de l'ouate. Il faut d'abord protéger ça. Il faut mettre en sécurité. (M Arnaud 96-98) | 8 |
| Language acquisition | Definition: Anything that states that the acquisition of the language of instruction is the objective of the preparatory programmes. This can also point out to broader finalities, as the ability to communicate in the language of instruction with a finality going beyond their participation in mainstream classes, namely to participate in other areas within or beyond the school, as e.g. to be able to communicate to make friends.<br><br>Example: Il faut les mettre en sécurité et leur apprendre le français, pour que le français devienne quelque chose qui fasse partie d'eux aussi, qui leur permette de suivre les cours, mais aussi de se faire des amis ici, de communiquer. (M Arnaud 99) | 5 |
| Advantages of PP | Definition: Everything that is mentioned that is beneficial for the children that they find in the specific context of the preparatory programmes and that is not given or hard to implement in mainstream classes.<br><br>Example: Mais mon regard leur apporte aussi, parce que moi, je les ai en petits groupes. Et avec beaucoup plus d'interaction. (M Arnaud 121) | 0 |
| Small groups | Definition: Everything that underlines the importance of learning in small groups rather than in a big class.<br><br>Example: Mais mon regard leur apporte aussi, parce que moi, je les ai en petits groupes. Et avec beaucoup plus d'interaction.<br> (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 121) | 4 |
| Individualised support | Definition: Everything that underlines that preparatory programmes offer the possibilty of more individualised education than in a maintream class, according to the specific needs od the children.<br><br>Example: Les avantages, c'est qu'il y a quelqu'un qui ne s'occupe que de ça dans l'école. Ça permet d'avoir un accompagnement beaucoup plus individualisé pour ces élèves-là. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 171-172) | 11 |
| Faster language acquisition | Definition: Everyhing that refers to the faster language acquisition due to teh specific preparatory programme model at place.<br><br>Example: L'avantage de la classe DASPA, c'est que pendant un certain nombre d'heures, l'enfant va être pris en charge, hors de sa classe, pour apprendre le français. Chose qu'il ne fera pas. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 105) | 4 |

| | Communicatio n | Definition: Everything that describes that preparatory programmes are more opened towards communication and interaction than mainstream classes.

Example: Les avantages, c'est que c'est des petits groupes. Donc on sait dialoguer avec eux, on sait expliquer. Dans une grande classe, on ne sait pas faire ça. On donne la consigne, l'enfant doit comprendre et le faire. On peut expliquer un petit peu, mais pas comme dans une classe DASPA. Une classe DASPA, c'est vraiment une classe séparée de langage, où on peut faire plus de choses avec eux, différentes, pour qu'ils comprennent la même consigne. (Interview Ms Amandine, Pos. 47-49) | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Immersion | Definition: Everything that alludes to the importance of having a space in which the language of instruction is used. This normally refers to the mainstream classes in mixed models.

Example: Was die Kinder hier natürlich als Vorteil haben, sie können in diesen kleinen Gruppen so ein bisschen was lernen, aneignen. Und sie haben ja aber zu anderem auch dieses Sprachenfeld. Und wenn sie in die reguläre Klasse gehen, können sie diese Sachen, die wir da geübt haben, gleich anwenden. (Interview Ms Evseeva, Pos. 75) | 3 |
| | Lasting positive effect | Definition: Everything that states that preparatory programme have a positive effect on the pupil's education in a longterm view.

Example: Tandis que dans une classe DASPA, le fait de baigner à temps plein dans le français, du coup, il ne sera peut-être pas obligé de doubler une année et il va pouvoir poursuivre sa scolarité au mieux (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 151) | 5 |
| | Softness | Definition: Everything that mentions that the prepatory programmes offer a softer, a more secure environment in which children can learn at their level.

Example: C'est plutôt un climat de confiance, de cocon, c'est serein chez moi. On est là pour faire des choses doucement, à leur rythme. Et donc le fait d'être dans cette ambiance-là, c'est aussi agréable. Tant pour les enseignants, je crois, que pour les enfants, j'espère en tout cas. (Interview Ms Deborah, Pos. 193-194) | 9 |
| Disadvantages of PP | | Definition: Everything that is mentioned that is not beneficial for the children and results within the specific context of preparatory programmes.

Example: Das Format der Willkommensklasse hat zwar viele Vorteile, birgt jedoch auch erhebliche Nachteile, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die soziale Integration, die Verzögerung der fachlichen Bildung und die Gefahr der Stigmatisierung. (Ms Gerger 27). | 0 |
| | Loss of mainstream education | Definition: Everything that alludes to the fact of missing out competences that the other children learn within the mainstream class, be it related to the language of | 5 |

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| | instruction or to specific subjects.

Example: | |
| Isolation | Definition: Everything that states that children from preparatory programmes do not form part of the school community but are isolated from it.

Example: Das Format der Willkommensklasse hat zwar viele Vorteile, birgt jedoch auch erhebliche Nachteile, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die soziale Integration, die Verzögerung der fachlichen Bildung und die Gefahr der Stigmatisierung. (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, Pos. 27) | 3 |
| Stigma | Definition: Everything that states that children are stigmatised due to their participation in preparatory programmes.

Example: Außerdem sind sie sozial stigmatisiert. (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 159) | 2 |
| Little orientation | Definition: Description of the situation that the organisational model at the school offers little orientation and makes it difficult for children to get familiar with the school system.

Example: Also es gibt diese Kinder, die nicht in diesem System ankommen, weil ihnen das keine Orientierung bietet. Also da müssen Kinder schon sehr selbstsicher sein, um sich darin zurechtzufinden. (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 175) | 1 |
| Challenges in teaching in PP | Definition: All kinds of challenges experienced by teachers of preparatory programmes. This code focuses on the teachers. Challenges that result for children are coded with "Disadvantages of PP".

Example: Aber dann ist eine gewisse Begrenzung da. Du willst dem Kind helfen. Und das Kind hat gar keine Unterstützung von der Seite der Familie. Das ist vielleicht so eine Herausforderung. Das mal zu akzeptieren irgendwann. Natürlich alles Mögliche zu tun. Es ist einfach, wenn du etwas tun kannst. (Ms Fedorova 146-148) | 0 |
| Organisational structure | Definition: Challenges that are mentioned that can be directly traced back to the organisational model implemented at the schools. Thus these might be challenges that are not found at all the schools, simply because they are a result of the specific organisational model and could be avoided by a different organisation.

Example: Zuerst werden die Kinder gar nicht bewertet bei uns. Es gibt ja diese Leistungsstandberichte, die aber so keine Noten enthalten. Und dann auf einen Schlag werden sie in allen Fächern bewertet. Und das ist schwierig. Also ich denke, da braucht man schon so eine Zwischenstufe. Man kann ja irgendwie nach zwei bis drei Jahren von Nicht-Muttersprachlern [nicht] erwarten, dass er auf Muttersprachlerniveau mit dir spricht. (Interview Ms Evseeva, Pos. 109-111) | 6 |

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| Teaching material | Definition: Every difficulty that is mentioned in finding adequate material (books, audios, etc.) to teach the language of instruction to newly-arrived children.<br><br>Example: Et en fait, c'est difficile de trouver vraiment une méthode qui soit un peu intéressante pour leur âge parce qu'on trouve vite alors des méthodes pour des maternelles, des petites histoires qui sont plus très intéressantes pour un élève de 6e primaire, par exemple. Par exemple, j'ai essayé de trouver un peu une méthode genre assimile, mais pour enfants. Et je n'ai rien trouvé que je trouvais vraiment très concluant pour pouvoir à certains moments soit proposer.  (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 144-145) | 7 |
| Limited competences | Definition: Every challenge that can be traced back due to limits in competences or resources that can result from lacking experience or from the formational background of the teacher.<br><br>Example: Parce que voilà, pour les grands, moi, c'est plus difficile vu que je suis instit maternel. (Interview Ms Amandine, Pos. 77) | 7 |
| Language instruction | Definition: Every difficulty that is related to the act of teaching the language of instruction that is not a direct result of one of the factors named in the other codes.<br><br>Example: Pour l'année DASPA, d'arriver à ce que l'enfant évolue, comprenne ce qu'on lui dit et qu'il y ait un changement pour qu'il puisse retourner en classe et qu'il comprenne ce qui se passe dans la classe toute la semaine. Pas que en DASPA, il faut qu'il comprenne dans la vie de la classe avec l'attitude.<br> (Interview Ms Amandine, Pos. 92) | 6 |
| Parents | Definition: Every difficulty that is related to the parents of the pupils, be it difficulties in collaboration or habits of the parents.<br><br>Example: Par exemple, un des défis, c'est certains parents, parce qu'ils pensent bien faire, parlent le français, un mauvais français avec leurs enfants. Et du coup, il y a des erreurs qui se fossilisent parce qu'ils les entendent constamment à la maison. (Interview Ms Deborah, Pos. 205) | 7 |
| Managing emotions | Definition: Everything that makes reference to how to react to the emotions and affects of the children, but also to difficulties that might result from teachers' emotions or burdens from private life.<br><br>Example: C'est la gestion de ses émotions. Parce que les émotions sont extrêmement fortes. Quand un enfant a tout perdu parce que sa maison a été bombardée, c'est le cas cette année avec les Palestiniens, mais tout perdu, sa maison, ses amis, il n'y a plus rien. Forcément, il y a des émotions qui sont extrêmement fortes. Donc ça, c'est le plus gros défi. C'est avoir cette gestion de l'émotion et c'est très, très compliqué. Parce que là, je ne suis pas formé. Moi, je ne suis pas psychologue. Ça, c'est pas ma formation et c'est très difficile de... Jusqu'où | 4 |

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| | faut-il en parler ? Qu'est-ce qu'il faut dire ? Ce qu'il ne faut pas dire ? Ça, c'est mon plus gros défi. (M Gérard 229-233) | |
| Heterogeneity | Definition: Everything that makes reference to difficulties on teaching newly arrived children due to the hetergeneity that can be found in the group, due to age, rythms, etc.<br><br>Example: Parce que quand vous avez 17 enfants qui ont entre 8 et 12 ans, qui sont là depuis 6 mois, qui viennent d'arriver, qui ont des âges différents, des rythmes différents, gérer tout le monde, c'est costaud. (Ms Claire 129) | 9 |
| Same first language | Definition: Everything that makes reference that the use of the child's firs languages stands counteracts the acquisition of the language of instruction.<br><br>Example: Les deux principales langues, c'est des Ukrainiens et des Brésiliens. Et le problème, c'est que quand ils se retrouvent entre eux, ils ont un peu tendance à se mettre en groupe de langues qu'ils font un peu séparées. Et alors aussi, moi, je dois toujours un peu essayer de rappeler qu'il faut parler français, où ils ont vite tendance à se... (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 183) | 3 |
| Other challenges | Definition: Other challenges that are mentioned, but not that frequently so that it wouldn't make sense to open an own category for them. | 13 |
| Improvement strategies for PP | Definition: Everything that is mentioned that would help to improve preparatory programmes or to overcome the challenges met. It doesn't matter if it is really applied or if it is only said that it would help to overcome the challenges or to improve the implemented model.<br><br>Example: Flexible Gruppeneinteilung: Die Schülerinnen könnten je nach ihrem individuellen Sprach- und Lernniveau in kleinere Gruppen eingeteilt werden, um eine gezieltere Förderung zu ermöglichen. So könnte man zum Beispiel eine Untergruppe für Schülerinnen bilden, die bereits grundlegende Deutschkenntnisse haben, und eine andere für Anfänger*innen. (Ms Gerger 29). | 0 |
| Organisational level | Definition: Everything that eachers would like to change in the structure/organisation of the preparatory programmes at their schools to improve them.<br><br>Example: Mais en fait, ça a été historique. Moi, je suis arrivée comme ça. Donc, les groupes étaient faits comme ça. Mais moi, je trouve que ce n'est pas toujours très pertinent. Moi, j'aurais plutôt fait par niveau de langue parce que dans les groupes, il y a des élèves qui parlent beaucoup mieux que d'autres. Et alors, c'est difficile quand même. Moi, j'aurais fait par niveau. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 78-80) | 14 |
| More staff | Definition: Everything that describes the need for more staff, be it pedagogical personnel at schools or collaborations with external actors. This can be relevant both at the levels of the teachers as well as at the level of | 11 |

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| | | the children.<br><br>Example:<br>[Sprecher 1] (23:07 - 23:12)<br>Là, j'aurais besoin d'un psychologue formé là-dedans.<br><br>[MIREIA] (23:12 - 23:14)<br>Alors, comme un supplément ?<br><br>[Sprecher 1] (23:14 - 23:59)<br>Oui, pour moi. Pour que je puisse lui dire que j'ai vécu ça, y a ça, comment je réagis ? Et ce serait intéressant que j'aie ça, je vais dire, une fois par mois. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 236-241) | |
| | Involvement of children | Definition: Everything that includes the active involvement of children to overcome challenges that the teachers meet or to improve the current model in place. This can be both children that are schooled in preparatory programmes as well as children that are taught in mainstream.<br><br>Example: Et là, je m'appuie beaucoup sur des élèves qui sont là depuis plusieurs mois pour traduire aux élèves qui viennent d'arriver, qui ne comprennent pas (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 249) | 4 |
| | Support through digital tools | Definition: Everything that makes reference to the use of digital devices or exercises that would improve learning.<br><br>Example: D'avoir un outil pour pouvoir traduire avec eux. Moi, je fais avec mon téléphone pour traduire, mais il faudrait une tablette pour pouvoir traduire directement avec eux. Ce serait plus facile. Quand ils arrivent du pays qu'ils ne parlent pas du tout, nous, on doit faire avec notre téléphone, mais ce n'est pas pratique. Il faudrait une tablette pour pouvoir traduire directement. (Interview Ms Amandine, Pos. 86-87) | 3 |
| | Training | Definition: Everything that describes that a further acquisition of skills, be it through a formation, advanced training, etc. would be helpful to improve teaching in preparatory programmes.<br><br>Example: Une formation. Peut-être une formation, un peu plus d'expérience aussi. Et voilà, je pense vraiment. (Interview Ms Anne, Pos. 299-302) | 1 |
| Competences to teach in PP | | Definition: Every competence that is needed to teach successfully in a preparatory programme. It doesn't matter whether the teachers have acquired this competence or not.<br><br>Example: Flexibel sein ist wirklich das Wichtigste für dieses Konzept. (Ms Fedorova 206) | 0 |
| Language-related competences | | Definition: Every competence that is necessary to teach the language of instrcution to newly arrived children, including skills in understanding multilingualism.<br><br>Example: Et puis aussi former à minima le plus bas possible mais former les enseignants à se dire quand on | 5 |

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| | | apprend une nouvelle langue, de quoi on a besoin ? Quelles sont les stratégies qu'on met en place quand on se retrouve dans un pays étranger et qu'on doit communiquer avec les gens ? Quelles sont les stratégies qu'on met en place pour réussir à communiquer ? Qu'est-ce que je peux mettre moi en place pour aider ces enfants à communiquer dans le média tout de suite ? (Interview Ms Deborah, Pos. 135-136) | |
| | Social-relational competences | Definition: Everything that points ou the importance to build a trustiong relation between the pupil and the teacher. That points oit the social and affective aspect of working with children.<br><br>Example: Mais en classe DASPA, c'est souvent le côté social aussi. Il y a tout un lien qui se crée. Il faut que l'enfant ait confiance en nous. S'il n'a pas confiance en nous, s'il ne s'amuse pas, il ne va pas vouloir travailler, il ne va pas évoluer en français. (Interview Ms Amandine, Pos. 104-105) | 9 |
| | Social-emotional competences | Definition: Everything that describes that sensitivity and empathy are needed in working with the children to understand their life worlds, their feelings and emotions including possible trauams and fears. Also competences as culture and language sensitivity should be included.<br><br>Example: Chaque fois que je reçois une famille, elle a un vécu différent d'une autre. Et en DASPA, on est obligé d'essayer de comprendre ce vécu-là, savoir un petit peu quelle est l'émotion qu'a derrière cet enfant-là. Donc ça, c'est le plus gros défi. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 228) | 22 |
| | Flexibilty | Definition: Everything that points out that felxibility and spontaneity is a necessary skill to teach in preparatory programmes. The flexibility can be required in different areas, as in changing approaches and methods to meet the childs specific needs.<br><br>Example: Donc moi, mes cours sont prêts, mais je dois me montrer souple aussi par rapport à eux. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 49) | 14 |
| | Experience in teaching | Definition: Everything that highlights the importance of previous experience in teaching to teach in a preparatory programme.<br><br>Example: Mais, j'ai envie de dire, la formation en tant que telle, je ne vois rien de spécifique. Parce que pour enseigner en DASPA, moi ce qui m'apporte vraiment, c'est l'expérience. Donc, j'ai envie de dire que c'est peut-être plus administratif et qu'il faudrait dire, un enseignant qui démarre ne peut pas enseigner directement en DASPA. Il doit d'abord passer par un enseignement plus traditionnel. Et quand il aura l'expérience, parce qu'il faut vraiment avoir une vue d'ensemble de toutes les matières pour enseigner en DASPA, parce que vous avez des enfants de tous les âges. Et donc, c'est après un certain nombre d'années d'enseignement, alors je peux enseigner en DASPA. Pour moi, personnellement, c'est comme ça que je vois les choses. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 235-237) | 3 |

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| | Provision of individualised support | Definition: Everything that points out, that it is important to support each child according to its needs, in the the best possible way. Every reference to indivisualised support and differentiated teaching.<br><br>Example: Et en plus, ils ont des âges différents. Il y a des enfants de 8 ans, des enfants de 12 ans. Et donc, j'ai envie de dire que c'est assez sportif. Il faut vraiment essayer de nourrir au mieux chaque enfant. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 69-70) | 3 |
| Language teaching in practice | | Definition: Everything that has to do with the implementation of language teaching. This code concerns exclusively the language of instruction. Whenever the first languages of the children are referred to, this will be coded with the code "Multilingualism". This code includes only descriptions of the actual implementation. What would be beneficial for the children's language acquisition process, but is not implemented is coded with "Improvement strategies for PP".<br><br>Example: Also ich möchte, dass Sie miteinander auch ins sprechen kommen, dass sie das anwenden. Deswegen versuche ich jeden Morgen einfach immer so die erste Stunde diesen Stuhlkreis zu machen, auch wenn einige das langweilig finden. Viel mit den Händen tun, viel spielen, viel miteinander interagieren. (Ms Essa 245) | 0 |
| | Teaching methods | Definition: Descriptions of methods that the teachers implement to teach the children the language of instruction.<br><br>Example: Moi, je fais beaucoup des jeux que je construis, des jeux qui ressemblent un peu à des jeux que je ferai en logopédie. Et c'est beaucoup par jeu, par conversation, des jeux de conversation, des jeux pour apprendre un nouveau vocabulaire ou de la structure grammaticale. Je fonctionne beaucoup, beaucoup par jeu. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 150-151) | 54 |
| | Differentiated teaching | Definition: Descriptions if and how teachers provide differentiated teaching to meet the individual needs of every pupil in its language learning process.<br><br>Example:<br>Differenzierter Unterricht<br>Fokus: Anpassung des Unterrichts an das Niveau der einzelnen Schüler*innen.<br>Einsatz: Bereitstellung unterschiedlicher Aufgaben und Materialien je nach Leistungsstand.<br>Vorteil: Individuelle Förderung ermöglicht den Schüler*innen, auf ihrem jeweiligen Niveau Fortschritte zu machen. (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, Pos. 95-99) | 11 |
| | Use of digital tools | Definition: Descriptions of how language acquisition processes are supported by the use of digtal tools.<br><br>Example: Sie haben hier die Möglichkeit, immer Tablets zu haben. (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 163) | 2 |

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| Multilingualism | Definition: Everything that makes reference to the multilingual situation at school, to the employment of different languages by the children or by the teachers and to attitudes towards the use of the children's first languages.<br><br>Example: Deswegen versuche ich immer sehr viel ihre Muttersprache mit einzubinden. Am Anfang, wenn sie neu sind, versuche ich auch die Worte, so die ersten Worte, Bleistift, Anspitzer und so versuche ich mir zu merken in ihrer Muttersprache, damit sie sehen, wie schwer mir das fällt, dass ich mir das merke. Manchmal habe ich auch auf Türkisch Uno mitgespielt, dann haben sie mir die Worte immer aufgeschrieben. (Ms Essa 69) | 0 |
| Appreciation | Definition: Positive attitudes towards the children's first languages, expressions of appreciation of their pupils fist language skills.<br><br>Example: Je trouve que c'est super important aussi, moi, de les mettre en valeur aussi par rapport à leur langue maternelle. (Interview Ms Anne, Pos. 135) | 12 |
| Ressource for language acquisition | Definition: Statments that go beyond mere appreciation of the children's first languages, but recognise them as a resource for learning the language of instruction. This includes descriptions of how the teachers implement the children's first languages to use them as a ressource for language learning as well as descriptions on the importance of children's first language skills, regarding all sub-skills of language acquisition, and thus also including reading skills with regard to alphabetisation. Also teacher's multilingual skills that are used to facilitate the children's language acquisition process should be considered.<br><br>Example: Maintenant, je sais, d'après les études que j'ai lues, je sais qu'au mieux la langue maternelle est maîtrisée, au plus vite ce retard est absorbé. Donc s'ils ont une bonne maîtrise de leur langue maternelle, s'ils ont déjà été scolarisés dans leur pays, en général ils font très facilement, moi je leur dis, mais vous pouvez toujours comparer avec votre langue. Par exemple, je sais qu'en espagnol il n'y a qu'un seul mot pour marquer la négation, en français il y en a deux. Et donc je leur dis mais comparez, dites-vous, ah mais oui en espagnol il n'y en a qu'un, mais en français il y en a deux. En espagnol c'est celui-là, en français c'est ceux-là. De toujours faire des allers-retours entre leur langue, tant au niveau de la grammaire qu'au niveau de la conjugaison, de regarder, tiens, qu'est-ce qui est pareil dans ma langue, qu'est-ce qui est différent, et comme ça, ils ont une analyse fine des notions plus techniques de la langue dans leur langue et ça leur permet de faire le parallèle avec le français. En général ça fonctionne plutôt bien, mais pour ça il faut utiliser un bon niveau d'acquisition de la langue dans leur langue maternelle. (Interview Ms Deborah, Pos. 249-251) | 13 |
| Language use | Definition: Descriptions of the use of the language of instruction and children's first languages at the school and within the preparatory programmes. This can include | 25 |

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| | practices of pupil-induced and teacher-induced use of the children's first languages as well as established rules or ideas on when what language should be spoken.<br><br>Example: Et là, parfois, quand ils doivent parler, ils parlent dans leur langue. Mais parfois, je sais bien que ce ne sont pas des choses qu'on voit à l'école qui racontent une histoire qui s'est passée le week-end ou quoi. Donc, souvent, on doit les rappeler à l'heure en disant ici, c'est en français. Mais voilà, je les autorise à parler quand ils ne comprennent pas quelque chose ou quand c'est une consigne à expliquer dans leur langue. Ça, je les autorise à parler. (Interview Ms Anne, Pos. 145-146) | 93 |
| Ressource for teachers | Definition: Descriptions on how teachers benefit from their pupils first language skills while teaching the language of instruction. This can e.g. be the case when a child explains the subject matter to another one in their first language to enhance comprehension. The difference with the code "Language use" is that "Ressource for teachers" refers to the use of the children's first languages with the explicit aim of using it to enhance comprehension among the children, which is a significant support for the teachers.<br><br>Example: D'un autre côté, quand il y en a un qui a compris quelque chose, il l'explique aux autres en italien. Parfois, je m'en sers aussi. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 80) | 6 |
| Co-learning | Definition: Descriptions of teacher's efforts not only to teach the children the languag of instruction, but also to learn elements of the children's first languages. This includes explicit statements on ideas of a reciprocal language learning process.<br><br>Example: C'est à dire, je leur demande de m'apprendre. On échange à ce niveau là. « Comment est-ce que tu dis ça en italien? Comment est-ce que tu dis ça en arabe? » (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 84-85) | 4 |
| Children's lifeworld | Definition: Everything that describes the lifeworlds of children that visit preparatory programmes and that differs from the lifeworlds of (most) children that visit mainstream education. Characteristics that are more represented among newly-arrived children.<br><br>Example: Sie können oftmals kochen, sie müssen mit ihren Eltern Behördengänge machen. Ich finde, das ist ein Reichtum und einfach die Sprachen, die sie mitbringen. Die verschiedenen Lebenswelten, die sie schon kennengelernt haben, teilweise durch ihre Flucht. Also sie haben nicht seit ihrer Geburt in dem gleichen Wohnhaus gewohnt oder in dem gleichen Haus gewohnt, sondern sie haben schon die Türkei gesehen, sie haben schon... der Fluchtweg. Also ich finde, sie bringen so viel mit und sie sind ganz anders flexibel im Alltag. Also das bringen sie mit, das finde ich ein Reichtum. (Ms Essa 75-76) | 0 |

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| Discrimination | Definition: Statements that indicate that newly arrived children are exposed to discrimination, racism, exclusion, stigmatisation or are disadvanteged.<br><br>Example: Also dieser Rassismus, mit dem Deutschland auf Einwandererkinder reagiert. Ich weiß nicht, wie das in anderen Ländern ist. Aber immer dieses latente, „ach das kannst du sowieso nicht, du bist ja nur..." ... Diese „unvorstellbar, dass so jemand mal studiert". Dieser latente Alltagsrassismus, der in jeder Ritze der deutschen Bevölkerung ist. (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 461) | 5 |
| Migration experience | Defintion: Experiences that the children taught in preparatory programmes may have made due to the process of migrating.<br><br>Example: Parce qu'ils doivent affronter un changement de pays, un déracinement familial et en plus une nouvelle langue, une nouvelle culture scolaire. Tout est complètement différent pour eux. (Interview Ms Deborah, Pos. 114) | 4 |
| Feelings and emotions | Definition: Everything that alludes to the emotional situation of pupils in preparatoy programmes that is linked to their specific life experience. This can also include their feelings.<br><br>Example:  Ich hatte erlebt, dass scheinbar neutrale oder alltägliche Themen, wie Familie, Schule oder Kindheit, für die Schüler*innen in einer Willkommensklasse starke emotionale Reaktionen hervorrufen können. Themen, die für andere Kinder normal sind, können für Flüchtlingskinder belastend sein. Es ist genauso wichtig, zu verstehen, dass Lernfortschritte in einer Willkommensklasse nicht nur in den schulischen Leistungen gemessen werden können. Für Kinder, die eine traumatische Vergangehteit haben, ist es ein großer Erfolg, wenn sie sich sicher genug fühlen, um über ihre Emotionen zu sprechen oder nach Unterstützung zu suchen. Der emotionale Fortschritt ist ebenso wichtig wie der sprachliche oder schulische. (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, Pos. 121) | 5 |
| Skills | Definition: Skills that children might have acquired due to their specific life worls, that children in mainstream education might not have.<br><br>Example: Ja, also ich finde den Reichtum der Kinder, sie sind viel mehr eingebunden in das Leben ihrer Eltern. Sie müssen ihre Eltern ja auch unterstützen. Sie sind viel mehr orientiert im Alltag als die Muttersprachenkinder, die hier geboren sind. Sie können oftmals kochen, sie müssen mit ihren Eltern Behördengänge machen. Ich finde, das ist ein Reichtum und einfach die Sprachen, die sie mitbringen. Die verschiedenen Lebenswelten, die sie schon kennengelernt haben, teilweise durch ihre Flucht. (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 74-75) | 1 |
| Organisation | Definition: Everything that describes how the preparatory programmes are organised at the specific schools. Including structure, how long it has been implemented, | 0 |

| | | how the children are supported after they leave the preparatory programme.<br>This code also serves to categorise wider organisational structures, going beyond the single school.<br><br>Example: Tous les groupes, c'est un apprentissage. Ce sont des groupes de communication en langue française. Certains groupes sont plus basés sur la lecture et l'écriture, et d'autres groupes sont plus basés sur le langage oral. Tous les élèves sont dans ces groupes-là en fonction de leurs besoins. Donc il y a des élèves qui sont, on va dire, 12 heures par semaine avec moi et d'autres qui ne sont que 3 heures par semaine avec moi, en fonction de leurs besoins en langue française. (M Arnaud 33-34) | |
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| | Organisational model | Definition: Everything that describes the exact implementation of the preparatory programmes at the schools. This can be the models (parallel, partial integrated, integrated, submesive). Further descriptions of group size, criteria of grouping pupils together should also be categorised with this code. Number of teachers that teach in preparatory programme.<br><br>Example: Ok, ça va. Donc en fait, ici il y a une professeure ou un professeur qui est lié au DASPA, qui est un professeur DASPA, qui est considéré comme un maître spécial, donc qui retire les élèves de la classe pour faire l'apprentissage de la langue française. Au départ, tous les primo-arrivants vont dans cette classe, ou aussi ceux qui sont déjà là depuis l'année avant mais qui n'ont pas assez acquis le français pour bien suivre dans la classe. Donc la moitié du temps, ils sont avec leur classe d'âge, avec les autres élèves de l'école et l'autre moitié du temps, ils sont sortis de la classe pour le français. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 14) | 50 |
| | Number of students | Definition: Information on how many students visit the school, how many of them are curently inscribed in the preparatory programme and of how many pupils the sub-groups of preparatory programmes consist.<br><br>Example: Ca 400 Schüler und 12 davon besuchen die Willkommensklasse (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, Pos. 8-9) | 13 |
| | Years of PP | Definition: Information on how long the preparatory programme is implemented at the schools.<br><br>Example:  Seit dem Schuljahr 2023/24 (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, Pos. 6) | 6 |
| | Duration of PP | Defintion: Everything that describes how long children are supposed to remain in the preparatory programme, whether a prolongation is possible and how long children actually remain in preparatory programmes.<br><br>Example: Also gewünscht ist ja ein Jahr. Ein Jahr haben bis jetzt nur sehr wenige geschafft. Eine aus der Mittelstufe, die an der Grenze an der Mittelgrundstufe, ich unterrichte auch noch ein bisschen in der Mittelstufe Willkommensklasse, und sie ist dann in die [...] Regelklasse gewechselt. Aber sie ist eine Streberin. Sie | 9 |

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| | | macht das von alleine. Sie weiß, sie tut, sie lenkt sich überhaupt nicht ab. Wenn so ein Ziel klar ist, kann man auch in einem Jahr das schaffen. (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 48-49) | |
| | Transition to mainstream class | Definition: Everything that describes how the transition from the preparatory programme to the mainstream class is handeled.<br><br>Example: Et après 6 mois, 1 an, 1 an et demi, quand je les sens prêts, alors je les réintègre dans leur classe d'âge. Je peux les réintégrer d'un coup, mais souvent, je les réintègre progressivement. On va dire, en moyenne, après 6 mois, je commence à les réintégrer 1 jour, 2 jours dans leur classe d'âge. Ils viennent encore la moitié du temps en classe DASPA et puis, il y a un jour, ils peuvent rejoindre à temps plein leur classe d'âge. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 16-17) | 8 |
| | Support after leaving PP | Definition: Information about if and how children are suppoted after they transit completely in mainstream education.<br><br>Example: Nach dem Wechsel in die Regelklasse erhalten viele Schüler*innen weiterhin Unterstützung, sei es durch DaZ-Unterricht (Deutsch als Zweitsprache) oder durch spezielle Fördermaßnahmen, um eventuelle sprachliche oder schulische Rückstände aufzufangen. (Questionnaire Ms Gerger, Pos. 21) | 5 |
| | Internal collaboration | Definition: Everything that describes how preparatory programme teachers and mainstream teachers work together. This can also include ideas of whose responsbility it is to teach what. Further the collaboration between preparatory programme teachers and the principal or other school staff should be categorised with this code.<br><br>Example: Ich bin ständig in Kontakt mit ihnen, aber eher zwischen Tür und Angel. Weil Lehrer haben ja auch nie Zeit, ist ja klar. Und bei uns funktioniert das ganz gut. (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 202) | 19 |
| | External networks | Definition: Information about organisational strucutres that go beyond the school. For example if there are meetings of preparatory programme teachers.<br><br>Example: Ich habe eine Koordinatorin für den Bezirk und ich kenne sie, weil wir haben im Bezirk Netzwerktreffen, die Willkommenslehrer treffen sich. (Interview Ms Essa, Pos. 102) | 9 |
| | Curriculum | Definition: Information about if there is a multilingual curriculum at the schools or a curiculum for preparatory classes.<br><br>Example: Ce que je disais, c'est que je trouvais que comme il n'y a pas de programme, on peut se référer à peu de choses. Donc, on fait un peu chacun à sa sauce. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 351-352) | 4 |
| Teachers' profile | | Definition: Background information about the teachers. This includes experience, training, language skills. | 0 |

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| | | It is only used for descriptions.<br><br>Example: J'ai 50 ans, j'ai presque 30 ans d'expérience. Je sais ce qu'ils font dans leurs cours. Je connais la 6e primaire, je connais la 1re primaire, j'ai fait toutes les classes. (M Arnaud 116) | |
| | Studies | Definition: This code is used for the educational background of the teachers. This includes any kind of studies they have undergone, except the specialised formation for preparatory programmes. Contents of the studies can also be included, as well as the time when the studies have been undergone.<br><br>Example: J'ai commencé en 2012, je pense, mes études. Jusqu'en 2015. Donc, c'était 3 ans. C'était le maternel à ce moment-là. Maintenant, ça passe à 4. Et en fait, j'ai fini en septembre 2015. Et en janvier 2016, j'étais ici en fait. (Interview Ms Anne, Pos. 79-81) | 14 |
| | PP formation | Definition: Everything that mentions that teachers have or have not undergone a special formation to teach in preparatory programmes, including information about this formation, as duration, contents, etc.<br><br>Example: Et par exemple, l'année passée, j'ai fait une formation de huit jours, une formation spéciale pour enseigner en DASPA. Et alors, c'est vrai qu'on me donne vraiment...<br>J'ai reçu plein de pistes d'activités, de matériel à construire pour les DASPA. Et donc, oui, il y a des choses que je connaissais, et puis il y a d'autres choses. Je me suis dit, ah oui, ça c'est chouette. J'ai jamais fait. Je vais tester. (Interview Ms Claire, Pos. 94-96) | 13 |
| | Teaching experience | Definition: Everything that alludes to the experience that the teachers have required in teaching. This can be in mainstream teaching as well as in preparatory programmes. This can include informations as years of teaching experience, grades in wich they have taught, etc.<br><br>Example: J'ai 50 ans, j'ai presque 30 ans d'expérience. Je sais ce qu'ils font dans leurs cours. Je connais la 6e primaire, je connais la 1re primaire, j'ai fait toutes les classes. (Interview Mr Arnaud, Pos. 116) | 17 |
| | Other work experience | Definition: This code is meant to categorise work experiences of the teachers other than the teaching profession. It doesn't matter wheather this is somehow linked to education or not.<br><br>Example: Directement après, j'ai travaillé dans l'enseignement, dans une école spécialisée pour des enfants qui avaient des troubles du langage et qui avaient un retard mental. J'ai travaillé là. Et puis ensuite, j'ai travaillé dans une autre structure où j'ai fait de l'intégration des enfants qui avaient aussi des difficultés de langage ou de dyslexie ou d'attention. Enfin, plein de problématiques différentes. On essayait de faire passer du spécialisé vers les écoles ordinaires. Donc, il y avait | 5 |

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| | droit à un accompagnement en classe. J'ai fait ça plusieurs années. (Interview Ms Beatrice, Pos. 94-96) | |
| Background information | Definition: Any further information about the teachers that can be relevant as e.g. their motivation to teach in preparatory programmes, information about their own relation to migration and language leraning.<br><br>Example: Und irgendwie habe ich, wenn ich DAZ studiert habe, und das ist das, was ich auch beibringen kann aus Studium, um aus meiner eigenen Erfahrung hier irgendwann anzukommen, halbwegs irgendwas zu können und wie das Ganze so funktioniert, dachte ich, ja, also noch mit dem Krieg in der Ukraine, dachte ich, ja, das sind ja die Kinder, die ich gut, weil ich die Sprache auch kann, wir eine gemeinsame Sprache sprechen können, dann ist es so ein Ort, wo ich viel Nützliches machen kann. Und ich habe es ausprobiert, mich da zu bewerben, hat mich die Schulleiterin angerufen. Das hat super spontan alles geklappt (Interview Ms Fedorova, Pos. 101). | 9 |
| Other | Definition: Everything that seems relevant in consideration of the topic or research question but that doesn't fit into any code. | 16 |
| Interesting links literature | | 5 |