Professionalism and multilingualism in Greece and Canada: An international comparison of (minority) teachers' views on linguistic diversity and language practices in monolingual vs. multilingual educational systems

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Abstract

In this article we present the design of the research project 'Migration-Related Multilingualism and Pedagogical Professionalism' and provide a first look at the material. After a brief introduction, we present our initial thoughts and considerations about pre-service teachers in Germany which motivated us to create this internationally comparative study (2). The following section introduces the research design including our research question and the research fields (3.1), European and Canadian contexts for comparison (3.2), the special situation of German schools abroad in these contexts (3.3), and the methodological framework of the current research (3.4). Afterwards, we provide a first look at the empirical data using excerpts from expert interviews with multilingual (minority) teachers at the German Schools in Athens and in Montreal about their views on migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity and language practices (4). In the context of research trips in 2013 and 2014, we conducted a total of forty-one interviews in Greek and German. In the conclusion, we formulate a hypothesis and a question which we propose to pursue further in our future research (5).

1. Introduction

With increasing migration into and within already culturally diverse European countries, there is an urgent need to share more knowledge about the potential and challenges of cultural, social, and linguistic diversity in schools and in pre-service teacher education. In recent years, both OECD (e.g. OECD, 2014) studies and

European comparative reports have identified selective systems and monolingual systems as particularly in need of innovation in this specific field. The 2008 European Union report entitled 'Education and Migration – strategies for integrating migrant children in European schools and societies'[1] aptly illustrates this need: "It is obvious that selective systems contribute *to increasing the problems of minority children* [emphasis in original] and do little to support them." (Heckmann, 2008, p. 21)

Heckmann (2008) also highlights a special kind of selection as a problem area, namely "the absence of minority teachers in schools." This means that there is a lack of pedagogical professionals who are immigrants or who have immigrant parents, in spite of the fact that the presence of such professionals would grant support to minority and multilingual students. To improve the situation, it has been recommended that minority youth in selective and monolingual systems be encouraged to pursue teaching careers. An additional recommendation is the hiring of more minority and multilingual teachers in order to support multilingual students in school:

> Teachers of a migrant and minority background have a positive influence on migrant achievement in schools. … Recommendation: Encourage young people of migration background into teaching careers. Schools should hire more teachers with a migration background (ibid., p. 83).

These discussions are linked to recent deliberations and recommendations in German education policy making. Over the past decade, policy programs in Germany have started to focus on the opportunities and potential related to the presence of minority teachers at school. Multilingual (minority) teachers in particular are generally expected to support multilingual (minority) students. German policy programs discuss the diversity of teachers and pre-service teachers as a major strategy for reducing the educational disadvantages of minority students and enhancing the school system's linguistic diversity and intercultural receptiveness (cf. MSW NRW 2007, 2010).

In this article, we use the term 'multilingual (minority) teachers'. This term is rather uncommon in the German-speaking areas of Europe where the term 'teachers and students with migration backgrounds' is more widely used. To portray the complexity of the issue, we prefer the translated description '(prospective) pedagogic professionals with migration-related multilingualism', but have simplified this to 'multilingual (minority) teachers'. We thereby intend to affiliate ourselves with the international (especially the English-speaking) discourse, which uses – at least in the German reception – the term 'minority teachers' (cf. Heckmann, 2008; Georgi, 2013a). We intentionally add 'multilingual' to the term in order not to reproduce the attribution, albeit often positive, that teachers with migration backgrounds are automatically multilingual; they could as well have been raised mono-

lingually or consider themselves to be monolingual. Furthermore, we deliberately put the term 'minority' in brackets, in order to differentiate between teachers from immigrant families (e.g. the pre-service teachers involved in the study we present in this section) and teachers who are not considered to be migrants according to the German understanding of the term or who do not consider themselves to be migrants although they have lived and worked abroad as members of a national minority for extended periods of time (e.g. tenured teachers from Germany who work at German schools abroad). This differentiation is also crucial in light of our research question (see section 3). We switch between the terms 'with migration backgrounds' and 'multilingual (minority) teachers' whenever we present the respective terminology of a specific discourse in quotes and references or the self-definition of the interviewees.

2. Initial results about the views of pre-service teachers raised multilingually in Germany – a starting point for the conception of an internationally comparative project

Based on initial findings we are going to present in this section, we need to question, or rather qualify, education policy makers' optimism that minority teachers contribute to the reduction of educational disadvantages for minority students due to their (innate) multilingual and intercultural competence (for similar findings, see Rotter, 2014, p. 281; Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013, p. 152; Georgi, Ackermann & Karakaş, 2011, p. 272; Karakaşoğlu, 2011, p. 131). Since 2013, we have conducted peer interviews with 32 pre-service teachers in the context of the teaching-research project 'Diversity in the Staff Room'.[2] These interviews were primarily conducted with (and by) multilingual (minority) students at the University of Cologne, Germany. In the interviews, two students interviewed one another with the help of an interview guide (cf. Friebertshäuser & Langer, 2010; Marotzki, 2006; Schmidt, 2009) about their experiences with language diversity, their language practices, their assumptions about special linguistic abilities of multilinguals, and also about prejudices against migration-related multilingualism (for details, see Panagiotopoulou & Rosen, 2015b; in the following, we also refer to this source).[3]

The data collected in the context of these peer interviews has a special quality: From a methodological research perspective, one may argue that the data is not sufficiently valid having been conducted by students, considered at best semi-professionals. What speaks in favour of this method, however, is that peer interviews may allow a less asymmetric interviewer-interviewee relationship. That can be viewed as more beneficial than a 'traditional' setting taking into account the opportunities of peer learning:

> Peer learning promotes certain types of learning outcomes … [e.g.] Critical enquiry and reflection. Challenges to existing ways of thinking arise from more detailed interchanges between students in which points of view are argued and positions justified. It provides opportunities for formulating questions rather than simply responding to those posed by others. There is evidence to suggest that fostering critical reflection and reassessment of views more readily comes from interchange between peers than even from well-planned discussion sessions with teachers. … Students are often better able to reflect on and explore ideas when the presence and authority of a staff member do not influence them. In peer learning contexts students generally communicate more about the subject area than they do when staff are present. They are able to articulate what they understand and to be more open to be critiqued by peers, as well as learning from listening to and critiquing others (Boud, 2002, p. 8).

Guideline-directed peer interviews encourage students to connect the experiences of their language practices in the context of their everyday environment as well as in educational contexts.[4] In these interviews the students talk about their heteroglossic reality and their complex and dynamic language practices (García, 2009) and assess their migration-related multilingualism differently: The initial results reveal that to some extent the language practices are evaluated negatively as solutions resorted to out of embarrassment or as sidestepping by multilinguals; on the other hand, these practices are described as natural language activities, used primarily in real-life contexts but also in everyday communication among multilingual students. What these views have in common is the underlying notion of *additive* or *parallel acquisition of two languages,*[5] which can be consolidated with the help of the concept of "separate bilingualism" or "parallel monolingualism" (Heller, 1999; cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 105). With the help of this concept the students' *demand for the dichotomy of languages* (in school versus outside of school and in private versus public realms) seems plausible. Only because language practices are not presented as intertwined in terms of "translanguaging" (García, 2009) or "flexible bilingualism" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 108), a strict separation, the switching, between these language practices becomes thinkable and realizable (cf. ibid., p. 105). These views on multilingualism are compatible with noted language ideologies. Building on the "imagined community of the nation," national education systems across Europe tend to enforce the use of a common (national) language in order to integrate all subgroups in the population (cf. Berthele, 2010, p. 2 f.)[6]. According to Berthele (ibid., p. 2), the neglect of all other minority languages or language varieties in this context generally adheres to "a European stereotype of what constitutes a nation (one language, one culture, one people, one territory)." The interviewed and interviewing pre-service teachers argue along similar lines when they legitimate their prospective (imagined) monolingual classroom communities by excluding the (supposedly foreign) minority languages. The (im-

plicit) motto is: *Multilingualism jeopardizes the social integration of subgroups and thus the intended group cohesion*. The experienced *upbringing towards monolingualism* is therefore construed retrospectively *as a task in sensitization and at the same time as a moral obligation*. Additionally, some students postulate such monolingualism as part of their future professional activities.

> [W]ith respect to my school years, … well, so I think that it's important, to um to somehow give the students the feeling, or n- to be sensitive, that when it's when someone's there, who doesn't understand the language, whether it's fair, to speak a language, that this person doesn't understand (…) so as to try somehow; … that it is worth it to speak a language, that everyone understands …

Overall, the analysis of the peer interviews shows that these pre-service teachers describe the experienced (self-)exclusion of their (personal) 'non-German languages' in educational contexts only to a limited extent as illegitimate or discriminating; they barely dissociate themselves from the corresponding strategies of the German school system. In summary, the pre-service teachers endorse monolingual action in the context of the German educational system.

One finding in particular prompted us to devise an internationally comparative research project to compare teachers' views on multilingualism in selective and monolingually organized educational systems, on the one hand, and in educational systems that tend to be inclusive and multilingual, on the other. The educational experiences of multilingual pre-service teachers have proven to be relevant. The students report that their teachers intervened when they used so-called heritage languages and used the supposed, unequivocal right of the German-speaking majority to understand any conversation between members of a minority as an argument. Therefore, these students were required, as one interviewee points out, to "only speak German … even amongst ourselves."

> [S]o we should only speak German, and this also had such a negative influence on me, that even today I still … always try to speak German when Germans, only Germans, are around me. Also even with my son, so that I um also may have been speaking with him in Turkish earlier, and as soon as a German joins us, then I switch to German, because I have the feeling, everyone has to understand me, … this goes back to the time when I was in school because there the teachers there always, truly always, pointed that out to me.

The student describes that she refrains from using Turkish in her everyday life whenever she wants or needs to ensure that she is being understood by speakers of German despite being aware of the "negative influence" of the school system's requirement to speak German. The experienced linguistic discrimination, or 'linguicism' (Dirim, 2010), in this case due to the "German only" strategy, continues to affect these students in their university-level teacher training. "As a teacher I find this a little problematic, how to be able to implement this [referring to multi-

lingualism] now". Multilingual pre-service teachers report that they feel overwhelmed by the expectation of dealing with multilingual children, by figuring out the role their multilingualism may play in this context and how they can promote educational processes.

Our results are consistent with those from previous studies involving interviews with immigrant teachers. These educators report that they apply their multilingualism as a teaching resource only to a very limited degree. They are more likely to use non-German languages to discipline and reprimand minority students, but they do not attempt to "connect with" students who speak the same languages. Above all, they are careful to ensure that the use of minority languages does not generate "incomprehensibility" among the "rest of the students" (cf. Georgi, 2013b, p. 231). With respect to the orientation towards linguistic norms at school among minority and non-minority pre-service teachers, Schlickum (2013) also demonstrates in an explorative manner, by analysing group discussions, that "promotion of the national language at school is [considered to be] an obligation" (p. 115). No students, including those who are of ethnic minority heritage and, as the case may be, who are multilinguals, question the general "requirement to commit to the national language" (ibid.).

3.   Design of the internationally comparative project
   'Migration-Related Multilingualism and Pedagogical Professionalism'

3.1   Research question and central notions

Based on the previously illustrated research, we asked ourselves what types of biographical and professional educational experiences pedagogical professionals underwent at multilingually organized educational institutions outside of Germany. At the same time, we wondered whether multilingual (minority) teachers in those systems were better able to use their multilingual resources than multilingual (minority) teachers and pre-service teachers in monolingual German schools.

Thus, our research question is: Do the experiences gained by pedagogical professionals in multilingually organized educational settings interrelate with their views on migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity and language practices at school? If so, how?

This question contains several terms and concepts to be illustrated in the following paragraphs. First, what do we mean by "pedagogical professionals in the context of multilingually organized educational settings"?

According to Nittel (2011, p. 42), 'profession' as a category is linked to a specific, academic socialization as well as a practice which generally comprise the "entire professional biography", whereas Niklas Luhmann's systems-theoretical

approach on the conditions of a functionally differentiated society makes this definition appear outdated. Looking at the 'teacher profession' from this perspective, we assume that it remains strongly tied to a specific, nationally established educational system and thus appears inadequate for our project, even more so when taking into account international and transnational developments in educational systems and pedagogics – in terms of Luhmann's system theory, these conditions are summarized under the term 'world society'. For an internationally comparative project that is being conducted in various national educational systems and different educational institutions in addition to focusing on 'non-mainstream schooling', it is important to acquire a comprehensive understanding of professionalism and professionalization, in order to properly take into account the different educational and professional experiences of teachers.

So far, we have conducted our research at 'German Schools' abroad (also known as 'International German Schools' or 'Begegnungsschulen'[7], which are international schools with dual systems) and at so-called 'Complementary Schools'. We do not preclude the possibility of expanding our research to also include mainstream schools in the future. In this article, however, we go into detail about German Schools in Athens and Montreal (section 3.2). It is important to bear in mind that German, along with English and French, enjoys a rather high status as a foreign language that is frequently taught at mainstream schools in Europe, including in Greece. In French- and English-speaking Canada, however, German tends to be considered as a family language ('L1 German') or 'heritage language' like Chinese, Italian, Punjabi, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek and others (cf. Duff, 2008, p. 75, 83 f.). Two-thirds of teachers at 'German Schools' abroad have been socialized and professionalized in Germany. In our sample, however, there were also a few so-called 'local educators' who were not members of the majority in Germany; instead they grew up in immigrant families and were socialized as students with migrant backgrounds or minority children, and/or they were, furthermore, educated as (future) minority teachers at German universities (like the pre-service teachers that were involved in our study mentioned in section 2). This reflects the diversity of professional socializations of the teachers we interviewed. Complementary schools are also called *Heritage Language Schools, Supplementary Schools* or *Community Language Schools*; these are institutions that create an alternative, multilingual space for institutionalized bilingualism and multilingualism (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 104) and employ multilingual (minority) teachers with different (academic) professional biographies. Because we can reasonably expect to encounter a large number of multilingual (minority) teachers in these social realms, we focus on these kinds of schools for the moment.

For these reasons, we prefer the "category: the 'social realm of pedagogical actors'" which Dieter Nittel (2011, p. 51), building on Anselm Strauss' (1990, 1993) social scientific approach of the social world, uses to describe "both pedagogical professional cultures that are materially mostly secure (tenured teachers), extra-professional and freelance teachers (self-employed vocational trainers), teachers who are in precarious contracts and volunteer teachers."

Secondly, what is the underlying professional theoretical approach of our research? Nittel's definition of "professionalism as a genuine problem of action" (ibid., p. 44) and the distinction he establishes following Fritz Schütze, amongst others, is pivotal to our research:

> Professionalism can be defined from two perspectives, specifically competence-theoretically and difference-theoretically … While the competence-oriented approach presupposes a rather harmonious model of professionalism, the difference-theoretical approach assumes a hardly resolvable relationship of tensions between the elements of the competency profile (Nittel, 2011, p. 48 f.).

This tense relationship is demonstrated among other things through pedagogical action in the shape of so-called "contradiction(s), paradoxes, and dilemmas" that can be reconstructed through research. In our future research, we would like to explore the "microcosm of professional action" (ibid.) using comparative ethnography in the above-mentioned fields. Here, we are especially interested in the professional treatment of migration-related multilingualism in these educational institutions. The term *professionalism* is central to our project because "it implies a determined action-theoretical way of viewing specific situations. Professionalism is not tied to the social form of 'profession'; instead, it describes the special quality of a person-related service that goes beyond the institutional complex of the profession" (ibid.).

In addition to these considerations, the competence-theoretical approach is also important for our current project although we do not focus on the skills and competencies, which – considering them from Nittel's perspective – "the professional subject" supposedly needs "in order to fulfill a certain task structure" (ibid.). Instead, we focus on the beliefs that pre-service and in-service teachers consider to be part of pedagogical professionalism (cf. König, 2010, p. 66).[8] In addition to other aspects, such as professional competences, many researchers highlight these views and beliefs as preconditions for dealing with diversity at school (cf. Merz-Atalik, 2014, p. 159). Merz-Atalik substantiates this claim using a central document of inclusion-focused teacher training by the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education which assigns fundamental importance to the instruction of views and beliefs (cf. ibid., p. 160). In her assessment of the state of research about the treatment of migration-related heterogeneity at school in the German-speaking

world, Bien also emphasizes that "significant importance is ascribed to teachers' attitudes and beliefs when it comes to shaping learning situations in class." With reference to linguistic heterogeneity, she asserts, "when it comes to dealing with [it] in class, they [beliefs and attitudes] should govern teachers' actions even more than scientific theories" (Bien, 2012, p. 134).

While beliefs are considered to be "important by researchers who are interested in teachers' professional actions" (Wischmeier, 2012, p. 184; cf. Bien, 2012, p. 139), minority students present "a major research desideratum" (Wischmeier 2012, p. 175), as does minority-related multilingualism (cf. Bien, 2012, p. 139). Fürstenau and Huxel (2014, p. 1) phrase this desideratum more comprehensively as they do not focus solely on beliefs: So far, there "is hardly any research about teachers' professionalism when it comes to dealing with minority-related multilingualism."

In order to help close this research gap, we would like to reconstruct pedagogical actors' views on (migration-related) multilingualism in various educational institutions by relying on expert interviews. International comparison will be our epistemological strategy in this endeavour.

3.2 International level of comparison – European and Canadian educational contexts

We postulate that the reflections about language(s) of pedagogical experts as well as about the ways in which they deal with the heteroglossic reality, the students' multilingualism and their complex and dynamic language practices are embedded in societal and socio-cultural contexts and are therefore shaped by specific moral concepts. According to Maitz (2004, p. 4), these moral concepts can "be understood as assumptions and convictions that are used to explain or justify linguistic circumstances and practices." These views are associated with language ideologies which are often subconscious and unarticulated; they only operate implicitly through "metalinguistic statements" and can thus only "be accessed through qualitative analysis of authentic metalinguistic discourses" (cf. ibid.).[9] Such metalinguistic discourses may also be accessed through expert interviews, especially if these interviews reference current research and particular language ideologies that appear to be relevant for specific societal and institutional contexts (cf. section 3.4 and see the interview guide in the appendix).

So far, we have conducted interviews at German Schools in a non-German-speaking European country, Greece, and in francophone Canada, in the province of Québec.

In Germany, assumptions and convictions about migration-related multilingualism and language practices are determined by the contradiction between the multi-

lingual reality of many students' lives and the dominant ideology about the direct correlation between one (precisely the German) language and one (precisely the German) nation. Recently, educational research about minorities has therefore begun to compare societal and educational policy conditions in Germany and in Canada (cf. Bertram & Dirim, 2010, among others; Löser, 2010). After all, Canada is a country which considers itself to be diversity-conscious and multilingual due to its migration history. This self-understanding is not only expressed in Canada's constitution, but it is also relevant for societal policy because, according to Geißler (2003, p. 21), the concept of multiculturalism has been an established state ideology for decades. This also affects Canada's language policies.

> In Canada, multilingualism is part and parcel of both the multilingual language policy that is determined at the federal level and of the educational policy at the level of the provinces. Canada is a country with two official languages, namely English and French (Schmidt, 2011, p. 81).

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the province of Québec is not the same as Canada as a whole. The aforementioned stereotype of what constitutes a nation, "one language, one culture, one people, one territory" (Berthele, 2010, p. 2), widespread not only in Germany but throughout Europe, including Greece (cf. Fragoudaki, 1987, among others) relates to the ideology of "language nationalism" (Maitz, 2014, p. 5). Québec appears to be a prime example of this. French "is the sole official language" (Barbaud, 1998, p. 193) and, according to Taylor (1993, p. 45), there are a number of ratified 'languages laws':

> One of these laws regulates who is allowed to send their children to English-speaking schools and who is not (Francophone people and immigrants may not); another law determines that companies that have over 50 employees need to use French as their language of operation; yet another law prohibits poster advertisements in any language other than French.

In 2006, the Parliament of Canada voted to "recognize that the Québécois [essentially French Canadians in Québec] form a nation within a united Canada" (Sears, 2012, p. 292). In 2003, Rainer Geißler already described the construct of the "hyphenated-Canadian" as "a hierarchically structured double identity," which also allows for "identification with the heritage language." Here, Québécois are a heritage group. "The hyphenated-Canadian is supposed to be a Canadian first and an Englishman, Scot, Québécois, German, Ukrainian, or Chinese second" (Geißler, 2003, p. 21).

In her sociolinguistic ethnographies, Monica Heller (2006) focused on Francophone Canada and Québécois language policies as well as the language realities of Francophone minorities outside of Québec in "what is now fondly called the ROC (Rest of Canada)" (p. 14). Among other aspects, she determined that

> Linguistic nationalism involves much more than struggles over whether a state and its institutions can be monolingual or multilingual, or whether a people can be a people and speak more than one language. In addition, the imagining of the nation includes ideological struggles about its most central values, and these struggles take place not only with respect to what monolingualism and multilingualism represent but also to the very shape of the language to be privileged. Ideologies of the state are therefore partly constructed through ideologies of language (ibid., p. 10).

Due to these facts and building on İnci Dirim, Katrin Hauenschild and Birgit Lütje-Klose (2008, p. 16), we postulate "national contexts" for this project in order to find an appropriate term for the fact that the "premises and preconditions" (of education) within the respective countries should be considered in a differentiated manner as well. The diversity and language policy of Québec that is particularly relevant for our project is often viewed rather critically by the rest of Canada: "Quebec further argues that only a monolingual state will serve to protect its cultural and linguistic distinctiveness" (Heller, 2006, p. 14 f.).

Therefore, a "thorough context analysis" is necessary, which "also includes the underlying understandings of migration, integration and education, as well as educational policy frameworks, societal expectations and teachers' experiences when it comes to dealing with linguistic and ethnic diversity at school" (Dirim et al., 2008, p. 16 f.). Thus, we understand teachers' experiences as embedded in and generated by societal, educational policy, curricular, and institutional contexts of education. This means we are not simply comparing countries, education systems or institutions; we are comparing the views of pedagogical actors.

3.3 German Schools in Canadian and European educational contexts

Contrast, or rather estrangement, as an epistemological principle has helped determine the various research fields that were selected. We decided to focus on a 'special' kind of school because, as a multilingually organized educational institution, it promises to deal with (migration-related) multilingualism and language practices differently than schools that are organized monolingually. For our project, we were interested in German Schools abroad, especially so-called 'Begegnungsschulen' (as well as so-called Complementary Schools for minority languages, but we will not discuss the findings from these schools in this article).

First of all, it should be noted that German Schools abroad are usually private schools, not public schools, and they receive support from Germany (cf. Brüser-Sommer, 2010, p. 13). We can differentiate different types of schools: The two most significant forms are 'German Language Schools abroad' and 'Begegnungs-schulen with a bicultural educational objective'. At German Language Schools abroad, children, whose parents live and work abroad as experts, are taught accord-

ing to German curriculum and attain the German 'Mittlere Reife' or 'Abitur' (graduation after tenth grade or twelfth grade, respectively), whereas Begegnungsschulen are open both to German students and resident students of the host country. Here, they can obtain diplomas that are both standard in the host country as well as the German 'Abitur', which is the qualifying diploma required for pursuing studies at German universities. For our research question, it is pivotal that the host countries' national language(s) are at the very least (minimally taught) languages of instruction at Begegnungsschulen, while German is the sole language of instruction at German Schools abroad (cf. ibid., p. 12).

In order to introduce the educational system of German Schools abroad, a number of statistics are presented here. Most recent statistics suggest that there are approximately 80 000 students enrolled at 142 German Schools abroad in 72 countries. There are approximately 20 810 students who hold German citizenship and 61 000 students who hold non-German citizenship. These students are taught by approximately 1 340 educators abroad (so-called dispatched teachers who have tenure in Germany) and almost 7 000 local educators (6 835 to be precise) (cf. Borchert, 2010, p. 67; updated with current statistics from 2013 provided by the Bundesverwaltungsamt – Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen, 2014, p. 5). We can summarize that only about a quarter of students have German citizenship, and German teachers abroad make up a sixth of the entire teaching staff.

The three schools we selected and visited do not (yet) have the denomination 'Begegnungsschule'. Looking at the structure of the student population, these schools may very well be considered as such. The German School in Montreal (DSM), for instance, advertises the following program on its website: "More than half of [our] students do not speak German at home – they learn it with us" (see http://www.avh.montreal.qc.ca/eng/about_avh/about_us.html). Although the DSM presents itself as a trilingual, international private school, the "primary language of instruction is German" (cf. ibid.). Both the German School in Thessaloniki (DST) and the German School in Athens (DSA) are engaged in a process of reorganization in order to be certified as a Begegnungsschule. The DSA is scheduled to be officially renamed and restructured in 2015. Here – as well as in Thessaloniki – the existing division (a German department and a Greek department) will be merged into a single unit. DST's mission statement describes this process as follows:

> The DST is a Begegnungsschule with a German department and a Greek department. It aims at creating a sustainable synthesis between the German and the Greek educational systems …. Our overall goal is to facilitate a joint diploma in integrated classes from both departments (http://www.dst.gr/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Schulprogramm_neu.pdf, p. 5).

In summary, these three schools are schools where German is the language of instruction (in their respective German departments) but not necessarily the family language of all students.

So what makes these schools so fascinating for us? They are interesting because teachers at these schools have been professionalized (and tenured) in Germany and they teach students who were identified as part of a special risk group by PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) because their home language is not – or is not primarily – German. Talking about these students, the PISA authors identify the so-called "effect of family languages," meaning non-German home languages are used in explaining the below-average performance of these students to a large degree even after controlling for socio-economic status (Stanat, Rauch & Segeritz, 2010, p. 226). As a result, we encounter a student constellation at these Begegnungsschulen abroad that is similar and comparable to that at standard German schools attended by multilingual students and where German is the language of instruction; the major difference is that the Begegnungsschulen are located in a different setting and in a different national context. Outside of school, both students and teachers perform multilingually.

There is some information about the views of teachers at German Schools abroad in the documentation of a conference titled 'Culture and Educational Activity abroad: Impetuses for educational developments in Germany?' held by the Education and Science Workers' Union (GEW) in 2006. In the working group 'Heterogeneous students at German Schools abroad', four teachers who had worked or were still working at German Schools abroad summarized their experiences and evaluations. They proposed the following statement:

> Teachers from Germany who have had the opportunity to teach heterogeneous student groups for a few years can provide impetuses for educational development in Germany when it comes to integrating students who have different learning abilities and whose parents have different educational backgrounds including ethnic minority heritage (Gotterbarm, 2007, p. 80).

These teachers consider themselves to be engines of educational development in two major ways: on the one hand, when it comes to handling students' different learning abilities, and on the other hand, when it comes to considering the educational and ethnic minority background of families. Their self-evaluation is crucial here. Another example of self-evaluation provided by teachers working abroad which explicitly addresses students' multilingualism is found in a regional paper which reported on the previously mentioned conference. The headmistress of the German School in Paris expressed her opinion in an interview with the newspaper 'Hessischen-Niedersächsischen Allgemeine':

Multilingualism – meaning handling at least two languages in addition to one's mother tongue – is a matter of course for Dorothea Vogt's students [headmistress at the German School in Paris]. … Schools in Germany would do well to learn from the experiences of how to organize the egalitarian and simultaneous acquisition of different languages (Ländliche Heimvolksschule Mariaspring e.V. & Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW), 2007, p. 162).

This is a report about students who are trilingual at the very least. Here too, the role model function is emphasized, specifically when it comes to migration-related multilingualism at schools in Germany. Building on these two examples, although the data were not collected systematically, we can summarize that the views of teachers who have worked or are still working at German Schools abroad and at 'Begegnungsschulen' encourage us to pursue this line of research. The teachers seem to assume that their professional experiences abroad have prepared and professionalized them to deal with migration-related multilingualism and contribute to intercultural educational development.[10]

3.4   Methodology

We have conducted 'theory-generating' expert interviews (Bogner & Menz, 2005) in order to collect the pedagogical professionals' views on (migration-related) multilingualism and language practices at school. The epistemological interest of this kind of interview focuses less on factual knowledge and more on their "interpretive knowledge" (ibid., p. 44), meaning their subjective proclivities to act in certain ways, (implicit) decision-making maxims as well as knowledge constituents and routines which they develop throughout their work (cf. ibid., p. 38). These things are generally considered not directly retrievable; instead they have to be deduced, meaning reconstructed, through communication by which we – building on Bogner and Menz – enter "the field of ideas and ideologies" (ibid., p. 42, 44) as well as the field of language ideologies by way of the thematic orientation of our interview guide (cf. Maitz, 2014, p. 4). Crucial to their expert status is not necessarily any kind of superior knowledge but the power to shape situations that goes along with knowledge, in our case, in the context of educational institutions.

During the theory-guided expert interview, we interview experts because their action orientation, their knowledge and their assessments structure the other actors' action conditions in certain ways; due to this, expert knowledge exhibits the dimension of social relevance (Bogner & Menz, 2005, p. 45).

The interview guides we used to conduct the interviews are comprised of eleven questions which may be divided into different areas (see appendix).[11] In the beginning, we ask the pedagogical professionals to introduce themselves and talk about their current work at their respective institutions. This invitation to narrate allows

us to collect biographical and educational background information. It is important for us not to utilize a question-and-answer format at the very beginning of the interview. Instead, we want to remain open to the interviewees' emphases. The second question is not related to the issue of multilingualism in order to provide a casual conversational atmosphere and 'warm up' the interviewees. Questions three and four direct our attention to the language practices of multilingual children and youth both within educational institutions and outside of them. We ask the interviewees to express their opinions and observations.

Next, we ask the interviewees to state their opinions about scientific findings and to further elaborate using their own examples. Further, we focus on students at German Schools. This is to encourage the interviewees to talk about different professional fields of action and their actual work across different national educational contexts. This question is also designed in such a way as to encourage the interviewees to narrate and at the same time allow them to interact by addressing them as experts. Questions five through seven introduce certain expectations into the conversation, activating our assumption that the interviewees are familiar with scientific terminology and are able to comment on research results. We assume that our "expected expectations" also at least partially construct the interaction situation during the interview, just like the interviewees "are likely to [make up their minds about] interviewers and researchers' possible expectations based on various pieces of evidence, prior knowledge and general familiarity with communication" (Bogner & Menz, 2005, p. 49). Therefore, it is important to point out that expert interviews are also co-constructions where the interaction situation is partially determined by "the personal perception" and by ascribing competencies to the interviewer (cf. ibid.). We also ask a question about the experts' home language practices in order to deliberately and methodologically "integrate the expert as a 'private person'" and ensure a "substantially rich elicitation" of experts' interpretative knowledge (Bogner & Menz, 2005, p. 44). We conclude the interview guide with questions that invite the interviewees to address issues that have remained untold up until this point but that are crucial from their perspectives. In the penultimate question, we ask them to comment on the current educational policy demand in Germany for diversity in the staff room.

About the interviews: At the three German Schools we visited, 41 pedagogical professionals in total volunteered to talk to the two project leaders (three interviews in Thessaloniki in April 2013, 24 interviews in Athens in October 2014, and 14 interviews in Montreal in April 2014).[12] The interviewees were free to choose German or Greek as the interview language. One interview usually took between 30 to 45 minutes. All interviews were conducted at school: in the staff room, the school library, the cafeteria or dining hall, empty classrooms and so on. Initially, we con-

tacted the schools' head administrators by phone asking for appointments and informing them that we were interested in conducting scientific research at their schools. To follow up after the phone call, we contacted the same administrators via email, providing them with more information about the project and the interview guide. The three schools were very welcoming. After we arrived on site, we talked to the school administrator and were led around campus, received practical tips and informational brochures and were introduced to other people to talk to. Some pedagogical professionals volunteered for interviews beforehand. At school, we received our own office room with keys and coffee cups as well as a 'time table' where the pedagogical professionals signed up for interviews. Sometimes we had to advertise our research, meaning we had to proactively talk to people in the faculty lounge, introduce ourselves and the project, set up appointments and so on. Many of the interviewees helped us recruit other interviewees after they were finished. The longer we were on site, the more volunteers we had for interviews. Our research stays concluded in an additional final talk with the head administrator and in two cases with a school celebration we attended or were invited to. In order to provide the schools with concrete and tangible compensation, we offered to hold advanced training courses either about multilingualism or about the intercultural competence of pedagogical professionals. We sometimes conducted these seminars while we were on site.

On the following pages, we present excerpts from one interview each from two schools, the German School in Athens and the German School in Montreal. We chose these interviewees bearing the minority pre-service teachers in Germany in mind who had been the starting point for this project. Both pedagogical professionals we introduce here are minority teachers or consider themselves as such due to their emigration from Germany.

We have analysed our data according to grounded theory methodology building on Kathy Charmaz (2014), but the analysis is still in progress at the time this article is being written. For this article, we used *initial coding* and *coding incident with incident* (ibid., p. 124 ff.) for selected interviews with minority teachers in order to develop initial ideas and conventionalize these through comparison (ibid., p. 128). On the following pages, we will introduce our initial ideas and conceptualizations and illustrate these by way of examples.

With these excerpts, we would like to give the reader an opportunity to look at the data and at our hypotheses although we are not yet able to present the initial results of our analysis. We do not wish to conclude this article with the research design or by pointing to expected future results. Instead, we wish to give some indications in order to evaluate whether this research design is appropriate for the topic and our research question.

4. A first look at the empirical data

4.1 Excerpt from an interview with a pedagogical professional at the German School in Athens (October 2014)

Ms. Erbach is one of 24 pedagogical professionals we interviewed at the German School in Athens. She is 45 years old and grew up in a bilingual household in Germany. Her mother was born in Germany, her father in Greece. From the German educational system's perspective, she is a minority teacher. She trained to become an upper secondary school teacher and worked in Germany for a time after graduating from university. For the past eighteen years, she has worked as a local teacher at the German School in Athens. Before the interview, Ms. Erbach reports that her family is German-Greek and that she raises her children bilingually. During the interview Ms. Erbach frequently talks about her familial language practice. For instance, she mentions that her paediatrician in Greece advised her to use the 'one language – one person' strategy, meaning she should talk to her children exclusively in German, whereas her husband should address them in Greek, but she also points out that she did not manage to establish this practice in her family. Talking about language use in class, she states:

> Well, in class we're technically supposed to speak German as much as possible, but that's quite funny, well that, it doesn't really work (…) well it is quite good for them if you also use, uh, both languages in class, a:nd, during my French class, there we often speak four languages (…)
> *and have you seen, that the children, or the the, youth for example start one sentence, in um; Greek and finish in German?*
> Yes; absolutely; of course; and not only within sentences, but also within words, uh themselves, uh there's uh strong mixing; well that there are German endings on Greek words; or we sometimes make a joke of it in French; that we also use this consciously (…). (Ms. Erbach, 45 years old, local upper secondary school teacher at the DSA)

In the following interview excerpt, it also becomes clear that Ms. Erbach is able to use her biographical resources expanding over two generations in her daily multilingual life at school.

> [L]ike I already said, that I myself grew up bilingually;
> └*exactly;*┘
> Yes, a:nd this is quite common for us at home that we switch from one language to the next and in the middle of a sentence; in the middle of a word; well I'm familiar with this in my own home, and we always thought it was quite funny, that was never frowned upon at home and never something, that would inhibit our language acquisition, that's why I actually quite like doing this at school too. (Ms. Erbach, 45 years old, local upper secondary school teacher at the DSA)

This indicates that Ms. Erbach transfers her own multilingual experiences and language practices ("switching languages" and "in the middle of a sentence" or even in "the middle of a word") into everyday life at school. She thereby distances herself from traditional bilingual programs which emphasize on separating languages in order to elicit parallel monolingualism. This principle (and its implicit orientation) was also addressed during other interviews at the German School in Athens. Ms. Erbach also highlights that "speaking German" is "technically" compulsory. At the same time, she distances herself from the school's language policy. Ms. Erbach also reports that people are considering introducing rules that would make the use of German during recess and breaks compulsory in order for the students to improve their German. She would be an outsider if she were to speak up against such a rule.

Ms. Erbach's excerpt is by far not representative of the pedagogical professionals at the German School in Athens. We chose this example because we wanted to highlight that the pedagogical professionals in this field have differing views and that we need to reconstruct these views during the remainder of our research. Additionally, Ms. Erbach's example assumes a heuristic position in the beginning of our assessment because it stands in stark contrast to our initial research question, namely minority pre-service teachers' call in favour of acting monolingually at school in Germany. Ms. Erbach's example also stands in (relative) contrast to the statements of a pedagogical professional at the German School in Montreal.

4.2 Excerpt from an interview with a pedagogical professional at the German School in Montreal (April 2014)

Ms. Treut is 29 years old and one of 14 pedagogical professionals we interviewed at the German School in Montreal. She grew up speaking German monolingually and trained to become a primary and lower secondary school teacher in Germany. After completing her teacher training, she became a substitute teacher at the German School in Montreal where she now works as a local part-time primary school teacher.

When asked, "we assume that your students use different languages in their everyday lives; in what ways do your students mix languages and does this affect your lessons and teaching?", she replies:

> [I]n class the language should be well with me the children always speak German, if it I have this girl who who sometimes addresses me in English I don't react to that or I tell her very explicitly that one does not speak English with me, um, they generally always speak German with me, but when they talk amongst themselves it takes so much consistency and unbelievable strictness, to make the children speak German. (Ms. Treut, 29 years old, local primary school teacher at the DSM)

In contrast to Ms. Erbach, Ms. Treut advocates monolingualism and tries to enforce it by presenting herself as a German monolingual that can only be properly addressed in German. In further contrast to Ms. Erbach, she rejects heteroglossic reality in class and assumes that the formula 'one person – one language' is didactically legitimate and working. The fact that this contradicts the students' reality may be inferred based on her descriptions. Furthermore, creating monolingualism under these circumstances requires "unbelievable strictness" and effort, as the following excerpt also illustrates:

> [F]or me it is pffff exhausting I can't handle it (…) I'm somewhat of two minds in terms of how I want to fight this fight (…) I always say there is a common language of the heart and, their language just happens to be English and, I don't know I don't feel particularly comfortable calling upon them time and again and telling them you have to speak German now that is (…) difficult. (Ms. Treut, 29 years old, local primary school teacher at the DSM)

Ms. Treut explicitly addresses her discomfort at the institutional insistence on monolingualism and at the same time, she reveals this strategy, which she simultaneously perceives as promoting German, as pedagogically ambivalent. It involves suppressing students from communicating in "their language." This is precisely what characterizes her personal ambivalence. In some way, she distances herself from this educational objective and this institutional logic which she can hardly promote and can only "fight." Ms. Treut expresses her ambivalence even more explicitly by presenting herself as a German teacher at a German School, who nevertheless lives as a German "migrant" in a non-German society:

> I mean it is a German school but nevertheless I am an immigrant, in the end and I'm here now and um here as a German teacher (…) based on my own experience as a student well mhm when it comes to English and French I believe that I can often understand when children make certain mistakes for example or that well that I can um understand the children's studying behaviour because I have experienced it myself. (Ms. Treut, 29 years old, local primary school teacher at the DSM)

In combination with Ms. Erbach and through direct comparison between both teachers, this is an interesting passage as Ms. Treut also addresses her personal life and experiences while studying in Montreal, especially outside of school, putting up barriers between herself and her students. We wonder whether these experiences are the trigger that created her discomfort about language separation at school and the reason she thereby also distances herself from this strategy. We may infer this from her self-evaluation as an "immigrant" who studies one of the majority languages of her current residence and is therefore in the middle of a language learning process. This demonstrates that the illusory monolingualism is pierced by her

personal (emergent) everyday multilingual practices (and not only by her students' practices).

5. Conclusion

So far, we have assumed that (future) teachers who were socialized in the German educational system do not consider their multilingualism as a resource for teaching. Instead, they advocate strict separation of languages and support the German educational system's monolingual ideology in terms of "separate bilingualism" or "parallel monolingualism" (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 105).

We would like to specify this as a hypothesis which shall be investigated further in the future. Our hypothesis is that educators' (emergent) multilingual practices in the context of a multilingually organized and internationally conceived educational institution does not automatically lead them to simply appreciate students' multilingualism. These teachers begin to question the monolingual decree and distance themselves from it; some of them even adopt translanguaging at school (for translanguaging as a pedagogy, cf. García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014). Multilingualism is actively lived in German Schools outside of Germany by the students and by teachers who work there.

A central question we intend to investigate in the future asks which pedagogical professionals distance themselves from the language-ideological prescription of parallel monolingualism (and which do not) as well as how and where they do this, and how they legitimate their views and practices.

After systematically assessing all expert interviews, we will investigate this question (and others that emerge during the process of analysis) using ethnographic field studies in order to relate the views of the pedagogical professionals with observed practices. We thus intend to analyse the various strands of our research in a multidimensional and comparative manner.

This outlook for future research activities may not satisfy readers who expect to find finished research projects in academic publications. Nevertheless, we consider it to be important to illustrate initial insights into ongoing research projects and to disclose how a research design is being developed, especially in the context of research fields that are considered to be new and that have many desiderates. For us, it has been an inspiring endeavour to come to grips with preliminary research results that are documented in a number of articles in the first German collective volume about multilingual and minority (pre-service) teachers (Bräu, Georgi, Karakaşoğlu & Rotter, 2013). In this sense, we hope to provide some suggestions and stimulation for other researchers who wish to turn their attention to this field of research.

Notes

1. The NESSE independent team of social scientists supported the European Commission with expertise between 2007 and 2011. Its work included a series of reports written primarily for policy-makers.

2. For the university didactic conception and purpose of the seminar, see Lengyel & Rosen, 2012, and for the further development of the university location Cologne, see Panagiotopoulou & Rosen, 2015a.

3. This refers to questions 4 and 5 from the interview guide which we also used to interview educational professionals (see appendix). We slightly adapted the third question: "Children who are raised multilingually use multiple languages in their daily lives. They also often switch between languages when they interact with other multilinguals." In the context of these three questions we adapted the manner of questioning in such a way that the interviewed were addressed not as educational professionals but as students who are prospective teachers: What are your thoughts on this based on your own experiences in school (having been raised monolingually or multilingually) and in light of your (future) profession as a teacher?

4. The recorded and transcribed data was analyzed using Grounded Theory (according to Charmaz, 2014).

5. The concepts that were generated as a result of the coding are italicized in this passage.

6. All citations of German sources have been translated by the authors.

7. We were unable to come up with an adequate translation of the term 'Begegnungsschule', which could possibly be described as 'international encounter schools'. Hence we'll be using the German term 'Begegnungsschule' for the purposes of this article.

8. In the qualitative project 'Multilingualism as a field of action of intercultural educational development', Fürstenau and Huxel (2014, p. 1) postulate a close connection between the subareas "attitudes and beliefs, knowledge and strategies for action" of professionalism in teachers. These subareas influence each other: "Attitudes and knowledge affect actions and conversely, experienced actions affect attitudes and knowledge" (ibid.).

9. Particularly in the primarily English-speaking secondary literature, scholars tend to assume that both professional linguists and laymen (implicitly) use language ideologies or linguistic ideologies in order to explain and/or justify linguistic reality and language practices. Language ideologies have both an epistemological and a social function and are immediately tied to power. Some of these ideologies may have been passed on without reflection from generation to generation, like for instance the so-called 'Hannoverismus', according to which it is said that the best ('high') German is spoken in and around Hannover; this discredits Southern German dialects and stigmatizes the people using these language practices (cf. Maitz, 2014, p. 4 ff.).

10. It is possible that this group of teachers comprises a special group anyway, not only because they decided to move abroad for an extended period of time. Brüser-Sommer (2010, p. 13), whose dissertation deals with a federal-and-state-inspection about the pedagogical quality management at German Schools abroad, emphasizes one "special element of the school system abroad", namely "that the teachers that were sent to work there are on average better qualified and more motivated than local teachers in Germany." In a footnote, the author additionally mentions that "this statement … is corroborated by his experience at the schools" (ibid., p. 32).

11. The first version of the interview guide was developed in cooperation with the doctoral student Sofia Anastasiadou who used this version in the field twice from 2012 to 2013. She interviewed (1) educators teaching so-called native-language supplementary classes in NRW, Germany, and (2) current and former teachers at the German School Thessaloniki, Greece.
12. The entire sample of our study, including the thirteen English and Greek interviews that were conducted at the Complementary Greek Schools in Montreal, comprises 54 pedagogical professionals we interviewed.

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Appendix: Interview Guide*

1. Please introduce yourself as a teacher, as someone teaching at this school:
    − How long have you been working as a teacher?
    − How long have you been working at this school?
    − Where did you pursue your college studies, and what subject(s) did you study? What was your major?
    − What are the subjects and classes you teach?
    − What other functions do you fulfill at this school?
    − In what ways did your personal experiences as a student influence your career choice?

2. What are your concerns regarding your students after you enter the classroom?

3. We assume that your students use different languages in their everyday lives.
    − In what way is this also the case in everyday school life?
    − In what way do your students mix languages, and does this affect your lessons and teaching?

4. Do you consider all your students to be multilingual?

5. Research on multilingualism deals with the question whether multilingual children and youth have special language skills.
    − What would you say about this, based on your own experiences?
    − And with regard to the students at this school?

6. On the other hand, there are researchers who claim that growing up with several languages may be a particular challenge for children and young people.
    − What would you say about this based on your own experiences?
    − And with regard to the students at this school?

7. Other studies focus on the relationships between languages of origin and national language in educational institutions. People argue among other things that it is important to spend time learning the national language(s) instead of the respective language of origin. What do you think about this?

8. Do you use several languages in your daily family life?
    − In what way does this also apply to your everyday life at school (with co-workers, students, parents, etc.)?
    − In what way do you mix languages when you teach?
    − Would you consider yourself to be multilingual?

9. Let's assume I am about to become your new co-worker at this school. Is there anything you would like to make me aware of?

10. A certain educational policy demand has gained importance in Germany over the past few years, and it states that teachers who are immigrants themselves can and should assume a prominent role as bilingual cultural mediators and/or models of educational success and social integration. The slogan is: "We need more educators of ethnic minority heritage in our schools." What would you say about this based on your experiences here?

11. Is there anything you would like to add that I haven't asked about, or is there anything that's particularly important to you?

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* This is a representation of the interview guide from the expert interviews with teachers; for interviews with other pedagogical professionals such as tutors and educators, we used a version of the interview guide that had been adapted to their respective field of action.