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İÇİNDEKİLER / *CONTENTS*

Araştırma Makaleleri / *Research Articles*

Editörden

İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dilbilimi Bölümü tarafından yayınlanan, kuramsal ve uygulamalı dilbilim ile ilgili konuları inceleyerek alana ilişkin bilgiye katkıda bulunan makaleler içeren Dilbilim Dergisi, "Yurt Dışında Türkçe" özel sayısıyla okurlarının karşısına çıkıyor.

Bu sayıda Türkçenin ana dili olarak yurt dışında öğretimine yönelik deneysel çalışmalara ve doküman analizlerine yer verilmiştir. "Turkish Mother Tongue Instruction in Sweden" adlı çalışmada Türkçenin İsveç'te ana dili olarak öğretimine yönelik çalışmalardan ve bulgulardan, "(Foreign) Language Education and its impact on equal opportunity and sustainability. Lessons learned from a bilingual German-Turkish program at an urban elementary school in Germany" adlı çalışmada Almanyadaki Almanca-Türkçe iki dilli bir okuldaki bir projenin çıktılarından, "Heritage Language Acquisition and Maintenance of Turkish in The United States: Challenges to Teaching Turkish as a Heritage Language" adlı çalışmada Amerika'da Türk çocuklarına Türkçe öğretiminden ve bu süreçte karşılaşılan zorluklardan, "The Impact on Language Maintenance and Studies Among Third- and Fourth- Generation Turkish Students in Melbourne, in the era of COVID-19" adlı çalışmada Avustralya'nın Melbourne kentinde 3. ve 4. nesil Türk çocuklarının dil sürdürümünden bahsedilmektedir, "The Comparison of French and Turkish Teaching Programs" adlı çalışmada ise Türkiye'de ilkokulda uygulanan Türkçe öğretim programı ile Fransa'da ilkokulda uygulanan Fransızca öğretim programı öğrencilerin ana dili becerilerinin geliştirilmesi ve hedeflenen kazanımlar bakımından kıyaslanmıştır.

Dergimizin "Yurt dışında Türkçe" sayısına bilimsel yazılarıyla destek veren değerli araştırmacılara, bu çalışmaları titizlikle değerlendiren hakemlere ve yayın sürecini takip eden Yayın Kuruluna teşekkür ederim.

Prof. Dr. Kutlay YAĞMUR
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Gözde Demirel Fakiroğlu
Konuk Editörler

Editorial

Published by Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Linguistics, the *Journal of Linguistics* contains articles that contribute to field knowledge by examining topics related to theoretical and applied linguistics and greets readers with this special issue titled "Turkish Abroad."

This issue includes experimental studies and document analyses on teaching Turkish as a mother tongue abroad. The first study titled "Turkish Mother Tongue Instruction in Sweden" elaborates on data and findings from studies regarding teaching Turkish as the mother tongue in Sweden. The second study titled "(Foreign) Language Education and Its Impact on Equal Opportunity and Sustainability: Lessons Learned from a Bilingual German-Turkish Program at an Urban Elementary School in Germany" discusses the outcomes of a project in a German-Turkish bilingual school in Germany. The third study titled "Heritage Language Acquisition and Maintenance of Turkish in the United States: Challenges to Teaching Turkish" provides a detailed presentation of how Turkish is taught to Turkish children in the USA and the difficulties encountered in this process. The fourth study titled "The Impact on Language Maintenance and Studies Among Third- and Fourth-Generation Turkish Students in Melbourne in the Era of COVID-19" investigates language maintenance of 3rd- and 4th-generation Turkish children in Melbourne. The fifth study is a document analysis titled "The Comparison of French and Turkish Teaching Programs" compares the Turkish curriculum applied in primary schools in Turkey with the French curriculum applied in primary schools in France in terms of how they develop students' native language skills and what achievements they target.

I would like to thank the researchers for their valuable contributions to this special issue, including the researchers who supported our journal's special "Turkish Abroad" issue with their scientific articles, as well as the referees who evaluated these studies meticulously and the Editorial Board in charge of the publication process..

Prof. Dr. Kutlay YAĞMUR
Assist. Prof. Gözde DEMİREL FAKİROĞLU
Guest Editors

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Dilbilim Dergisi - Journal of Linguistics 38, (2022): 1-20
DOI: 10.26650/jol.2022.1138978 Research Article

Turkish Mother Tongue Instruction in Sweden

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ABSTRACT
Home language education has a long tradition in Sweden and includes the teaching of Turkish to children who grow up bilingually with Swedish as their societal language and Turkish as their home and heritage language. The present paper characterises Turkish mother tongue instruction (MTI) and discusses its current status in the light of Swedish language policy, as it is reflected in official documents (legislation, policy papers and curricula) vis-a-vis its practical implementation by the municipalities. The paper also presents findings from a research project on Turkish-speaking preschool and primary school children and their families, concerning MTI attendance and attitudes towards Turkish, as well as on the experiences of Turkish MTI teachers in a Swedish setting.
Keywords: Children, Minority language, Mother tongue instruction (MTI), Sweden, Turkish

1. Introduction

Sweden has long offered mother tongue education to children with home languages other than Swedish and prides itself on a multilingually oriented language education policy. In international comparisons, such as the MIPEX or Eurobarometer, Sweden is indeed often ranked ahead of other Western countries, because of its public support for minority languages in education, state integration policies and multiculturally oriented politics (e.g. the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, Solano & Huddleston 2020); Multiculturalism Policy Index (2021); Special Eurobarometer 469 (European Commission Directorate-General for Communication 2018)). Some recent studies have probed how well this language policy is implemented in the Swedish educational system (e.g. Spetz 2014; Ganuza & Hedman 2015; Salö, Ganuza, Hedman & Karrebæk 2018).

Whilst Swedish is officially the principal language of Sweden and the majority language of society, many other languages are spoken in Sweden. Of these, five languages (Sami, Finnish, Meänkieli, Yiddish and Romani) have received official status as 'national minority languages'. These indigenous languages have been spoken for centuries on the territory of the Swedish nation-state, but they have only small numbers of speakers today, due to earlier acts of minority language suppression and all-Swedish schooling. Following extensive immigration from different parts of the world, many residents of Sweden nowadays speak other minority languages (e.g. Arabic, Somali, English, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Spanish) and pass on their heritage language to their children. One of these minority languages is Turkish, which will be in focus here.

Like other minority languages, Turkish receives educational support from the Swedish state. In particular, so-called mother tongue instruction (MTI) is offered to children who have Turkish as their home (or family) language. MTI is offered to children aged between 6 and 16, and sometimes even earlier (i.e. to preschoolers), as well as to pupils in upper secondary school (aged 16−19). Most MTI takes place at primary and lower secondary school level. To date, the teaching of Turkish in Sweden has received but little attention as a research topic.

MTI has a long tradition in Sweden, and the present paper aims to characterize Turkish MTI and discuss its current status in the light of Swedish language policy. In addition, insights from a large-scale research project on bilingual Turkish-Swedish preschool and primary school age children and their families will be reported, making use of a parental questionnaire and interview data. Many of these families enroll their children in Turkish MTI classes, and they view MTI as a means of supporting and developing the heritage language Turkish. The voices of some Turkish MTI teachers will be heard as well.

This paper is structured as follows. After some brief information on Turkish speakers in Sweden (Section 2) and on the Swedish schooling system (Section 3), Section 4 outlines, from a historical perspective, how minority language rights and mother tongue education were introduced via legislation and policy documents at the level of the state. Section 5 describes

how MTI is implemented today by Swedish municipalities, pointing out changes, challenges and obstacles. In Section 6, statistics are provided on the provision of Turkish teaching today. Section 7 captures findings from the BiLI-TAS project pertaining to Turkish MTI, first for children and their parents (7.1), and then from the perspective of Turkish MTI teachers (7.2). Section 8 concludes the paper.

2. Turkish speakers in Sweden

Following several waves of migration from Turkey since the 1970s (see e.g. Başer & Levin 2017), Turkish-speaking immigrants and their second- and third-generation descendants constitute a sizeable community in Sweden. They mainly live in urban areas, particularly in and around the three largest cities, Stockholm in the east, Gothenburg in the west and Malmö in the south (Statistics Sweden 2017). In general, Sweden has seen less migration from Turkey, both in total numbers and percentage-wise, than other Western European countries such as Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands. Turkish is an important minority language in Sweden, but far from the most frequently spoken one, ranking somewhere in between 10th and 15th position.

The exact number of Turkish speakers in Sweden is not known, since authorities do not collect census data regarding ethnicity and speakers of a certain language. Estimates range from a conservative 45,000 (Parkvall 2015, p. 26) to 120,000 (according to the Turkish Embassy in Stockholm).[1] Census data for country of origin suggest that there are around 100,000 Turkish speakers in Sweden, when the number of Turkey-born residents is combined with the number of Sweden-born residents with Turkey-born parents (Statistics Sweden 2021). Note that country of origin cannot directly be equated with language spoken, as there may be residents of Sweden with family roots in Turkey who do not speak Turkish, as well as Turkish-speaking residents whose country of origin, or their parents' country of origin, is not Turkey. Still, the figures suggest that roughly 1% of the population (10 million) is Turkish-speaking or bilingual in Turkish and Swedish.

Several international surveys have investigated issues of urban multilingualism and identity in Turkish speakers in Sweden, including the Multilingual Cities Project, involving school children in Gothenburg (Nygren-Junkin & Extra 2003), and the TIES project (The Integration of the European Second Generation), involving second-generation 18- to 35-year-olds in Stockholm (Westin 2015)). Whilst not primarily linguistically oriented, these surveys report a high degree of Turkish language maintenance in their adult and adolescent second-generation participants (Aktürk-Drake 2017, 2018). It has been suggested that the high degree of heritage language maintenance may be due to a strong pattern of endogamy, which has also been

1 The Turkish Embassy generally refers to Statistics Sweden for population estimates. According to a former ambassador, ca 60,000 residents of Sweden with Turkish nationality are in contact and registered with the Embassy. If all residents with Turkish roots were included (i.e. also those with only Swedish nationality), the figure would double.

observed for Turkish migrants and their descendants elsewhere (Backus 2004; Extra & Yağmur 2010). Setting up family with a partner from the same country of origin supports the upkeep and transmission of the home language to the next generation. Moreover, the second (i.e. Sweden-born) generation with Turkish roots often marry and have children with a newcomer from Turkey (Aktürk-Drake 2017; Swedish Migration Agency 2017; Bohnacker 2022). Such endogamy may influence family language practices, revitalise the use of Turkish in the home and support heritage-language transmission to the next generation. Children from these families are often enrolled in Turkish MTI classes. Other family constellations involve mixed-language marriages. When the parents are not both speakers of Turkish, the family often chooses the majority language (Swedish) as their predominant means of communication. Whilst one parent may still communicate with the child in Turkish, at least sometimes, exposure will be limited, and upkeep and transmission of the minority language becomes much more of a challenge. Children from such families are also enrolled in Turkish MTI classes.

Whilst most speakers of Turkish in Sweden have their family roots in Turkey, not all self-identify as Turks or consider Turkish to be their only mother tongue. Kurdish and Syriac (Neo-Aramaic) are proportionally more strongly represented in Sweden than they are in Turkey,[2] and they also appear to be more strongly represented in Sweden than in other countries with large-scale immigration from Turkey (Svanberg 1988; Westin 2003; Aras 2015; Bohnacker 2022). Children from such families often also attend Turkish MTI.

3. Early child education and schooling in Sweden

The Swedish welfare system is generally regarded as highly developed and successful in alleviating poverty and deprivation. Immigrants enjoy full access to schooling, health and social services. Early years education is comprehensive and available regardless of the family's (or the child's) social and economic situation. All children and adolescents who are registered residents of Sweden (including temporary residence-holders) have the right to education through publicly funded preschooling and schooling, as well as recreational childcare after school hours (*fritids*). In Sweden, most parents work outside the home, and institutional childcare is widespread. According to recent figures from Statistics Sweden (2019), 94% of all 3- to 5-year-old children attend preschool. Indeed, preschool (*förskola*) starts at a very young age (age 1 or 2), and most children, including migrant children, attend preschool for a major part of the day (6−8 hours/day, 30−40 hours/week). Preschools are bound by the national curriculum (*Lfpö18*, Swedish National Agency for Education 2018) to actively foster language and general cognitive and social skills, although there is variation in how this curriculum is put into practice. Preschool (for children between age 1 and 5−6) is followed by *förskoleklass*

2 According to the independent KONDA Social Structure Survey September 2006 (based on interviews with ca 50 000 people in Turkey), 76% identify themselves as ethnic Turks, 15.6% identify as ethnic Kurds, and 8.3% as belonging to other ethnic groups. 84.5% consider Turkish to be their mother tongue, 13% state that Kurdish is their mother tongue, and 1.5% consider other languages to be their mother tongue (KONDA 2007: 20-23).

(Grade 0), an optional preparatory year for primary school proper. Grade 1 of primary school starts at age 7. School is compulsory for nine years (*grundskola*, Grade 1−9, age 7−15), though most pupils also complete three years of practically or academically oriented upper secondary education (*gymnasium*, Grade 10−12). Preschools and schools are generally run in Swedish.[3]

4. Introducing minority language rights and mother tongue education

Sweden's official language policy at state level encourages multilingualism and the development and upkeep of home languages other than Swedish. The Language Act (*Språklagen*, 2009, §14) states that persons with other first languages "are to be given the opportunity to develop and use their mother tongue".

Minority language rights were given protection in the 1974 constitutional reform (Swedish Ministry of Justice, 1974, Ch. 1, §2): "the possibilities for ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to preserve and develop a cultural and social life of their own should be strengthened". Soon after, the 1977 Home Language Reform introduced home language education for minority-language children. The aim of this reform was to develop "active bilingualism" (*aktiv tvåspråkighet*) in both immigrant and indigenous minority-language children. At the time, there was general agreement that home language education would have positive effects for the individual as well as for society at large. Here, the Home Language Reform was also an ideological project to promote the idea of Sweden being (or becoming) a progressively minded, pluralistic and multicultural society. Home language education became a cornerstone of official state language policy (Hyltenstam & Milani 2012; Salö et al. 2018; Bohnacker, under review).

Before the Home Language Reform in 1977, municipalities were under no obligation to offer home language education, although some had done so in different forms and via a range of initiatives. For instance, in the 1960s, municipalities with many Finnish-speaking immigrant children started to offer Finnish classes. The Home Language Reform, and the state funding that came with it, allowed municipalities and schools to more widely offer *hemspråksklasser*, i.e. transition or bilingual classes for newcomers (*hemspråksklasser*), where all pupils in class spoke the same first language (L1) and subjects were taught in the L1, or in the L1 and in Swedish. In the 1970s and 1980s, these classes were offered separate from the Swedish mainstream classes in areas with a high intake of children with the same L1, and this included Turkish. However, many of these programmes were later discontinued.

A more lasting outcome of the Home Language Reform 1977 was the introduction of *hemspråksundervisning* (home language instruction). Here the minority-language children attended Swedish-language mainstream schooling, but in addition were offered instruction in their home language. The lessons were devoted to developing oral proficiency, and later,

3 Whilst there are some bilingual (pre)school programmes (mainly for English/Swedish), no such bilingual programmes exist for Turkish/Swedish.

literacy, in the minority language. This system is still in place today. When home language instruction was introduced in 1977, it was organised by the state and relatively well-funded, with earmarked MTI funds, where the municipality received a fixed share of full-time equivalent teacher salary from the state for each child enrolled in MTI. As a result, permanent MTI teacher positions were created, and a two-year MTI teacher study programme was put in place. From its inception in 1977 until 1988 (when the programme was discontinued), more than one thousand MTI teachers were trained, according to Hyltenstam & Milani (2012, p. 59).

During the 1980s and 1990s, some MTI restrictions were imposed. For instance, a child would only be eligible for MTI if the language in question was the daily language of communication in the home, and if the child already possessed basic skills in that language. The prerequisite of basic language skills has repeatedly been criticised by the Swedish Equal Opportunities Ombudsman, by several minority rights organisations, and by the Council of Europe, as it excludes many children from MTI.[4]

In 1989/1990, the Swedish government decentralised the national educational system, and schooling responsibilities, including MTI, were transferred to municipalities. They lie with them to this day. Previously earmarked state funding for MTI was abolished, and the local authorities could from now on set their priorities differently. This has greatly affected the provision of MTI over time (see Section 5).

Another change concerning home language education was a terminological one. In 1997, policy makers decided to replace 'home language' (*hemspråk*) in official educational documents by the term 'mother tongue' (*modersmål*). From then on, home language instruction (*hemspråksundervisning*) was to be referred to as mother tongue instruction (*modersmålsundervisning*). The idea behind this change was to signal that one's mother tongue was important and not only confined to the home. Unfortunately, the change in terminology had the unwelcome side effect that Swedish was no longer considered a 'mother tongue', and only languages other than Swedish were now referred to as mother tongues. This is confusing for many people to this day, and informally, many still speak of *hemspråk*.

The Swedish Education Act of 2010 (*Skollagen*) enshrines children's rights to mother tongue instruction. MTI is devoted to developing minority-language oral proficiency and literacy. MTI is offered as an elective subject as part of the school curriculum in primary and secondary school. MTI is thus not regarded as an extra-curricular activity organised by volunteers, minority organisations, or foreign agents, as it is in many other countries (Salö et al. 2018; Yağmur 2020). Unusually from an international perspective, preschoolers and school-age pupils are entitled to MTI by law. In Swedish legislation and state-level language policy documents, the use of minority languages and MTI in schools is openly promoted. Yet the actual implementation of MTI is wrought with problems, as will be shown in the next section.

4 This restriction was eventually lifted for MTI in the five national minority languages, but is still in place for all other minority languages.

5. The implementation of mother tongue education in Sweden today

Whilst the Swedish Education Act (2010:800 §7) states that MTI is to be offered nationwide to all children growing up in families with a home language different than Swedish, conditions have tightened considerably over the past decades.

MTI is a non-mandatory, elective subject. Children in Grade 0 (*förskoleklass*) and in Grades 1−9 of compulsory school (*grundskola*) are only eligible for MTI if the mother tongue, e.g. Turkish, is spoken in the home on a daily basis, and the child has basic knowledge of the language. Moreover, the School Ordinance (2011:185, *Skolförordningen*) allows local authorities to opt out of MTI if there are fewer than five pupils who have applied for MTI in a particular language in the district. The School Ordinance also allows local authorities to opt out of MTI if no suitable teacher can be found (Ch. 5 §10). In upper secondary school (*gymnasium*), pupils are only eligible for MTI if they have received a Pass grade in MTI in Grade 9.

Apart from MTI lessons, pupils are also legally entitled to 'mother-tongue study guidance' (*studiehandledning på modersmål*) if needed. This means that a MTI teacher will sit in during lessons in other school subjects, to translate and help the child understand subject matter. The extent to which this service is provided varies.

The transferral of schooling responsibilities from the state to the municipal level has had certain detrimental effects for MTI. For budgetary or other reasons, town councils do not always strive whole-heartedly to support MTI. A survey by the Swedish Language Council (Spetz 2014) found that MTI provision varied greatly across the country, and that only 25 percent of municipalities offered MTI to all pupils who were eligible and had applied for it (Spetz 2014, pp. 28−29). The report pointed to constant problems with implementation and marginalisation. For instance, MTI lessons might be offered at only one school venue in the municipality, making it cumbersome for children from other schools to attend. Quite often, pupils entitled to MTI do not get taught because of small class sizes or because no suitable teacher can be found. Alternatively, children of different ages and very different proficiency levels are combined into one class to make up the numbers. Such heterogeneous groups of pupils are a challenge for MTI teachers, and effective pedagogy can become difficult (Spetz 2014; Ganuza & Hedman 2015). Unlike for other school subjects, there are no guaranteed minimum teaching hours for MTI. MTI lessons range in duration from 30 to 100 minutes per week, where 40 to 60 minutes are typical (Swedish National Agency for Education 2008 Appendix 1 p.13; Spetz 2014).

MTI is organised in different ways by the municipalities. Some MTI teachers are directly employed by the school, though this only happens in some municipalities and for languages with large enrolment (e.g. Arabic, Somali). More commonly, MTI teachers are employed by a central municipal unit (e.g. *Modersmålsenheten, Språkcentrum, Språkskolan*) and are then 'supplied', i.e. sent out, to different schools. Such MTI teachers have to shuttle between schools as their pupils are distributed all across town or even across different towns. In an ethnographic study of Somali and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian MTI, Ganuza & Hedman (2015)

found that peripatetic MTI teachers were very common, with one teacher serving up to 12 different schools. This precludes MTI teachers being properly integrated into the workings of a particular school. They have insufficient contact with other teachers and are rarely included in regular staff meetings. Sometimes MTI teachers even have to 'hunt' for a classroom to conduct their lessons in. The working conditions of many MTI teachers are thus far from optimal. MTI tends to be poorly integrated with other school subjects and other aspects of school life, and it is often tagged onto the timetable of children at the end of the school day.

Altogether, this signals that MTI and minority home languages have a lower status than other school subjects, including foreign languages (English, Spanish, German, French).

In contrast to the relatively detailed curricula and syllabi for other school subjects in Sweden, the national curriculum for MTI (*Lgr11*, revised in 2019) is formulated in very general terms, stating only some overarching learning objectives: "MTI should give pupils the opportunity to develop knowledge in and about their mother tongues", and "develop their cultural identity and become multilingual" (Swedish National Agency for Education 2019, p. 87). One and the same curriculum is meant to cover *all* mother tongues, and nothing is said about content and skills in the individual language, e.g. Turkish. This gives MTI teachers a lot of freedom in interpreting learning objectives, choosing content and pedagogical approaches. It also means that content and quality of MTI teaching is variable.

The training and study background of MTI teachers is very heterogeneous (Spetz 2014; Ganuza & Hedman 2015), which is hardly surprising, as there is a lack of formal MTI teacher training programmes in Sweden. They are native speakers of the language they teach; other qualifications vary. The teachers may have college or university degrees in a relevant subject and extensive training in language teaching either from their home country, from Sweden, or from a third country, whilst others are less well trained, both academically and concerning language didactics. Municipal MTI units and schools may offer in-service pedagogical training to MTI teachers. Whilst some Swedish universities have made attempts to establish MTI teacher programmes, full-fledged programmes are lacking and/or have been put on hold. Generally, only some short courses (e.g. 7.5 ECTS) for classroom and remote teaching are offered, for only some languages, and with relatively few enrolments. The only programme specifically geared to Turkish MTI teachers in Sweden, run by the Department of Education in collaboration with the Turcology unit, has recently been discontinued.

Over the years, the hours afforded by municipalities to MTI lessons have been reduced to 30−60 min/week for school-age pupils. Even more dramatically, MTI in preschools has largely disappeared altogether. Preschools are still legally required to provide opportunities for developing the minority language. The national curriculum for preschools (*Lpfö18*, Swedish National Agency for Education 2018) states that "children with a mother tongue other than Swedish should be given the opportunity to develop both their Swedish language and their mother tongue" (Swedish National Agency for Education 2018, p. 9). Exactly how this is to be

done is not spelled out in the preschool curriculum. Multilingual practices certainly do occur in preschools, due to linguistically diverse child intake and multilingual staff recruitment in many urban areas. Some children might thus have one or two staff members speaking and/or understanding their home language. However, this is not the same as having MTI teachers in preschools. Until around 2014−2015, many municipalities still offered MTI for preschoolers (30−60 min/week), so-called *modersmålsstöd* ('mother tongue support'). When this was criticised as being too little, some of the largest municipalities responded not by increasing the number of hours, but by discontinuing MTI for preschoolers altogether; for instance, this happened in Stockholm, and as recently as in 2016 in Uppsala (e.g. Lindström 2016). Today, very few preschool children receive MTI, unless the parents arrange for private tuition.

Taken together, there is a discrepancy between the strong status of MTI in Swedish legislation and policy documents, and its actual practical implementation. However, since its inception nearly 50 years ago, MTI has received continuous and staunch support in Swedish official opinion, which is encouraging and noteworthy in an international context. In many other countries, the winds are changing on mother tongue education. Sweden's neighbouring country Denmark, for instance, as well as several other Western European countries, such as Belgium or the Netherlands, have recently abandoned earlier pluralistic language policies, and substantially reduced or abolished state-funded MTI (e.g. Salö et al. 2018).

It should also be said that in spite of the aforementioned shortcomings in the municipal offerings, MTI can still make a crucial difference. Even though an average MTI lesson only lasts for 40−60 min/week, cumulative positive effects may add up over the school years. Indeed, several large-scale studies have found that MTI attendance correlates with, and might contribute to, better academic achievement in school. When the school results of more than 9,500 pupils with a foreign background (*elever med utländsk bakgrund*)[5] were compared, children who had been attending MTI reached higher grades in Grade 9 in a range of subjects than those who had not attended MTI (Swedish National Agency for Education 2008, pp. 66–67). A recent report by the Swedish Ministry of Education (SOU 2019:18) refers to a large-scale study where the school results were analysed for all 26,500 9th-grade pupils that were entitled to MTI in 2017; about half of them attended MTI, half did not. Here the MTI-attendees (as a group) had significantly higher school results than the non-attendees. In another, carefully designed, study of 120 Somali-Swedish bilingual school children, Ganuza & Hedman (2019) compared pupils' vocabulary and reading comprehension skills for MTI attendees vs non-attendees, as well as gains over time. Interestingly, pupils who had been attending Somali MTI for at least one year not only performed better than non-attendees on the Somali tasks, but also performed better on Swedish reading comprehension. Increased training in literacy during MTI lessons may be one of the reasons why MTI attendees in the abovementioned studies showed better school results than non-attendees.

5 *Med utländsk bakgrund* ('with a foreign background') is an official term used in Swedish statistics. It includes both children who were born outside Sweden and moved to Sweden, as well Sweden-born children who have one or two foreign-born parents (i.e. parents born outside Sweden).

Irrespective of these results, it should be emphasised that MTI also has a symbolic function, signalling to minority-language children that the mother tongue is valued and worth investing time in. When parents, teachers and schools are openly positive towards multilingualism and MTI, pupils will feel that their multilingual resources are appreciated, and that they may want to attend, and also continue to attend, MTI throughout their school years.

6. Statistics on Turkish MTI

The Swedish National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*) registers how many pupils are eligible for MTI. These figures do not include children under the age of 6, older children in upper secondary school, or children for whom parents have not requested MTI. During the academic year of 2021/2022, 28.6% of all pupils in Grade 1−9 (age 7−16) were entitled to MTI, and 58.5% of these pupils also received MTI (Swedish National Agency for Education 2022).

Turkish is one of the languages with the highest MTI attendance. Every year, roughly 6,500−7,500 pupils are eligible for Turkish in Grade 1−9 (the figures vary somewhat from year to year). Slightly more than half of these children, on average 54%, receive Turkish MTI, though provision and attendance rates vary dramatically between different municipalities (27%–75%, and in some places close to zero). Table 1 shows the municipalities with the largest numbers of Turkish-speaking children during the school year 2016/2017. The figures provided here are the most recent publicly available ones. Since 2017/2018, Skolverket has published no more figures for the individual municipalities and individual MTI languages, such as Turkish.

Table 1: Municipalities with > 100 children entitled to Turkish MTI, school year 2016/2017

	Entitled to MTI	Received MTI	% MTI attendance
Greater Stockholm region			
Stockholm (Stockholms kommun)	1494	1003	67
Botkyrka	661	499	75
Huddinge	459	273	59
Haninge	331	193	58
Järfälla	147	91	62
Sollentuna	114	34	30
Rest of Sweden			
Gothenburg (Göteborgs kommun)	834	416	50
Malmö	599	353	59
Uppsala	135	51	38
Helsingborg	110	30	27
Gävle	105	48	46
All of Sweden*	**7307**	**3928**	**54%**

**Note:* All of Sweden refers to all Swedish municipalities combined (i.e. not only those listed above with > 100 children entitled to Turkish mother tongue instruction). *Source:* Swedish National Agency for Education (2017).

For many decades until 2016, Turkish was amongst the largest MTI languages in Grade 1−9, but it is no longer amongst the top ten. This is not due to lower enrolment figures or less Turkish MTI; in fact, the numbers of pupils eligible for Turkish have increased slightly. However, there are nowadays many more children eligible for other MTI languages (especially Arabic, Somali, English, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Kurdish, Persian, Spanish, Albanian and Polish). As a result, the proportion of Turkish out of all MTI languages has shrunk.

For Grade 0 (*förskoleklass*), i.e. children in the preparatory year between preschool and first grade of primary school, Turkish is one of the languages with the highest MTI attendance. Every year, 850−1000 children in Grade 0 are eligible for Turkish MTI, and about half of them also receive it. Turkish has long been and is also currently (2021/2022) amongst the ten largest MTI languages in Grade 0.

As for MTI in preschools, there are no national statistics on the numbers of preschoolers that receive mother tongue support in Turkish. Due to municipal cuts in recent years (recall Section 5), the number is likely to be very low.

There are no national statistics available concerning the number of Turkish MTI teachers in Sweden. To give the reader some idea, we requested data for the four largest cities (Greater Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and Uppsala), where the lion's share of Turkish teaching in Sweden is provided. There are 28 full-time equivalents (FTE) for MTI teaching positions in Turkish in these cities. This number has remained relative stable for the past 10 years.[6]

7. Insights concerning Turkish MTI from a recent research project

As part of a larger research project (BiLI-TAS) at Uppsala University on the language development of bilingual children with Turkish or Arabic as their home language, data was collected from more than one hundred Turkish-Swedish bilingual children aged between 4 and 7 and their families. The families lived in urban municipalities in Eastern Central Sweden, more specifically in the conurbation of Greater Stockholm and in two large cities (Uppsala and Gävle). The children had Turkish as their home language, whilst Swedish was the language of schooling and society. Whether and to what extent Swedish was spoken at home varied. Only children who were able to speak both Turkish and Swedish were included in the study. Most children were bilingual, but some trilinguals participated as well (mainly Turkish-Kurdish-Swedish). The children were recruited by contacting more than 200 preschools and schools, their principals and teachers, as well as through other channels. These included Turkish MTI teachers who established direct contacts with families, leaders at places of worship, word-of-mouth recruitment within the Turkish diaspora, social media, as well as personal connections. In the end, the children came from more than 50 (pre)schools in different locations.

6 We obtained these figures by phone calls to the respective municipalities. See also Aras (2015).

The BiLI-TAS project[7] was primarily geared towards investigating the children's language comprehension and production skills in Turkish and Swedish, and we collected language data on a range of tasks (vocabulary, grammar, phonological processing, storytelling (narrative macrostructure), and inferential comprehension). We also administered an extensive questionnaire to the parents of the children about family background, language use and child language development, and thus also received some information on MTI attendance and attitudes towards MTI. In addition, a subgroup of the participants was seen again two years later as part of a longitudinal follow-up, where the parents were systematically interviewed about language practices and home-language maintenance efforts. We also interviewed some Turkish MTI teachers. All this data was anonymised.

Below we report some of the insights gained during the project as they pertain to MTI.[8]

7.1. Child participants, their parents and MTI attendance

The Turkish-speaking children (N=105) in the *cross-sectional part* of the BiLI-TAS project were aged 4.0−8.2 and fairly evenly distributed across age and gender (27 4-year-olds, 23 5-year-olds, 27 6-year-olds, and 28 7-year-olds (including two who had just turned 8 years)). Nearly all children (90%) were born and had lived in Sweden all their lives, only a few (10%) had moved to Sweden as young children. By contrast, many parents were born in Turkey, and in most families both parents had Turkish as their first language (or Turkish as one of their first languages, the other language sometimes being Swedish or Kurdish). There was much diversity in family types concerning parental country of birth, parental education and occupation, and length of residence in Sweden (for more details, see Öztekin 2019, Bohnacker 2020, and especially Bohnacker 2022).

Despite this diversity, some common traits in language practices and beliefs emerged, including a strong focus on the transmission of Turkish in the home in most families, whilst the children acquired Swedish mainly through preschool. Most children had attended institutional childcare extensively and from an early age. Nearly all parents valued Turkish highly and expressed an interest in providing input and support to their children in Turkish. They all wanted their children to be good at both Turkish and Swedish, and employed a range of language practices to maintain and develop the heritage language (for details see Bohnacker 2022).

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7 The BiLI-TAS acronym stands for Bilingualism, Language Impairment, Turkish, Arabic & Swedish. This research project was originally funded by the Swedish Research Council (VR 421-2013-1309, PI: Ute Bohnacker) with the title: 'Language impairment or typical language development? Developing methods for linguistic assessment of bilingual children in Sweden' (2014-2019), and also included a group of children with language impairment (not reported on here). A longitudinal continuation of the BiLI-TAS project is funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (RJ P19-0644:1, PI: Ute Bohnacker) with the title: 'Heritage language and Swedish language development from preschool to primary school' (2020-2024).

8 Please note that the main results from the Turkish part of the BiLI-TAS project concern other topics and these are reported in publications elsewhere (e.g. Bohnacker, Lindgren & Öztekin 2016; Öztekin 2019; Lindgren 2018; Bohnacker 2020; Bohnacker & Karakoç 2020; Bohnacker, Öztekin & Lindgren 2020; Bohnacker, Haddad, Lindgren, Öberg & Öztekin 2021; Bohnacker, Lindgren & Öztekin 2021; Bohnacker 2022).

One of these deliberate language management efforts was mother tongue instruction, as signing up a child for Turkish lessons is a conscious parental decision. 54% of the children in the sample attended Turkish MTI. This need not mean that all the remaining 46% families opted against MTI; it could also mean that their applications were not granted. Attendance was heavily skewed for age. The oldest children attended MTI much more frequently (age 7: 82%) than the younger children (26%−59%), see Table 2. This uneven distribution probably reflects the recent cuts in municipal MTI for preschoolers, i.e. under 6-year-olds, as described in Section 5. At the time of data collection, some municipalities were still offering MTI for preschoolers, whilst others had stopped doing so.

Table 2: Turkish MTI attendance

Age group	**MTI attendance**
4 yrs	44% (12/27)
5 yrs	26% (6/23)
6 yrs	59% (16/27)
7 yrs	82% (23/28)
Total	54% (57/105)

Other than age, we could not discern any tendencies concerning which families enrolled their child in Turkish MTI (Bohnacker 2022). Attendance was not higher (or lower) for Turkey-born vs Sweden-born children, children whose parents had Turkish as their first language vs parents who had another first language (such as Swedish), or for children with parents of a particularly high or low level of education. Neither did there appear to be any link between MTI attendance and which language the parents considered to be more important (this was a question we asked in the questionnaire). A large majority of parents (80%) considered Turkish and Swedish equally important for their child to learn, but some parents (14%) considered Turkish more important than Swedish, and 3% regarded Swedish more important. However, only 46% of those parents who regarded Turkish as more important than Swedish had enrolled their child in Turkish MTI, which was lower than average. As for trilingual families, children are only entitled to receive MTI in one of their languages, so the family has to choose. Thus, opting for Turkish means opting out of MTI in another language. Here it was interesting to note that children from Kurdish/Turkish homes attended Turkish MTI as frequently as children from purely Turkish-speaking homes.

The children who attended Turkish MTI typically received 40−60 minutes of tuition per week, which corresponds to what the literature has reported for MTI in other languages (e.g.

Swedish National Agency for Education 2008; Spetz 2014).[9] In some cases, parents reported that their children only received 30 min/week. Two families had arranged for extra, private Turkish tuition, and in one case this resulted in an exceptional total of 3.5 hours per week.

For the *longitudinal follow-up*, out of the 27 four-year-olds in the cross-sectional study, 10 children were seen again two years later when they were 6 years old. They did the same language tasks in Turkish and Swedish (not reported here, see Öztekin 2019), and were observed in their school environment. During a home visit, a native Turkish-speaking researcher observed the child in his or her family environment, took field notes and carried out a face-to-face interview with the parents in Turkish concerning language practices. Here we only report on aspects of Turkish MTI and Turkish language use at (pre)school.[10]

All ten children had previously attended institutional daycare from an early age (starting at 12−27 months, 26−40 h/week). Two years later, most of them attended *förskoleklass* (Grade 0) of primary school. Their schools had a high intake of children from many different language backgrounds. Whilst the main language of communication inside all schools was Swedish, we observed that some staff spoke Turkish or other languages to their colleagues or to the parents during school hours. The parental interviews revealed that at the child's earlier preschool, all 10 children had been able to speak Turkish with at least one staff member, as well as with some schoolmates, something that had not been evident from the questionnaires. Some parents confirmed that at their child's new school, there was a Turkish-speaking staff member who spoke Swedish and Turkish with their child. Several children also had Turkish classmates. However, four children no longer met any Turkish-speaking staff, and one family reported that whilst there were two Turkish-speaking teachers at the new school, the children were not permitted to speak Turkish. In general, these observations suggest that multilingual practices in school are commonplace. Often, the use of the minority languages, including Turkish, appears to be encouraged or at least tolerated on (pre)school premises. In one school however, we found a language policy that discouraged the use of Turkish.

Seven out of the 10 children (at 6 years) were enrolled in municipal Turkish MTI, on average ca 60 min/week. At the individual level, MTI attendance had changed compared to two years earlier. Some children who did not attend at age 4 were now enrolled at age 6, whilst others no longer attended. When we asked why this was so, some parents said that the child was no longer interested in going there. Some parents were happy with the MTI offered, whilst a few pointed out problems with the practical implementation of MTI, such as after-school hours and children of different proficiency levels in the same class. Several parents also expressed regret that so little MTI was offered for preschoolers, reflecting recent municipal cuts.

9 In the BiLI-TAS project, corresponding data were collected also for a group of 100 Arabic/Swedish-speaking children age 4−7. Comparing Arabic MTI with Turkish, we found that the Arabic-speaking children were not only more often enrolled in MTI, but also that the Arabic MTI attendees were receiving twice as much tuition time (on average, 1.9 hours) than the Turkish MTI attendees (0.9 hours). See Bohnacker et al. (2021).

10 See Öztekin (2019) and Bohnacker (under review) for results on other aspects of the longitudinal data.

7.2. Turkish MTI teachers' experiences

We also interviewed four Turkish MTI teachers in 2014 and 2021 about their experiences. Their backgrounds and service lengths were mixed; two had been working as MTI teachers in Sweden for many years, two others were relatively new. They all had academic degrees and extensive pedagogical training from Turkey or Sweden or a third country. They had attended in-service teacher training to varying degrees.

All pointed out the difficult working conditions of being a peripatetic teacher (recall Section 5). None of the teachers were employed at one school only, but all were sent out to different schools by the municipal MTI supply centres. One of the teachers was responsible for children in more than a dozen locations in a large province, and additionally covered locations in several other provinces of Sweden. This involved a lot of travelling but also remote teaching via video calls; note that this was several years before the Covid19 pandemic struck and before remote teaching became widespread. This teacher enjoyed providing her services to children across the country, often on a one-to-one basis, but also pointed out the vulnerability of such lessons, due to frequent technical failures. The other three MTI teachers were stationed in one city and in one case, mainly at one school, but all were teaching children at several (or many) different schools. One teacher provided not only mother tongue instruction to school children, but also mother tongue support (*modersmålsstöd)* to preschoolers. This was before that particular municipality abolished MTI for preschoolers. Some of the teachers had also provided mother-tongue study guidance in Turkish to older pupils.

Since Turkish is not one of the largest mother tongues in Sweden, it is not surprising that none of the teachers we interviewed taught large groups of pupils. They said that they usually taught one to five children at a time. Concerning group teaching, all teachers said they felt challenged by the fact that children with widely different proficiency levels enrolled in the same class. Sometimes, it was possible to divide up the children into pairs with similar proficiency levels (but different ages) to be taught together or to teach children individually, albeit for a shorter time. This is somewhat different from what is reported in the literature for larger mother tongues such as Somali and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, where ethnographic studies have found that there are usually five to ten , and sometimes up to 26 pupils, in a MTI class (e.g. Ganuza & Hedman 2015).

The teachers also pointed out a mismatch between parent and teacher expectations. In their experience, some parents send their child to Turkish MTI with very high expectations, namely that the MTI teacher makes up for lost opportunities at home. Some parents with Turkish roots do not speak much Turkish with their child at home and realise after some years that the child does not really speak Turkish at all. They then apply for MTI and expect the teacher to teach the child Turkish from scratch. However, this is not in accordance with the regulations for MTI, since the law requires that children already possess basic communication skills in Turkish in order to be entitled to MTI. According to one teacher, "parents often lie" and claim that the child

speaks Turkish at home, contrary to fact. Once enrolled in MTI class, it transpires that the child barely understands any Turkish, let alone speaks it. MTI teachers are then saddled with children of widely divergent proficiency levels, some speaking fluent Turkish and ready to embark on literacy training, others with hardly any knowledge of Turkish at all. One can teach (and learn) only so much during a 40-minute lesson, and when the child does not make a lot of headway, the parents criticise or blame the MTI teacher. One of informants also reported that occasionally some parents had tried to exert pressure on the teacher to give their child a Pass grade.

The teachers we interviewed emphasised that many Turkish-speaking children in their municipality were not enrolled in MTI, because "many parents are simply not interested". Conversely, a large proportion of the teachers' clientele did not come from monolingual Turkish homes, but from homes where Kurdish was spoken as well. This impression meshes well with what is known about migration from Turkey and the Turkish-speaking population in Sweden (see Section 2). Thus, children sometimes bring a mix of Turkish and Kurdish into class, and/or different Turkish dialects (and not just standard Turkish). The teachers emphasized that such multilingualism and dialectal variation needs to be handled sensitively. One MTI teacher said he was aided by being a Turkish/Kurdish bilingual speaker himself.

Whilst all four teachers took much pride in their work, one of them pointed out that MTI teachers were underpaid and not always held in very high esteem (by parents, schools and other teachers). This comment is reminiscent of the unsatisfactory working conditions of MTI teachers described in the literature (Spetz 2014; Ganuza & Hedman 2015; see Section 5). In fact, by 2021, one of the MTI teachers previously interviewed had left the profession for this reason and was instead working as a college lecturer.

8. Conclusion

This paper has provided a historical perspective on home language education in Sweden, outlining how minority language rights and mother tongue instruction (MTI) were introduced via legislation and policy documents at the level of the state, but also how MTI has been implemented since the 1970s to this day. A special focus has been on Turkish, and the paper has described the preconditions for and the ways in which MTI is currently being offered by Swedish municipalities to Turkish-speaking children. In addition to nationwide MTI provision rates, results have also been reported from a research project in Eastern Central Sweden, involving more than 100 Turkish-Swedish children aged 4−7 and their families. These families generally value Turkish highly and consider the heritage language and the social language (Swedish) as equally important. Yet only 54% of the children in the sample attended Turkish MTI classes, sometimes due to a lack of interest, but also due to a lack of provision , especially concerning MTI for preschoolers. Interviews with Turkish MTI teachers revealed practical challenges, such as teachers having to shuttle between many different schools, co-teaching children at very different proficiency levels, and parents' unrealistic expectations.

This paper has provided some insights into the workings of Turkish MTI in Sweden today. More research on this topic would be welcome. For instance, there have not been any observational studies of Turkish MTI teaching 'in action' as yet – what happens in class, what materials are used, and what pedagogical methods are employed? We know very little about such aspects of MTI, also for other mother tongues (the ethnographic study by Ganuza & Hedman (2015) on Somali MTI classrooms being a noteworthy exception). It would also be interesting to see whether the move towards more digital language learning materials and remote, online, teaching methods that were enforced during the Covid19 pandemic has spurred a lasting change. MTI teachers could be interviewed about these and other matters, including their beliefs about language learning and teaching. Also, pupils of different ages attending MTI could be asked how they perceive MTI and what they appreciate the most. In general, very little is known about pupils' perspectives here, and the few studies there are have focused on older pupils, and none on Turkish.

Despite the challenges of implementation described in this paper and the sometimes insufficient MTI offerings by the municipalities, MTI in Sweden still has a relatively strong position, also in international comparison. Children might only be receiving 40−60 minutes of instruction in their mother tongue per week, but the positive effects of such classes accumulate over the school years. Last but not least, MTI can have an important symbolic value, signaling to children and others that mother tongues are held in high esteem and are worth investing time in.

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(Foreign) Language Education and Its Impact on Equal Opportunity and Sustainability. Lessons Learned from A Bilingual German-Turkish Program at An Urban Elementary School in Germany

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ABSTRACT
This article presents the results of an ethnographic case study in which the socio-cultural effects of a bilingual German-Turkish language program at an unusual elementary school in urban Hanover were examined. Not only children from families with a history of immigration from Turkey can learn Turkish in this school, but all children can. Findings indicate that valorizing a stigmatized migrant language and using it as an educational resource for all learners can lead to greater equity and social cohesion, as well as better academic performance. Based on the findings of the study, it is discussed what contribution a reorientation of (foreign) language education in the selective German school system could make to overcoming the dividing line between "belonging" and "foreign" and as a contribution to sustainable learning. The findings will furthermore be reanalyzed against the backdrop of the COV-19 pandemic.
Keywords: Turkish as a foreign language, Heritage language education, Bilingual education, Foreign language education, Educational equity, Sustainable learning

1. Introduction

It has often been reiterated that on a global scale the consequences of the worldwide Corona pandemic have hit the poorest the hardest; some even speak of COV-19 as the inequality virus (McGreal, 2020). Likewise, the poorest of the poor in the Global South will suffer more and have started to suffer earlier from the impact of climate change, loss of diversity and deforestization (Göpel, 2016, 2020). This research paper will commence in pre-pandemic times and ask how a pluralistic society in the Global North like Germany has dealt with the winds of change posed by the side-effects of globalization and the urge to address climate change - and in the wake immigration, mobility and increasing linguistic, social and cultural diversity. For the past decades, multilingualism has been regarded as a salient feature of culturally and ethnically diverse societies in the Global North and the multilingual paradigm has been challenging European nation states - in particular in the domain of their state education. In Europe, piecemeal, the former ideal of the monolingual nation state citizen has been substituted by the idea of a multilingual European citizen who speaks at least the language of the country they live in plus at least two other languages (Kruse, 2012). However, top-down language policies in countries like Germany are still heavily influenced by monolingual ideologies and a preference for English as a foreign / global language. Despite the official paradigm shift from regarding multilingualism as a problem to looking at (linguistic) diversity as a resource and potential for individuals as well as the society, plurilingual children who grow up in poor families with a history of migration still do not have the same chances to succeed in the selective German educational system. The Corona pandemic can be seen as striking evidence to prove this claim (Fickermann & Edelstein, 2020; El-Mafaalani, 2021; Stanat et al., 2022).

Hence, one of the pressing challenges in the migration receiving Western European societies can be seen in the question as to how to reconstruct educational systems which are deeply rooted in the 18th and 19th century nation states and which are based on the "one nation - one people - one language" ideology (cf. Schiffauer et al., 2002; Küppers et al., 2016a). Moreover, many nations are also struggling to find answers as to how to meet the United Nations' demand of inclusive education for all as well as the 17 United Nations' goals of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development (UN, 2015). Germany for its part has very reluctantly and only recently come to accept that the country has developed into an immigrant society.[1] Since then, many voices demand that the democratic right to freedom and equality guaranteed by the German Basic Law (Grundgesetz) must be achievable for everyone. In consequence, it is claimed that state institutions have to be adjusted to the realities of the diverse and pluralistic German society. The narrative of the post-migrant (Foroutan, 2019) helps to describe a society which can be characterized by a constant intake of immigrants as well as a steady flow of outgoing emigration. The suffix "post", thus, indicates a democracy *after* having arrived at

1 Since the publication of a report issued in 2001 by the independent so-called Süssmuth Commission, it is widely acknowledged by the political establishment that Germany is a country of immigration; large parts of the public and population see it also that way, argues Foroutan (2019, pp. 224-225).

the realization of being a migration society. In a society which accepts being radically diverse, the term post-migrant also helps to overcome the well-established dividing line between those who "belong" and those who are usually perceived as being "foreign" (Foroutan, 2019, p. 18).

However, national state school systems have had a hard time in adjusting to fast changing realities of interconnected, digital and diverse new world orders. Pressing issues can be seen in growing segregation, institutional discrimination, educational and social injustice and finding pedagogical answers to dealing with increasing diversity (cf. Ball, 2011; Morris-Lange et al., 2013). In many countries the linguistic integration of immigrant children but also of adult migrants has become a major concern (cf. Beck, 1999). In some cases – e.g. like Germany – language barriers (e.g. language testing before immigration) have even been pulled up to prevent migration intake from certain world regions.[2]

Looking at the specific German context, large comparative studies repeatedly show that in hardly any other countries is educational success so closely linked to the socio-economic family background of a child as in Germany (cf. Ammermüller, 2005; Merkens, 2019; El-Mafaalani, 2020). Aladin El-Mafaalani, sociologist, educationist and author of a bestselling book on the myths of education ("Mythos Bildung") strongly points out that growing up in a family with a history of immigration to Germany is certainly not irrelevant; but by far the most decisive impact on success in education can be seen in the general state of "wealth" in a family – in terms of economic power, cultural and social capital (cf. El-Mafaalani, 2020, p. 70). The best indicator to predict success in education, he claims, is in fact the address of a child (El-Mafaalani, 2020, p. 94). While school is the only place where all children can be reached and where inequalities which exist in the society can be compensated; a school may also be a place where inequalities are being reinforced and the social divides can even increase. According to El-Mafaalani, one of the reasons can be seen in assessment procedures which deviate from the prevailing meritocratic performance principle. Studies show that those who experience hardship in their families and have much poorer starting opportunities in life anyway, are often being evaluated more strictly than privileged children when it comes either to grading or recommendations from elementary to lower secondary school (in Germany mostly after fourth grade at the young age of ten).

El-Mafaalani elaborates on the phenomenon which he calls "double disadvantage". Academic achievements are usually assessed by teachers without having detailed knowledge of a child's social background or family situation. Subsequently, the influence of parents who can act as support teachers and supervise homework – and / or who even do the homework for their children – often also gets assessed. During the COV-19 pandemic and while schools were locked-down for weeks in a row, for the first time ever parents were officially asked to support their children at home academically with homework and learning. Many privileged children could surely

2 For the European rhetoric cf. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/ and http://www.assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-DocDetails-EN.asp?FileID=19772&Lang=EN

benefit from parental supervision, poor children in contrast, often suffered immensely from the lockdown conditions at home (Stanat et al., 2022). As most teachers usually do not receive assessment training in the field of heritage and equity, El-Mafaalani argues that they develop hardly any sensitivity for the impact of socio-economic family status on school performance: "Diagnostic skills [of teachers, AK] are oblivious to social background and what you cannot see, you cannot support", El-Mafaalani concludes (2020, p. 80; translation by AK). With the following example he illustrates this claim: Assuming a 9-year-old boy performs not too badly at school, his grades are average, yet fate has given him a huge burden to carry: After school he has to look after his disabled younger brother because his mother passed away a year before. His father is unemployed and has an addiction issue. The boy's early life experience is presumably dominated by poverty and deprivation. In his everyday life there might be a shortage of love, compassion and inspiration and all types of capital are lacking: economic, social, and cultural. Resignation of the adults around him is surely palpable. However, if a child achieves average grades under these conditions, it is likely that s/he may have above-average potential, possibly even huge hidden talents, El-Mafaalani assumes (2020, pp. 80-81). Yet, as this boy may seem unfocused at times, distracted, or insecure, would a teacher perceive him as a high achiever? he questions.

The language potential of plurilingual children gets also often overlooked or cannot be assessed by teachers. Educators are sometimes aware of other family languages used besides or instead of German, yet often they lack the knowledge as to whether a child is a fluent speaker of the family language and can read and write, or whether the child is a so-called heritage speaker (Bremer & Melhorn, 2018; Woerfel et al., 2020), maybe with little command of the family language and often with no literacy skills at all. Hence, in this paper it will be argued that in the field of language education, injustices can be reinforced further, while at the same time, language education could help to increase more equal opportunities at school. Evidence for this claim derives from findings which emerged from an ethnographic case study at an elementary school in urban Hanover where a bilingual German-Turkish program was introduced not long after the – for Germany "shocking" - results of the first PISA study were published by the OECD (cf. Christensen & Segeritz, 2008; Faas, 2014)[3]. The Hanover case study shows, furthermore, how language education can be adapted to the realities of the multilingual post-migrant society and how this approach can help to overcome the wide-spread binary perception of "we" and "not-we" and, thus, how to promote sustainable learning.

3 Cf. https://www.oecd.org/pisa/

2. Theoretical considerations. Language Policies in the global perspective[4]

Schools around the globe are forced to rise to the challenges which the side-effects of globalisation, in particular the myth of endless economic growth (Göpel 2016), have posed to them since the second half of the 20th century. In times of emerging super-diversities (Vertovec, 2015), "local diversity and global connectedness" (The New London Group, 2000) have been identified as key challenges which have to be translated into new learning objectives, new curricula, and new teaching materials. Around the turn of the millennium, The New London Group called for a multiliteracies pedagogy which puts cultural and political participation centre stage. This global concept of education is embedded in an interdisciplinary and international approach to teaching literacy, in addition, it calls for new multimodal and multilingual forms of learning, and, thus, can be seen as a benchmark for educational policy (cf. The New London Group, 2000: 14).

Likewise, European education policies communicate a clear commitment to inclusive societies in which the promotion of multilingualism can be seen as benchmarks for schools and teaching: "Linguistic diversity is part of Europe's DNA" (Europäische Kommission, 2017, p. 3). For reasons of linguistic rights, cultural identity and social integration, language policy milestones issued by the European Commission in the past couple of decades all aim to protect linguistic diversity and promote the knowledge of languages. The formula 1 + 2 still represents the popular ideal that every European citizen should (be able to) learn a first language and at least two other languages (Kruse, 2012).[5] However, regional and minority languages and immigrant languages like Arabic or Turkish have only recently been deliberately included (Extra & Yağmur, 2012)[6]. Moreover, EU initiatives to promote the learning and usage of those languages are still scarce while under the guise of "multilingualism" a powerful "Englishization"' has gained momentum not only in the private sector but also in schools and especially higher education institutions (Hu, 2016, p. 264; similar House, 2003). In the large horizontal *Language Rich Europe* study, the authors even fear that English has turned into a force which will become a substitute for multilingualism and undermine diversity (Extra et al., 2013, p. 5). Hence, during the past decades of stable transatlantic relationships with the USA and Great Britain, English has developed into the undisputed hegemonic superpower in classrooms across Europe (Küppers 2022) as almost all children learn English, while on

4 This article is based on a talk given at the 26th bi-annual conference of the German Association of Language Research (DGFF / Deutsche Gesellschaft für Fremdsprachenforschung) which took place in Ludwigsburg 2015 (Sept. 30 – Oct. 3); selected revised paragraphs of the congress publication have been used for this publication; cf. Küppers, Almut (2017).

5 cf. http://ec.europa.eu/languages/languages-of-europe/index_en.htm

6 Arabic and Turkish are so-called "non-European languages" which are spoken and learned by millions of inhabitants of the EU member states, boasting more speakers than small national tongues like Estonian or Latvian, two official EU languages. In the big urban European areas "immigrant languages" have emerged as vital community languages which the minority groups who speak them at home usually conceive of as a core aspect of their identity. However, in comparison to regional minority languages like Sorbian or Welsh, "immigrant languages" are almost unprotected in the EU.

average about 60% of upper secondary students learn an additional – mostly European – 2nd foreign language (cf. Eurostat, 2021; European Commission, 2017).

2.1. Language Policies in Germany

In Germany, too, there has been an obvious mismatch between European and internationally acclaimed benchmarks like "multiliteracies" or "inclusion" and an overall unfavourable atmosphere towards minority languages and multilingual pupils who speak immigrant languages. Despite the powerful multilingual rhetoric, immigrant languages are still likely to be seen as the "culprits for low achievement at school" (Yağmur & Konak, 2009, p. 277).

In contrast, multilingualism has clear positive connotations in the context of added school bilingualism which is promoted through Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), a flagship EU program which has been very successful in Europe since the mid-1990s. On the one hand, privileged monolingual pupils from the majority population benefit from CLIL since it is mostly grammar schools that have introduced CLIL streams and English is by far the most often used vehicular language to teach a content subject (Eurydice Report, 2006; KMK Report, 2006; Language Rich Europe Report, 2013). As CLIL attracts and wants to attract the top group of very able pupils, internal creaming effects have further contributed to the selectivity of the German school system and, therefore, seem to foster the growing segregation in the German school system (Morris-Lange et al., 2013), and thus, unwillingly educational inequality (Küppers & Trautmann, 2013). On the other hand, in the submersive German school system bilingual minority children used to be subjected to a kind of "unintentional CLIL" since German has been used as a vehicular language for many of them to develop concept knowledge in content subjects – yet, without any bilingual methodology applied. With the current pressure to (yet again) integrate large numbers of non-German speaking refugee children into the school system, however, valuable approaches of language sensitive teaching across the curriculum (e.g. *Durchgängige Sprachbildung* cf. Gogolin, 2011, 2020; Gogolin et al., 2013) which have been developed in the past two decades and deliberately integrate multilingualism as a potential are once again put to the test.

Two misconceptions about the learning and the teaching of immigrant languages have been widespread and persistent. First, it is believed that speaking an immigrant language at home is an obstacle to integration, and second, many believe that it hinders these students' ability to succeed in the mainstream educational system (Esser, 2006). After the advent of the first PISA results in Germany, there was a general tendency to ethnicize problems surrounding the academic achievement of immigrant students, in particular those of Turkish origin, and to blame the victims for their failure (Beck, 1999, Goglin & Neumann, 2009). Second, multilingual language acquisition research, however, provides clear evidence of the interconnectedness of language development and cognitive development (Cummins, 2013, 2014). Young children grow into the world and store their life experience in either one or two (or more) languages.

Measured against the prevailing monolingual norm in institutional settings, a child's bilingual or plurilingual competencies are likely to be perceived as "problematic" or – at best – as a challenge that the student is expected to work hard to overcome. Despite the multilingual turn in education and paradigm shift in the official language policy in Germany towards the idea that migration-induced multilingualism should be developed as a resource for learning and that linguistic diversity should no longer be regarded as a deficit (KMK, 2013), it can be assumed that in the context of formal monolingual education plurilingual children across the country still learn "that they are supposed to replace their (socially worthless) family language as soon as possible with the prestigious second language" (Niedrig, 2011, p. 93 in Fürstenau, 2016, p. 78). Children from minority groups speaking other languages at home are generally perceived as in need of having extra support in learning German as a second language. Their first language competencies, however, are usually ignored, as is the part of their identity that has developed in their first languages. "Assimilatory pressure is huge in schools where the monolingual habitus dominates teaching practices and children learn to leave half of their identities at home in order to live up to the school's monolingual expectations" (Küppers, Pusch & Uyan Semerci, 2016a, p. 19).

3. The Hanover Case-Study: Methods and the Field

The Hanover case study was carried out as an ethnographic field study as part of the Mercator funded Fellowship program in the academic year 2013-2014. The project titled "Exploring Multilingual Landscapes" was based at Istanbul Policy Center with an affiliated infrastructure to Sabancı University. It aimed to deliver an ethnographic in-depth study of multilingual practices at an urban multicultural German elementary school which could be identified as a best-practice model. The school's bilingual Turkish-German program was implemented in a bottom-up fashion and in 2004, Turkish was introduced as a foreign language in two year groups of first graders. Thus, the grassroots character as a special feature of the school made it especially interesting to thoroughly analyze the success factors and positive aspects of the environment in which the bilingual school program came into existence and still operates. Consequently, the study aimed at providing a deeper insight into the causes and impact of bilingual Turkish-German schooling in Germany. By drawing a picture of the rich fiber of the web of interactions, routines, and processes in the wider school community and by assigning voice to the actors in the field, this vertical study also intended to complement horizontal studies like e.g. PISA. Cummins points to the necessity of such studies as policy makers have largely ignored research related to the role of migrant students' first language (L1) as both "a cognitive tool and a reflection of student identity" (Cummins, 2014, p. 7). He further argues that "in no case have considerations related to either teacher-student identity negotiation or patterns of societal power relations been explicitly integrated into causal or intervention frameworks despite the extensive research evidence attesting to the significance of these factors" (Cummins, 2014, p. 6). The absence of these factors from

policy considerations is especially striking, he continues, as these constructs feature prominently in applied linguistics, foreign and second language research and theory building. Against the theoretical backdrop developed in part 1 and 2 of this paper, the Hanover study has been embedded within the framework of linguistic landscape studies (Blommaert, 2013) which acknowledges the situatedness of language as speech:

Speech is language-in-society, that is, an active notion and one that deeply situates language in a web of relations of power, a dynamics of availability and accessibility, a situatedness of single acts vis-á-vis larger social and historical patterns such as genres and traditions. Speech is language in which people have made investments – social, cultural, political, individual-emotional ones. It is also language brought under social control (…) marked by extreme cleavages and inequalities in repertoires and opportunities. (Blommaert & Jie, 2011, p. 8 with reference to Hymes, 1996)

As the research process had been collaborative and interactive and "sharing knowledge" with stakeholders in the field had been a common feature, the study can be characterized as an ethnographic monitoring study in Hymes's sense and approves of ethnography as "social practice" which accepts agency of the researcher in the field and in the research process (Van der Aa & Blommaert, 2011, p. 324). A variety of qualitative research tools were employed in order to bring out the success factors of the school in general and in particular to tentatively describe the socio-cultural impact of the CLIL program with regard to changes in attitude and self-perception as well as quantity and quality of interactions within the school community. The ethnographic narratives presented in the study report (Küppers & Yağmur, 2014)[7] are based on numerous informal conversations and talks in the corridor, the cafeteria, the team-room or on the school yard as well as on classroom or schoolyard observations and intensive focus interviews based on guiding questionnaires. The account of the principal, the most important stakeholder in the field, was complemented by numerous informal talks, telephone conversations, email exchanges and also debriefings. Yet, voice was given to all actors in the field. Formal focus interviews were conducted with almost all stakeholders: students, parents, teachers as well as school management, in particular and in-depth with the principal – but also staff, social workers, local shop owners and the local vicar. These were complemented by participant observations in lessons, conferences, meetings, parent evenings, events and extra-curriculum activities. Data collections were either stored as field notes in a research diary or, if recorded, transcribed and subjected to qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (2014). All data were anonymized in all publications. Moreover, the school archive was browsed for statistics and concept papers were analyzed (cf. Küppers, 2016 and Küppers & Yağmur, 2014). In all, the ethnographic narratives draw a rich picture of the school and the school development process which took place between the years 2004 and 2014 and provide evidence for the important role of the protagonists in the process of

7 The report can be accessed via Sabancı University / Istanbul Policy Center https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/Content/Images/CKeditorImages/20200327-00030807.pdf

educational change. However, due to the ethnographic nature of the case study, findings from Hanover can, of course, not be generalized.

3.1. Diversity at Albert-Schweitzer-Schule

With approx. 3.5 million speakers, Turkish is a very vital language in Germany – yet only a few tens of thousands of learners participate in the Turkish classes called *Herkunftssprachenunterricht* i.e. heritage language instruction (cf. Küppers et al., 2014; Bremer & Melhorn, 2018; Woerfel et al., 2020). Albert-Schweitzer-Schule, the school under investigation, is located in an urban multi-ethnic neighborhood in Hanover which used to be a working class quarter where predominantly immigrants from Turkey settled down. In the neighborhood which is also known as "Little Istanbul", Turkish has been the dominant community language besides German for decades. Around the turn of the millennium the school had had a very bad image and was called "school for the Turks" (*Türkenschule*) and, subsequently, suffered from massive white flight: German middle class families as well as Turkish middle class families unregistered their children from the school as they feared a) violence on the school premises and b) that their children could not develop their full potential in this environment. As a consequence, the school had been highly segregated and still operates under challenging conditions with many families being poor, single parent or with a family history of immigration. With the advent of a new principal in combination with an unusual idea, a remarkable process of school development was sparked: Turkish as a foreign language was introduced in a bilingual fashion. The most outstanding feature: The program was implemented with the aim to promote intercultural learning and understanding and to achieve an opening towards the neighborhood. Unlike most CLIL school programs, balanced (school) bilingualism has never been an acclaimed objective of this program (Albrecht, 2016).

The two bilingual classes per year group are attended by Turkish speaking children as well as speakers of German and other languages.[8] Turkish and German are taught in a coordinated literacy education approach and in five lessons per week, Turkish is also used in content areas like mathematics, science or the arts. Alongside the unusual language program, the school introduced a number of other structural changes which have been of paramount importance with regard to the language program's success and sustainability. These included: 1) an all-day school structure with teaching times from 8am to 3pm. The school opens at 7 am in the morning and closes at 5pm in the afternoon and offers hot meals for all pupils; 2) abolishment of homework and integration of autonomous learning supported by trained social workers; 3) open beginning in the morning with a first block of autonomous self-learning; 4) language sensitive teaching across the curriculum; 5) youth welfare workers and social workers on the school premises who work closely together with teaching staff in year groups; 6) very close

8 Around 400 students attend four classes per year group of which two are bilingual classes. The school would like to run the German-Turkish program in all four classes but has massive problems in finding suitable teachers as there are no teacher training programs at German universities with such offers.

working relations with parents as partners to support the educational progress of their children (Albrecht, 2016).

The classroom is a stage for identity negotiations. Here, not only teacher-student relations matter but also the perceptions of students about each other evolve. In other words, if Ali is always late for classes in the morning and rarely brings in his homework, he is likely to be perceived as an underachieving student not only in the eyes of the teacher but also by his fellow pupils. One of the reasons why socio-economic status (SES) matters so much in relation to school success can be seen in the fact that parents can heavily influence the teacher's perception of a child's academic achievement. SES middle class parents from the majority population not only know the German school system inside out, they also tend to monitor their children's progress and homework. Sometimes they can offer extra input and explanations or they can organize additional coaching. The subtle influences of the "domestic support teacher system" (on which some schools rely heavily), could be mitigated in the Hanover school context by introducing an all-day school structure with an open beginning and by implementing an autonomous learning approach backed up by trained personnel. However, equally important has been the abolishment of homework. Presenting homework is an ideal arena for those students who can shine with work whose quality was enhanced by a parent who helped with the task. In Bourdieu's sense, the subtle impact the ruling elites have on the academic achievements of their children should not be underestimated. Changes on the classroom level have therefore also brought about changes within the existing social texture of power relations in class. In other words, abolishing homework at the Hanover school means that it is much easier for Ali's classmates to see him as an equal now – as no one really notices any more when he is late or what kind of quality his work is. For Ali the changes have been even more tangible as painful moments of public humiliation in class have ceased while his overall academic achievements have probably improved (see figure 1 below).

4. Results: Breaking the Power Difference between Children

As the bilingual program is also geared to non-Turkish and especially monolingual children from German middle-class families and the bilingual classes are not streamed according to language competencies but are always taught together, the Turkish-speaking children soon realize that other children take an interest in the language and culture of their parents and grandparents. Taking pride in seeing how friends start to learn their family language positively influences the self-confidence, especially of the Turkish speaking learners, and this, in turn has a positive impact on their identity development and general learning attitude. Without being streamed, they also learn that some speak better Turkish, but some others speak better German and some even speak other languages on top. Hence, learning that diversity is a normal feature of the human condition is deliberately being fostered in this setting. Moreover, as the Turkish language is used in a number of content areas like sports, arts or maths, this will boost the

Turkish vocabulary and often helps some of the weaker learners to gain access to the academic content in the apparently "harder" subjects like maths or science.

Due to the fact that high achieving monolingual German children also take part in the bilingual program, bilingual and plurilingual pupils will spend the school day amongst peers who are linguistic role models and friendships tend to develop beyond language barriers. Being exposed to the German language in informal interaction will help children who are learning German as a second language to grow into the language of instruction more easily, and this eventually improves their German competencies. Many of these confident bilingual children leave the school with quite remarkable academic achievements (see figure 1 below).

Monolingual German-speaking children also benefit from this particular multilingual language program which is, in fact, perceived as an intellectual enrichment program by many of the middle-class German parents. In contrast to learning a seemingly easy Germanic language like English, learning Turkish is seen to be more challenging for the powerful first grader brains. Learning an agglutinative language like Turkish is a valuable language learning experience as such and contributes to the development of an overall language learning awareness which in return will lay the foundations for life-long language learning. Children in the bilingual classes also realize that learning a language like Turkish must be similar to learning a language like German for other children. Hence, monolingual German speaking students neither look down on those pupils who have not yet acquired "perfect" German nor do they develop the feeling that being monolingual means being superior at this school. Besides encouraging respect and improving equality, there is yet another valuable aspect of the bilingual program in Hanover. Turkish is a lively community language and commonly spoken, heard and seen in the neighborhood of the school. Some of the German first graders soon realized that the language they learn in the morning is a language they can use in the afternoon on the way back home. Hence, by learning Turkish they not only have better access to the multilingual reality of the neighborhood they are growing up in, they also carry an unprejudiced positive attitude towards the language into their families and into the broader society (Küppers, 2016, 2017; Küppers & Yağmur, 2014).

4.1. Improvements of Academic Achievements

By removing the practice of giving homework, Albert-Schweitzer-Schule was able to diminish the power difference between families. In spite of weaker SES and low schooling of most immigrant parents, Albert-Schweitzer-Schule has been able to mobilize immigrant parents in different ways, which has created a strong spirit of whole school community and made cross-linguistic encounters possible. The results of the fundamental changes which took place at Albert-Schweitzer-Schule between 2005 and 2014 also clearly show in the school's records of the so-called *Schullaufbahnempfehlungen* i.e. recommendations for one of the three tier German secondary school types. In most federal German states, the decision as to which

type of secondary school a child is sent is made very early, namely after year 4 and when most children are just ten years old. A couple of months before primary education is completed the school will suggest a specific secondary school type to the family (yet, eventually, the family will have the final say and decide where to register their child). As school recommendations are based on academic achievements, these data nonetheless provide a very good picture of how Albert-Schweitzer-Schule developed in the decade under investigation.

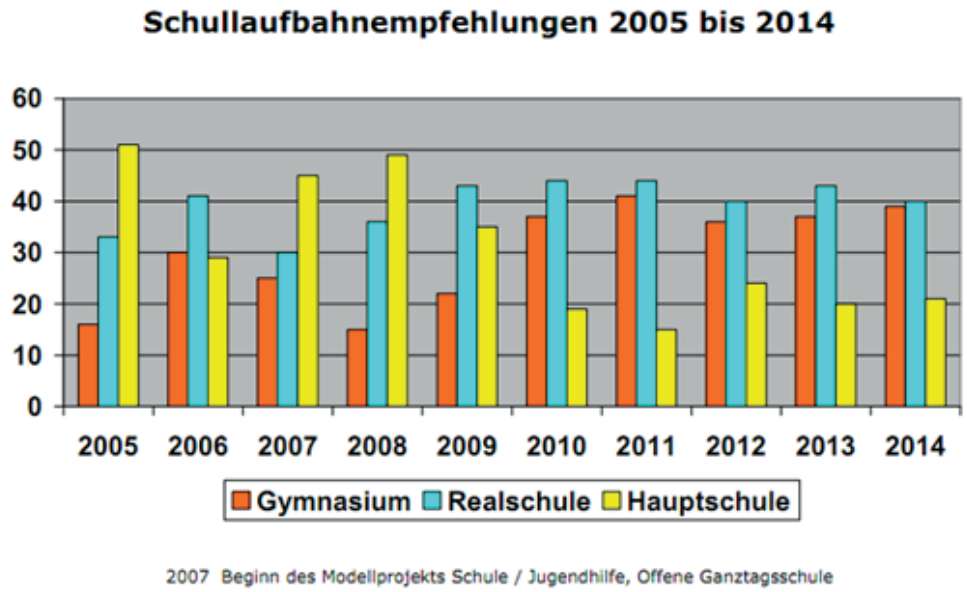

Figure 1: School recommendations at Albert-Schweitzer school from 2005 to 2014: Gymnasium (left column) = Grammar school, Realschule (middle) = Middle school, Hauptschule (right) = vocational school. In 2007 the school began to operate as an all-day school.

When the new school director took up her position at Albert-Schweitzer-Schule in 2004, only around 15% of children were sent to the prestigious grammar schools after four years of elementary school. Around 50% of pupils were continuing their education in the very low status Hauptschule (manual vocational schools) or in middle school (Realschule 34%). Apparently, it took six years to reverse the tide. The bilingual program started in 2004, yet the all-day-school concept was only implemented in 2007. The full impact of these measures show in 2011 when the first generation of pupils had been progressing through the all-day school program for four years. In 2014, while only 20% of the forth-graders were sent to Hauptschule, almost 40% of children were recommended for the highly prestigious German grammar school, the Gymnasium, and 40% for the middle school, the Realschule. It is important to note that the graph in figure 1 is based on data from all children in the final year 4 and not just on data

from the two bilingual classes. The two bilingual classes have most probably had a positive impact on the overall outcome as children from middle-class families who visit the German-Turkish program have changed the social and cultural texture of the whole school. These results give rise to the assumption that the Turkish-Program developed powerful synergies in concert with all other structural measures and pulled up the overall academic achievement of this school in general.

5. Discussion

Within just a decade, the fatal downward spiral of segregation was not just broken but was actually reversed at Albert-Schweitzer-Schule. A number of structural changes and the introduction of an unusual language program have turned the seemingly deprived and ill-famed "school for the Turks" into a prize-worthy school with a long waiting list for the bilingual classes.[9] In a context in which multilingualism is valued and diversity is cherished, children have no reason to devalue Turkish. Monolingual German speaking children who learn Turkish at this school carry a positive attitude for the language and Turkey into their families and the community. For Turkish speaking learners, especially from disadvantaged homes, the school provides access to high quality education and, thus, dishes out equal opportunities more evenly amongst pupils. Neither in the classrooms nor in the schoolyard is there a dividing line as all children can develop a feeling of belonging despite their individual differences. As such, the school in Hanover can be seen as a role-model not only for promoting equal opportunities but also as an example how to valorize the potential of migration induced multilingualism.

Likewise, the school is an excellent example of how to successfully implement the so-called Adoptive language model (Maalouf, 2008) which was presented about fifteen years ago by a board of experts appointed by the European Commission and which unfortunately never received much attention, neither from policy makers in administrations nor from the scientific community. According to this model, European trilingualism is achieved by promoting the school language which every child has to learn – and which is usually the dominant language of the country the child lives and grows up in; in our case study German. Besides this, a child should also learn a language with global outreach, namely one of the common lingua francas. In the case of Germany, this is currently English, the only compulsory foreign school language. Finally, a child should be able to learn a so-called "culture language", a language the learner has a special and / or emotional relationship to, for instance because older family relatives speak the language, or a best friend, or the soccer trainer or a favorite music band. At Albert-Schweitzer-Schule, Turkish, the dominant community language which is spoken by 40% of the multilingual children who visit this school (Albrecht, 2016), had been turned into such an adoptive language.

9 In 2014 the school was amongst the final 15 schools of the prestigious Deutsche Schulpreis; cf. www.haz.de/Hannover/Aus-den-Stadtteilen/West/Albert-Schweitzer-Schule-aus-Hannover-Linden-gewinnt-nicht-Deutschen-Schulpreis

In theory, any other language could be a possible "adoptive language"; in practice however, implementing the Adoptive language model would of course entail an abundance of challenges on various levels - ranging from questions of teacher training, qualifications and recruiting, access to teaching and learning materials or the availability of standardized test formats. Yet still, the Adoptive language model could make a decisive contribution to reducing educational injustice in Germany in the area of language education. Currently, children who are aiming for the highest degree in secondary education, the Abitur (high-school diploma) must provide evidence that they have successfully attended classes in a 2nd foreign language for four years[10]. For many children who grow up with one or two family languages besides or instead of German at home, learning e.g. French as a 2nd foreign language would be the 4th of 5th language they had to learn. Karakaşoğlu and Vogel (2021a + b) call this a clear disadvantage compared to those learners who learn German at home and who can concentrate on learning English and a 2nd foreign language at school. In other words, not actual family language competences (which can be quite astounding) are being used as 2nd foreign language proof but regular attendance in language lessons serve as a qualification for the Abitur (Karakaşoğlu & Vogel, 21a+b). Via the *Rat für Migration* (Council for Migration)[11], Vogel (2020) submitted a proposal which suggests the introduction of a legal right to language testing in order to valorize actual language competences and to use them e.g. as 2nd language proof on the way to a high-school degree. The proposal was received positively in the scientific community and there was little doubt that if such a legal entitlement to language testing was introduced by the government one day, structures for language testing could be implemented in particular with support of digitization[12].

6. Conclusion and Outlook

Results from Hanover should eventually be viewed against the backdrop of the pressing need to subordinate all human activities to the requirements of the Paris climate agreements. In sight of the planetary boundaries all learning in the 21st century can be seen as part of overriding transformation processes (Göpel, 2016), hence it will finally be asked: What contribution can a re-orientation of language education in post-migrant societies make to achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)? The school management and other stakeholders at Albert-Schweitzer-Schule did not wait for educational reforms from above, but courageously began to use their leeway creatively in order to adapt the microcosm of their school to the needs of predominantly poor children in the super-diverse neighborhood of

10 Continuous attendance in a 2nd foreign language subject is required for four years if secondary education lasts eight years; if secondary education lasts nine years, the attendance requirement is extended to five years. Cf. https://www.kmk.org/themen/allgemeinbildende-schulen/unterrichtsfaecher/fremdsprachen.html

11 Rat für Migration is an independent nationwide association / NGO of about 150 scholars in Germany who deal with questions of migration and integration. https://rat-fuer-migration.de/

12 The complete public online debate which followed the initial proposal "Drei Sprachen sind genug fürs Abitur!" (Three languages are enough for the Abitur) in summer 2020 can be accessed via a PDF document https://rat-fuer-migration.de/2021/01/25/abschlussveroeffentlichung-der-rfm-debatte-2020/

Hanover. Compared to the (unrealistic) mammoth task of reforming a country's entire school system, the microcosm of a school can be changed with relative ease. El-Mafaalani (2020, p. 217) points out that elementary schools as well as preschool education can be seen as the most important institutions for the fight against social injustice and for equal opportunities. He therefore encourages schools to analyze their particular microcosm, look for potentials and to bring about changes in bottom-up fashion - just like Albert-Schweitzer-Schule.

Furthermore, this school serves as an impressive example which proves the case that transforming an elementary school can also promote sustainable learning: Secondary school recommendation statistics show how academic achievements generally improved, yet in particular for poor children which contributes to social development goal / SDG10 – reduced inequalities as well as to SDG4 – high quality education. Power differences between children have been mitigated and learners who speak Turkish at home can develop their vocabulary and language skills which contributes to their identity development and, thus, to SDG3 – health and well-being. All learners in the bilingual Turkish-German classes are able to experience themselves as teachers in peer-learning situations and develop a better understanding as to how languages are learned which, again, contributes to SDG 3 and SDG4. Eventually, just to name but a few of the 17 SDG, Albert-Schweitzer-Schule makes use of sources and places in the urban civic society for local language learning and usage which applies to SDG11 – sustainable cities and communities.

Modern migration societies like Germany are dynamic, digital, diverse - and multilingual. In the 21st century, competences in "foreign" languages are not just important for people who travel physically for reasons of trade, commerce or tourism. Languages have a high practical value in everyday life – be that in urban, local or digital settings. Hence, language skills have become increasingly important for those, too, who stay at home, who work globally from their local (home-) offices, who welcome newcomers and who help others find their way around in institutions and new environments. As "adoptive languages", Turkish, Arabic, the Serbo-Croatian language/s, but also Pashto, Urdu, Hindi, Korean and others have the potential to make a special contribution to the development of language education in the post-migrant German society through their matchless ubiquity in everyday life and as community languages. Upgraded as fully blown foreign languages subjects for elementary as well as secondary and upper secondary level in the school curricula, open to all children, and / or used in CLIL programs, these language subjects could also open up new alleys for conceptualizing language teaching such as *green education*[13] i.e. sustainable social learning for an increasingly glocal, transnational and digital world. At the end of the day, an open society needs to be complemented by an open language curriculum.

13 Green education is a term coined by the EU in accordance with the green deal and aims to "encourage stakeholders in the education and training sector to take action to contribute to the green transition and to strengthen the sustainability competences of all learners"; https://education.ec.europa.eu/focus-topics/green-education

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Heritage Language Acquisition and Maintenance of Turkish in The United States: Challenges to Teaching Turkish as a Heritage Language

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ABSTRACT

Compared to an extensive amount of research on Turkish heritage speakers in Europe, the heritage language acquisition and maintenance of Turkish in the United States has only recently received scholarly attention. This article discusses the heritage language status of Turkish in the United States from an educational perspective with an emphasis on current challenges to teaching Turkish within this context. The educational needs of Turkish-American learners are contextualized within a brief history of Turkish immigration in the United States. Opportunities for learning Turkish in an institutional setting include attending community-based Turkish heritage language schools in early years or Turkish language programs in American universities in later years. Some of the challenges observed in both educational settings include, but are not limited to, a lack of qualified teachers and relevant educational resources as well as generational conflicts in attitudes towards learning Turkish as a heritage language. The article concludes with a discussion on how these challenges may influence the maintenance of Turkish language and culture in the future in a society where English-only language policies are mandated.

Keywords: Heritage language learners, Turkish-American, Language maintenance, Turkish language teaching

1. Introduction

The United States is a multicultural and multilingual country that is home to millions of people of different races, nationalities and ancestries. The 2020 Census indicates that the total population of the United States is over 300 million, and 22% (around 68 million) of the population speaks a language other than English at home. Among these are heritage speakers (i.e., second-generation immigrants), the children of first-generation immigrants, who were born in a bilingual setting and exposed to the family (i.e., heritage) language at home from birth as a first language (L1) along with the majority language, English (García, 2002, 2005; Montrul, 2016, in press; Potowski, 2010; Valdés, 1995, 2001). According to Carreira and Kagan (2018), one in five (23%) children in the United States is a heritage speaker who is exposed to a language other than English at home. These children are often monolingual or more dominant in their heritage language in the early years of language development. However, they show a dramatic shift in their dominance, which usually begins at around age five, when they are schooled exclusively in English, primarily due to English-only ideologies, attitudes and politics in the United States (Coşkun Kunduz & Montrul, 2021, 2022a, b; Montrul, in press; Yağmur & Çolak-Bostancı, 2015). Since extensive exposure to the majority language starts in childhood, heritage speakers are exposed to less input in their native language (the heritage language) than a typical monolingual child. They may also be exposed to qualitatively different input because they are growing up in a language contact situation (Coşkun Kunduz & Montrul, 2022a). As a result, child and adult heritage speakers in the United States often show variable degrees of command of their heritage language (Montrul, 2016; Montrul & Polinsky, 2021). Therefore, for the preservation of their heritage language and culture, these speakers often need continuing parental as well as external support from their communities and the mainstream society.

Since the early work of Guadalupe Valdés on Spanish as a heritage language in the United States in the 1970s, the immigrant population in the United States has dramatically increased along with the community and language needs of this population (Beaudrie, Ducar, & Potowski, 2014; Leeman, 2015; Zyzik, 2016). Many immigrant communities have founded organizations such as community-based heritage language schools for the preservation of their heritage languages and cultures, and scholars have begun to investigate the effects of instruction given in these schools and in post-secondary levels on heritage language development and maintenance (Bowles, 2018; Montrul & Bowles, 2017; Sanz & Torres, 2018 among others). However, the number of studies on the heritage language acquisition and maintenance of Turkish in the United States is scarce even today, particularly compared to the volume of similar research on Turkish in the European context (Coşkun Kunduz & Montrul, 2022b; Yağmur & Çolak-Bostancı, 2015). This could be partly due to the somewhat smaller size of

the Turkish community in the United States with a total population of 212,489[1] (United States Census Bureau, 2019) in comparison to certain countries in Europe such as Germany, where the number of Turkish immigrants reaches 2.5 million, making the Turkish community the largest immigrant group in this context (Bayram & Wright, 2018).

The small size of the population as well as the scarcity of heritage language research on Turkish has implications for the preservation of the Turkish language, identity and culture among Turkish immigrants in the United States, particularly in the second-generation heritage language speakers. The goal of this article is to provide a comprehensive overview of heritage language acquisition and maintenance of Turkish in the United States with an emphasis on current challenges to teaching Turkish in this context. Some of these challenges include, but are not limited to, English-only policies within the mainstream education, a paucity of qualified teachers and educational resources that are tailored to the specific needs of heritage language learners as well as conflicts between parents and children in their attitudes towards learning the heritage language.

To better understand the characteristics of this group, the next section presents a brief history of Turkish immigration to the United States, which is then followed by research on the heritage language acquisition and maintenance of Turkish in the United States as compared to the European context. Finally, heritage language teaching of Turkish in elementary and post-secondary levels in the United States is briefly introduced in Section 4. Section 5 discusses challenges to teaching Turkish in this context, and the last section presents concluding remarks and future directions.

2. Turkish immigration to the United States

Historically, three major waves of Turkish immigration to the United States have been identified in the literature (Baştuğ, 2016; Karpat, 2006, 2008; Kaya, 2004, 2005, 2007). The first wave, also called *the wave of peasants*, occurred between the early 1800s and the 1920s, and mostly included non-Muslim Ottoman citizens carrying Ottoman passports such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews (Akçapar, 2006, 2009, 2012; Akçapar & Gökçe, 2009; Kaya, 2004). Muslim Turks are estimated to constitute only around 25% (around 45,000) of this group (Ahmed, 1986; Karpat, 2008). These Muslim Turks mostly consisted of male Ottoman peasants seeking to eventually return to their home country after saving enough money, especially after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Halman, 1980; Karpat, 1995). The small number of Turkish migrants who stayed in the United States were assimilated into American society.

After World War II, the second wave, *the wave of professionals*, occurred between the years 1950 and 1980. This wave was "more of a 'brain drain' than a mass movement" and included

1 Kaya (2009) argues that there are more Turkish immigrants in the United States than reported including undocumented immigrants and gives an approximate range from 300,000 to 500,000.

highly educated professionals such as physicians, academicians and engineers who identified themselves based on their nationalist and secular identities rather than their religion (Karpat, 2006, p. 171). Therefore, despite the lower number of immigrants in this wave (around 30,000) compared to the first wave, the wave of professionals was more impactful; they founded influential Turkish American organizations such as the Turkish American Cultural Alliance in Chicago (TACA), the Federation of Turkish American Associations (FTAA) and the Assembly of Turkish American Associations (ATAA), which still act as a venue for gathering and practicing Turkish culture for Turkish-Americans today (Kaya, 2013). Given their good language skills in English and highly educated profiles, the immigrants in this wave were able to integrate into the larger American culture and eventually settled permanently in the United States.

The third wave, between the years 1980 and the early 2000s, is called *a mixed wave* as it involves not only professionals and students but also semi-skilled and unskilled workers immigrating to the United States as a result of globalization attempts of the Turkish state (Kaya, 2005, 2013). While the educated immigrants stayed in the United States permanently, the blue-collar workers were similar to the immigrants in the first wave in that they returned to Turkey after saving enough money to buy houses and lands in Turkey (Dağdelen, 2020).

Today, Turkish immigrants are concentrated in large urban areas such as New York City, Chicago, New Jersey and Los Angeles (Kaya, 2013). Compared to Turkish immigrants in Europe, Turkish-Americans are better educated and more integrated into the larger society (Akinci, 2002; Angın, 2003; Karpat, 1995; Kaya, 2005). In fact, Turkish immigrants in the United States have better educational and professional profiles than the mainstream American population. As shown in Table 1 (US Census Bureau, 2019), the majority of Turkish-Americans (60.7%) have a bachelor, graduate or professional degree, which is almost twice that of native-born Americans with similar educational backgrounds (33.1%) (Kaya, 2005; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). In contrast, 66.9% of Americans hold some college degree or less, while the figure for Turkish immigrants is only 39.3%.

Table 1: Educational attainment among Turkish immigrants in the United States

	Total in the United States	**Turkish immigrants**
Population 25 years and over	224,898,568	101,196
Less than high school diploma	11.5%	9.4%
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	26.9%	16.9%
College or associate degree	28.5%	13%
Bachelor's degree	20.3%	28.8%
Graduate or professional degree	12.8%	31.9%

Although the majority of Turkish immigrants in the United States are first-generation, the number of American-born Turkish Americans (second-generation immigrants) is increasing every day. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2019), while the number of foreign-born

(first-generation) Turkish immigrant residents in the United States amounts to 115,341 (with approximately equal numbers of naturalized and alien immigrants), there are 94,148 second-generation Turkish immigrants (heritage speakers) who were born and raised in the United States. Despite their growing number, little is known regarding the maintenance of the heritage language of this population. Therefore, a brief overview of previous research on the Turkish skills in Turkish heritage speakers in the United States as compared to those in Europe is presented in the following section before a discussion on heritage language teaching of Turkish in the United States is introduced.

3. Heritage Language Maintenance of Turkish in the United States and Europe

In contrast to rather extensive analyses of Turkish as a minority language in the European context, the linguistic abilities of Turkish immigrants in the United States have only recently received scholarly attention (Coşkun Kunduz & Montrul, 2022a, b). In Europe, studies on Turkish immigrant communities have revealed a high degree of language maintenance in first-generation immigrants as well as in the younger generations (Backus, 2004; Pfaff, 1999). Overall, Turkish heritage children have been found to follow developmental patterns similar to those of their monolingual peers (Akinci, 2001; Pfaff, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1997; Van der Heijden & Verhoeven, 1994). The high degree of maintenance of Turkish in Europe has often been attributed to such factors as endogamous marriages as well as to opportunities for exposure to and experience with Turkish through frequent visits to Turkey, access to Turkish media, an abundance of Turkish organizations and a high density of social networks (Akinci & Yağmur, 2003). Given that Turkish immigrants in the United States are better educated, have stronger English skills, maintain less contact with Turkey and comprise a smaller community than their counterparts in Europe, one might predict that the development and maintenance of Turkish in the United States would be less successful (Backus, 2004).

Today, it is reported that in the majority of Turkish households in the United States, a language other than English is spoken at home. However, only 36% speak only English, as is displayed in Table 2 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). This clearly shows that Turkish-Americans are bilingual and that heritage speakers are exposed to a certain amount of Turkish at home in the early years of heritage language development (Otçu, 2009, 2010). However, as indicated by a small number of linguistic studies investigating the Turkish skills of Turkish-Americans, Turkish is not preserved in second-generation immigrants to the same extent that it is in first-generation immigrants, and Turkish-American children are more dominant and fluent in English than in Turkish (Coşkun Kunduz & Montrul, 2021, 2022a, b; Evcen, 2020). This confirms the prediction stated above.

Table 2: Language spoken at home

	Total in the United States	Turkish immigrants
Population 5 years and over	308,834,688	197,059
Speak only English	78%	35.9%
Speak a language other than English	22%	64.1%
Speak English less than "very well"	8.3%	21%

These findings have crucial importance in better understanding the learner profiles of these speakers and in tailoring both current and future Turkish language programs and curricula according to their needs (Kagan & Dillon, 2008). One question that follows these findings is whether receiving instruction in Turkish helps these speakers maintain and improve their heritage language (Carreira & Kagan, 2018; Montrul & Bowles, 2017; Potowski, Jegerski, & Morgan-Short, 2009 among others). The next section discusses this question as well as potential factors that may affect the overall effectiveness of instructed heritage language acquisition within the context of Turkish-Americans.

4. Heritage Language Teaching of Turkish in the United States

In a recent meta-analysis, Bowles and Torres (2021) present a systematic review of eight studies that examine the effects of instruction on heritage language development in different languages (Spanish, Korean and Inuktitut) and at different educational levels (elementary and college) using different teaching methods (language arts, explicit and implicit teaching). The data analysis shows that heritage language speakers do indeed benefit from instruction, particularly in early childhood (i.e., in elementary school) when language arts instruction with an emphasis on the four language skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking) is used as the teaching method. The findings also point to an increased achievement in the dominant language (Beaudrie, 2021; Potowski, 2021), to academic success (Cummins, 1993; Jang & Brutt-Griffler, 2019; Krashen, Tse & McQuillan, 1998), and to the positive development of heritage identity and self-esteem (Li & Duff, 2008). Overall, these findings indicate that the benefits of heritage language teaching go beyond the linguistic aspects and significantly contribute to heritage speakers' academic performance at school, connectedness to their heritage identities and the preservation of the heritage culture as well (Kupisch & Rothman, 2016; Rothman, Tsimpli & Pascual y Cabo, 2016). However, a number of factors play a role in the effectiveness of teaching a heritage language, which include, but are not limited to, the quantity and quality of institutions providing heritage language instruction, teacher qualifications, availability of educational resources as well as parents' and learners' own attitudes towards receiving instruction in the heritage language.

In the case of Turkish, heritage language children are often exposed to Turkish starting from birth and are dominant in Turkish until around age five when they start schooling exclusively in English as there are no dual immersion schools that teach Turkish and English in the United States (Coşkun Kunduz & Montrul, 2022a). In many cases, the main input source for

second-generation Turkish immigrants in the United States is restricted to parents (Uludağ, 2011). Opportunities to receive instruction in an institutional setting are available through community-based heritage language schools (Çolak Bostancı, 2014; Otçu, 2009, 2010) or Turkish language programs across universities in the United States (Dolunay, 2007). The following sections describe each institutional setting and discuss the factors that may play a role in the preservation of the Turkish language and culture in these settings.

4.1. Turkish Community-Based Heritage Language Schools in the United States

Community-based heritage schools (CHLs), also known as Saturday or Sunday schools, are considered as supplemental programs that occur outside the mainstream schooling in the host country and are supported by immigrant communities who wish to preserve their heritage languages and cultures (Creese et al., 2006; Lee & Chen-Wu, 2021; Nordstorm, 2016). Although these schools play a vital role in helping heritage language children maintain and strengthen their cultural identities and heritage language abilities, they have an unofficial status in the United States, and therefore there are no official records documenting their number or characteristics (Fishman, 1980, 2001).

As for Turkish, only two CHLs are documented in the Heritage Language Programs in the United States survey on the website of the National Coalition of Community-Based Heritage Language Schools today, one in California and another in Connecticut. However, we know from a small number of studies that there are also Turkish CHLs in other cities with large Turkish communities such as New York and Chicago.

In one such study, Otçu-Grillman (2016) investigated the role of a Turkish CHL in New York in maintaining Turkish language and culture in the United States. The school operated only on Saturdays to teach Turkish language and literacy to elementary grade students using a secular content-based curriculum and textbooks imported from Turkey. Using methods of linguistic ethnography such as participant observation and semi-structured interviews, Otçu-Grillman collected data from students, parents, teachers and school administrators for over eight months. The analyses of the data revealed that the school served as a bridge in building a Turkish identity for the community which was reflected through the use of Turkish language. The parents and teachers indicated that most of the children were English dominant. Therefore, giving them instruction in Turkish was necessary to improve the children's oral and literacy skills in Turkish. The teachers used traditional pedagogical techniques, including recitation, dictation and reading aloud in the classroom, which are arguably not the most effective methods to use with heritage language learners (Bowles & Torres, 2021). The children, on the other hand, preferred using Turkish with adults but English with their peers, showing fluid bilingual language practices (Tarim, 2011).

Işık-Ercan (2012) also conducted ethnographic interviews with 18 parents and 15 children (aged 7–13) who attended a Sunday school that offered classes on the Turkish language and the

Qur'an. The classes were taught by volunteers who were the mothers of some of the children at the school. Similar to Otçu-Grillman (2016), Işık-Ercan found that the school played an important role in not only supporting the maintenance and development of the Turkish language but also constructing Turkish-American identities in the children. In addition to language instruction, the school organized events to celebrate Turkish national and religious holidays which fostered the children's ethnic identities and a sense of belonging in the Turkish community. Işık-Ercan also reported that by attending the Sunday school, the children benefited from an increase in their overall academic skills and self-confidence.

More recently, Evcen (2020) conducted a similar study in a Turkish CHL in Chicago. She collected data from 40 students (aged 5–12) as well as from parents, teachers and school administrators using classroom observations and interviews. The findings were once again similar to those in previous studies in that the school served not only as a language school but also as a community identity building center for the children. Through activities and ceremonies, the children were immersed in the Turkish language and culture. However, Evcen also noted several factors that might have adversely affected the overall effectiveness of Turkish language instruction in this school, including teacher-centered pedagogical methods, lack of qualified teachers and educational resources, as well as curricula based on monolingual ideologies.

Overall, even though none of the studies above directly tested the effects of receiving instruction in Turkish on heritage language development and maintenance of Turkish, their findings indicate that Turkish CHLs are effective in constructing cultural identities of Turkish heritage children in the United States and supporting the maintenance of the Turkish language in this group to a certain extent. However, for better maintenance and the development of Turkish, several factors including teacher qualifications, as well as the curricula and textbooks used in these schools need to be considered. Before these factors are discussed in more detail, the next section describes Turkish heritage language instruction at post-secondary level in the United States.

4.2. Post-Secondary Turkish Language Programs in the United States

As compared to CHLs, research on heritage language teaching of Turkish at post-secondary level in the United States is even more scant. According to the American Association of Teachers of Turkic Languages (AATT), a total of 43 academic institutions in the United States are currently offering Turkish language instruction.

Recently, Elbasan Özdoğan and Özer Griffin (2019) designed a survey and shared it with Turkish instructors from the universities in the United States using AATT's list circulation to investigate linguistic profiles, goals, and attitudes of college-level heritage language learners of Turkish across the United States. Twenty-one instructors completed a survey that consisted of four parts: general institutional information, including the language program itself, general profiles of heritage learners in their classes, departmental practices and challenges, and professional

development opportunities surrounding the program. The findings revealed that the majority of instructors had five or fewer heritage language learners in their classes, being 10% or less of the total number of students in the classes, and that there was a sudden drop in enrollment numbers in the fourth-year language courses suggesting that students did not pursue Turkish in their senior year. The instructors also indicated that they targeted all four language skills using a combination of mechanical drills, audio-visual materials such as videos, movies and songs as well as reading and communicative materials including newspapers, short stories and role-plays. Twelve instructors (57%) had received no training in heritage language teaching, while only two instructors (9.5%) had attended workshops focusing specifically on heritage language teaching. Lastly, the main concerns of the instructors included low enrollment and poor student retention, inadequate or meager course options and pedagogical materials for heritage language learners, inadequate teacher training and placement tools as well as lack of research on teaching Turkish as a heritage language (Uludağ, 2011).

The above findings suggest that although opportunities are available for Turkish heritage speakers at post-secondary level in the United States to improve their Turkish language skills and reconnect with their heritage, Turkish language programs in higher education also face similar challenges to those of CHLs. The next section briefly discusses some of these concerns.

5. Challenges for Teaching Turkish as a Heritage Language in the United States

This section presents a brief summary of some of the major challenges faced by those teaching Turkish as a heritage language in the United States, including lack of qualified teachers and educational resources as well as generational conflicts in attitudes towards learning Turkish.

5.1. Teacher Qualifications

One of the major challenges that most heritage language teaching programs face in the United States is the lack of qualified teachers who have received proper training in teaching heritage languages (Carreira & Kagan, 2018; Liu, Musica et al., 2011; Potowski, 2021, Wang, 2017). In the case of Turkish, particularly in the CHLs, parents often volunteer to teach Turkish as the schools do not have sufficient fundings to hire qualified teachers externally (Evcen, 2020). This is reflected in an interview with one of the administrators in a CHL in Chicago (Evcen, 2020, p. 136):

> "... This year we have had only one teacher that has a background in teaching Turkish. The others are PhD students and one master degree teacher. Currently we do not have any teacher who has a teaching degree [in Turkish]. It is not easy. It is really hard to find people like that. All these are volunteers. We only give them gas money. That's all."

The lack of training on how to work with heritage speakers often results in teachers using teacher-centered activities in the classroom including drills, reciting and memorizing, which

are seen as too rigid by heritage language learners who are engaged in more communicative activities in mainstream schooling (Carreira & Kagan, 2018; Curdt-Christiansen, 2006; Potowski & Carreira, 2004). This, in turn, may negatively affect students' attitudes towards learning the Turkish language and culture (Potowski & Carreira, 2004). However, lack of qualified heritage language teachers is hardly a problem for Turkish only. For instance, Potowski (2020) recently reported that out of 33 universities in Illinois that license Spanish teachers, only one university offered a course on heritage language teaching, suggesting that even the largest heritage language population in the United States is suffering from a lack of trained teachers.

Bayram et al. (2016) argue that in addition to having training in teaching, qualified heritage language teachers must also have a sociolinguistic awareness of heritage language status in the majority context as well as strong metalinguistic skills that would allow them to reflect more accurately on their students' linguistic behaviors and help their students gain some level of metalinguistic knowledge in the heritage language (Beaudrie et al., 2014; Schwartz, 2014). For an agglutinative language like Turkish, this may suggest that teachers must have a metalinguistic understanding of Turkish morphology and awareness of previous research on which morphemes are particularly challenging for heritage speakers of Turkish (Coşkun Kunduz & Montrul, 2021, 2022a, b; Evcen, 2020). Given the multifunctional nature of Turkish morphemes, each function and use of the same morpheme may be emphasized and exemplified while teaching. Teachers may then engage students in meaningful and interactive activities that would draw their attention to these form-meaning mappings and have them practice these both in spoken and written productions (Coşkun Kunduz, 2018; Coşkun Kunduz & Gürel, 2018; DeKeyser, 2005).

Overall, finding qualified teachers is one of the biggest challenges that heritage language teaching programs face today. In the case of Turkish, parents with no training in language teaching often volunteer to teach in CHLs, which may not always result in a positive attitude towards learning Turkish in children. However, some attempts at heritage language teacher training have been made, and these include an online workshop sponsored by the STARTALK and the National Heritage Language Resource Center (NHLRC) for all languages from K-16 programs and CHLs, including Turkish. Participants are expected to complete online assignments for a five-day period on topics such as linguistic gaps in heritage grammars, differentiated teaching, and pedagogical strategies for meeting the ensuing challenges. This is a promising attempt at developing language teachers who will be leaders and mentors in the field of heritage language and help develop and maintain less-commonly taught heritage languages such as Turkish.

5.2. Educational Resources

Another factor that may affect the success of teaching Turkish as a heritage language in the United States is the lack of appropriate curricula and educational materials for heritage language learners (Carreira & Kagan, 2018; García, Zakharia & Otçu, 2013). There are discrepancies in this respect between the two educational settings, namely Turkish CHLs and

post-secondary Turkish language programs, and even between different classrooms within a single educational setting.

Research on Turkish CHLs has shown that the curricula and the materials used in these schools are mostly monolingual-biased. For instance, Otçu (2009, 2010) reports that in a CHL in New York the Turkish elementary school curriculum is followed and textbooks are imported from Turkey. Since the curriculum is content-based, language and culture topics often overlap. For instance, children learn new vocabulary and basic sentence structures in Turkish through exposure to texts or songs that are about Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, as well as national and religious holidays (Otçu, 2010). This helps the CHL achieve its goal in exposing children not only to the Turkish language but also to the Turkish culture, eventually connecting the children to their heritage (García et al., 2013; Otçu-Grillman, 2016). However, the imported textbooks often include a large number of long texts and writing activities that challenge heritage learners with little or no literacy skills in Turkish. One student expressed frustration at the amount of writing tasks students are assigned in class by saying (Otçu, 2010, p. 279):

> "I don't like Turkish [the lesson] because we write a lot there in Turkish."

Similar concerns were raised by a student in another CHL in Chicago whose teacher also used imported textbooks in class (Evcen, 2020, p. 127):

> "... I mean there are fun pictures in [the textbook] but the texts are too long and I get bored until I finish reading them. Also, I do not understand everything in the texts so I got unhappy."

In this particular CHL, however, each teacher makes their own decision as to which materials to use in the classroom depending on their educational background, experience in teaching languages and exposure to the heritage language learners (Evcen, 2020). While some teachers follow a textbook that is imported from Turkey, others use external materials that they consider to be appropriate for their learners. This suggests that although the general tendency is to follow monolingual norms in Turkish CHLs in the United States, there is no standard in terms of pedagogical materials that are used or the curriculum that is followed even within a single CHL.

In contrast to CHLs, instructional materials and curricula that are used at post-secondary level are often indistinguishable from those used in second language (L2) classes (Carreira, 2016; Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Schwartz, 2014). This is because heritage learners are often placed in mixed-language classes that may also include L2 learners or first-generation immigrants with a wide range of abilities, goals and attitudes towards the Turkish language. In their survey, Elbasan Özdoğan and Özer Griffin (2019) report that 81% of Turkish language programs in the United States are mixed, while only 19% include only heritage language learners, and that 62% of the instructors use commercial textbooks designed for L2 learners of Turkish in their classes with activities and instructions that focus on form. However, these textbooks may not

necessarily be appropriate for Turkish heritage language learners whose primary focus is on communication rather than form (Carreira & Kagan, 2018).

Overall, educational resources used in heritage language teaching of Turkish in the United States show differences across different educational settings as well as teachers within the same educational setting. While monolingual norms are often followed in CHLs, educational resources targeting L2 learners are used in post-secondary Turkish language programs, which in turn potentially contribute to variable heritage language outcomes in this population. One solution that was proposed by Carreira and Kagan (2018) is for heritage language teachers to collaborate on creating their own materials that are tailored into the particular language, educational setting and proficiency level, which could then be supported by the Center for Open Educational Resources and Language Learning (COERLL), a National Foreign Language Resource Center funded by the U.S. Department of Education. However, the implementation of this proposal would first require training qualified heritage language teachers.

5.3. Generational Conflicts in Attitudes Towards Turkish

Kaya (2009) indicates that there are important differences between the first- and second-generation Turkish immigrants in the United States regarding their acceptance of Turkish and American identities. Although the higher educational qualifications of first-generation immigrants give them a certain degree of freedom of movement and opportunity, they still prefer being more isolated and are less reluctant to accept their American identities, whereas American-born (second-generation) immigrants assert both their Turkish and American identities and participate more in the larger American society (Otçu, 2009, 2010). First-generation immigrants often face uncertainties about whether they should stay in the United States or return to Turkey, as clearly expressed by one such immigrant in Kaya (2009, p. 621)'s study, who stated:

> "I decided not to go back to Turkey after that visit, but there is another thing. You don't feel [you] belong here, but the worse thing is that you don't feel you belong to Turkey either. You are somewhere in between but you don't know where you are at. You are confused. There is not much similarity between the U.S. and Turkey. Both are totally different. You are much lonelier here. You talk to mirrors more often. What other people do or don't do does not interest you much here but it does in Turkey. I think in Turkey you are more social and in the U.S. you are more individual and lonely. Both have things that you like and things that you don't like. It is a dilemma. I want to be in both places. I want to go to Turkey four or five times a year. My best dream is to conduct business that would connect me to both Turkey and the United States."

Second-generation immigrants (heritage speakers), on the other hand, are more fluent in English and more aware of their American identity with a Turkish heritage (Kaya, 2009; Otçu, 2010; Otçu-Grillman, 2016; Yağmur & Çolak-Bostancı, 2015). However, they often struggle with conflicting values and expectations from their Turkish parents and the larger American society and display fluid and hybrid identities (Işık-Ercan, 2012).

This divergence in the attitudes of first- and second-generation immigrants towards the Turkish language and identity is also reflected in the expectations of the two parties in instructional settings. In a recent study, Çolak Bostancı (2014) compared the language choices, attitudes, and ethnic linguistic viability of first- and second-generation Turkish immigrants residing in New Jersey. One hundred and twenty-nine first-generation and 41 second-generation immigrants completed a questionnaire including questions about the amount of language use, language choice in different contexts (e.g., public, media, education and business) as well as attitudes towards Turkish and English. The findings revealed a generational difference in the use of Turkish. Accordingly, the amount of Turkish use significantly decreased in the second-generation immigrants as compared to the first-generation immigrants. However, both groups attached less importance to Turkish than to English in every domain and restricted the use of Turkish mostly to family and friendship relationships.

Similar findings were observed in Otçu-Grilmann (2016)'s study in a Turkish community school in New York (see also Section 4.1). Even though adults' expectation of their children was: "Speak Turkish!", the children's perception was: "Speak Turkish to adults!" (Garcia, 2009; Otçu-Grilmann, 2016, p. 177). Therefore, as opposed to their parents, the children were mainly English dominant and preferred using English with their peers. Although the parents indicated that they would like their children to consider themselves as primarily Turkish, all the children defined themselves as bicultural. By taking their children to the Turkish community school every weekend, the parents hoped that the children's familiarity with their roots and ancestral language would increase, and that they would be predominantly Turkish.

Evcen (2020) also made similar observations in a Turkish community school in Chicago. She noted that the parents wanted their children to have strong Turkish identities and language skills and believed that sending their children to a Turkish CHL would help them achieve these goals. However, the children were predominantly bicultural and wanted to use English all the time, especially with their peers. They switched to Turkish only when an adult reminded them to do so, as shown below (p. 100):

> "Father: Türkçe konuş Türkçe! Buraya gelme sebebini unutma!
> *Speak Turkish! Don't forget why you come here!*
> Child: Arkadaşımla konuşuyorum ama
> *But I'm speaking with my friend."*

To summarize, the majority of first-generation Turkish immigrant parents in the United States identify themselves as Turkish regardless of how long they have been living there. By sending their children to CHLs, they hope that their children will know and accept their *original* roots, Turkish heritage and language. However, children show more fluid and hybrid identities, not conforming to the Turkish identities pre-given by their parents. They prefer using English with peers and only use Turkish when an adult reminds them to do so (Otçu, 2010). Although these conflicts between the two generations lead to confusion on the part of children at times,

parents believe that learning about their original roots and language positions their children in a healthier way in American society.

6. Conclusions and Future Directions

Acquisition and maintenance of heritage languages and cultures in an environment where the societal language and culture are different present challenges for minority communities. Particularly in the United States, where the focus of public bilingual education lies in transitioning students to mainstream English-medium schooling as soon as possible, heritage language speakers become dominant in English as early as five years of age, when they start schooling (Garcia et al., 2013; Potowski, 2021). Without any governmental funding, minority communities in the United States resort to establishing their own institutions and schools for preserving their heritage language, customs and values. Heritage language learners in the United States, particularly of those languages that are less commonly taught such as Turkish, are often exposed to their heritage language in a formal setting for the first time in such community-based heritage language schools. Some of these learners also attend post-secondary language programs, such as Turkish language programs that are currently offered in 43 academic institutions in the United States, to reconnect with their linguistic and cultural heritage. Although studies show that receiving instruction in Turkish in these settings helps maintain Turkish language and culture to a certain extent (Işık-Ercan, 2012; Otçu-Grillman, 2016), both types of institutional settings experience similar challenges in heritage language teaching of Turkish that include, but are not limited to, a lack of qualified teachers, insufficient educational resources that are tailored to the specific needs of heritage language learners, and conflicts between parents and children in their attitudes towards learning the heritage language.

Despite all these challenges, research has shown that continuing parental and communal efforts may help maintain heritage language (Fishman, 2001; Kupisch & Rothman, 2016; Park & Sarkar, 2008). Positive correlations have been reported between children's experience with the heritage language and overall development and maintenance of the language. Accordingly, those children whose dominant home language is the heritage language, who visit the home country on a regular basis and whose parents immerse them in input through books, stories and songs show better lexical development and more accurate use of inflectional morphology in the heritage language (Evcen, 2020; Williard et al., 2015).

Acceptance of children's bicultural identities by parents and minority communities instead of forcing them to adopt a core heritage identity is yet another way to contribute to the preservation of heritage languages and cultures. In the case of Turkish immigrants in the United States, Turkish heritage children have strong American identities and consider English to be an important part of their linguistic repertoire. By acknowledging their Turkish-American identities, parents and heritage language teachers may benefit from their English in a more productive way by constructing bilingual proficiency in these children.

Heritage speakers are the key factors in building a multilingual identity for the United States (Beaudrie, 2021). However, the current U.S. language policies do not recognize the importance of bilingualism in today's global world and stigmatize and minoritize the efforts of heritage language communities, often resulting in a progressive loss of heritage languages and identities within three generations. Therefore, it is crucial that community efforts are supported by future research on the Turkish diaspora in the United States to gain more recognition and to have a stronger voice in a society where English-only language policies are mandated.

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The Impact on Language Maintenance and Studies Among Third- and Fourth-Generation Turkish Students in Melbourne, in the Era of COVID-19

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ABSTRACT

The research into the maintenance of the Turkish language amongst third- and fourth-generation of Turkish students enrolled into the study of the heritage language is part of a greater ethnographic study on Family Language Policy (FLP) of second- and third-generation Turkish parents in Melbourne, Australia. The study investigated the strategies implemented by families in promoting language choice and methods towards maintenance practices of the heritage language. The research also begins to reveal the impact of declining enrolment numbers into the study of the Turkish language and its impact on language maintenance. Data was collected on the language beliefs and practices of forty-five bilingual families through participant observation and in-depth interviews amongst intergenerational family members including parents, children, and grandparents. The current research stemmed from the initial study to investigate an extensive element specific to the maintenance and study of the Turkish language. The subsequent research was instigated during the COVID-19 pandemic, whereby school closures and remote learning were prominent. Families with students enrolled into the study of the Turkish language took part in an online chat forum discussing the impact onsite school closures had on the maintenance of Turkish studies and the continued declining enrolment numbers. Whilst the family home remains for most migrant communities the main domain for language maintenance, formal studies of language education offer an additional platform derived towards heritage language practice as a further strategy in family language policy and planning. The findings reveal that whilst the study of the Turkish language was once a foundation essential for heritage language maintenance amongst the implementations of first-generation Turkish parents, raising their children bilingual; current data reflects a shift in generations to follow second-generation Turkish. The findings reveal the declining enrolment numbers into the study of the Turkish language as an additional factor to the shift in language preference and language maintenance.

Keywords: Turkish, language maintenance, language studies, language schools, language education, community language, heritage language, bilingualism, Family Language Policy, Melbourne

1. Introduction

Migrant communities in Australia have long established language schools in an effort to serve, as an additional platform to the family home, the implementation towards heritage language maintenance. The Victorian School of Languages (VSL), a government school, commenced its first Saturday class of Community Language Schools (CLS) in 1935, set up by the Victorian Department of Education and Training, to offer Italian and Japanese classes. In 1971, the Saturday school, located inner-Melbourne, became known as the Saturday School of Modern Languages (SSML) and began to include teachings of other languages. In 1988, the school formed its current name, VSL. The year of 1987 saw the Australian government announce federal funding of the National Policy on Languages, including the founding of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAME). The introduction of mainstream schools offering a subject teaching Language Other Than English (LOTE) to primary and secondary students was subsequently established. Currently, VSL offers over 40 languages to students across Victoria, including Turkish. Whilst there were teachings of the Turkish language dating back to an earlier period, following the Cypriot Turkish migration to Australia in the 1940s, and the Turkish migration bilateral agreement between Turkey and Australia in 1967; formal Turkish language schooling commenced in the 1970s. In 1977, AusTurk Education and Cultural Association, also known as AusTurk Language Academy, set up its first Saturday Turkish Language School in Melbourne, Victoria. In the 1980s, Turkish was predominant amongst several educational organisations including AusTurk, VSL and CLS. In the 1990s, a growing number of CLS amongst the Turkish community founded schools, which many families viewed as an asset to foster the Turkish culture and maintain the heritage language. Currently, the Languages Provision in Victorian Government Schools recorded 74 languages studied by students in Victoria through government schools, VSL and accredited CLS, in 2020.

> The framework of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) explores the cultural identity, language maintenance, and collective entity across three variables: institutional support, demographics, and social status, in evaluating the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). The EV theory investigates the language maintenance, practices, and beliefs of a group, finding that high vitality groups were more likely to maintain their heritage language and culture, whilst those with low vitality were accustomed to experience weakened heritage identity as they assimilate to the culture and language of the migrated country. Families who continued to maintain their heritage culture and identity were more prominent in maintaining their heritage language. Spolsky's (2007, 2012) language policy model of language beliefs (ideology), language practices (ecology), and language management (planning) were explored within the forty-five Turkish families researched. The findings of the impact that community language schools have on the maintenance of the heritage language continue the works of linguists exploring minority languages, across decades, in language maintenance and shift (LMS) within migrant communities (Fishman, 1977, 1991, 2001). Furthermore, studies

within Australia explore the language maintenance, use and preference within migrant communities and the national context (Clyne, 1982, 1991, 2005; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Kipp et al., 1995; Pauwels, 2005; Lo Bianco, 1987, 2009; Yağmur, de Bot & Korzilius, 1999; Yağmur, 2014). In recent unprecedented times, ongoing research into the shifting onsite learning environment; the specific impact upon the maintenance of CLS and enrolments into the heritage language (amongst current generations) is vital in measuring systematic-related aftermath, and the resources required in supporting minority communities in an environment where the predominate language is English. The importance of community groups maintaining their identity is essential in the existence of the heritage language and ongoing connection to culture. As reflected by Fishman (1996), "the *most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language."*

2. Methodology

2.1. Present Study

The current research is part of an onset of findings revealed from the extensive ethnographic study investigating the FLP among second- and third-generation Turkish parents in Melbourne (Et-Bozkurt & Yağmur, 2022). Parent participants were between 26-52 years of age, and their children ranging from infancy (one-year old) to mid-twenties in age. The study explores the use of language within the family home and families' preferences and the implementations in the maintenance of the heritage culture and identity. The present, subsequent study investigates family participants' views towards the impact of CLS and enrolments into the study of the Turkish language as a pre-empt to heritage language maintenance. The following research questions were addressed in the study:

1. What are the language ideologies and practices of Turkish families in Melbourne, particularly towards formal Turkish language studies?
2. How has the shift from onsite educational settings to the platform of remote learning impacted the enrolment of students' study of the Turkish language?
3. What other factors have contributed to the declining number of student enrolments into the Turkish language?

2.2. Participants

The initial study focused on qualitative data collection of methods, including participant observations of the intergenerational language patterns spoken by parents (all biological parents are Turkish), children, and in some cases, grandparents, within the family home. Additional observational environments included school and social settings. Most families were revisited after a two-year interval. The initial extensive study took place pre-COVID-19 and focused on the FLP of second- and third-generation Turkish parents in Melbourne; the current study stemmed from latter conversations where further data was obtained via informal discussions online during the pandemic.

The subsequent study investigated not only the FLP implementations instilling heritage language maintenance, during school closure restrictions, but also the impact of ongoing study and enrolments into the heritage language amongst third- and fourth-generation Turkish students.

2.3. Data Collection Procedure

Data was collected through three key procedures which included initial observations and interview questions specific to FLP ideology and practices (pre-COVID), and online chat forums discussing any amendments to FLP and the impact of remote learning (during COVID-19 restrictions). The initial study recorded data where during and after each observation memos were systematically coded for the data analysis stage, reflecting the Ground Theory Approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Interviews were transcribed and consequently coded to derive the language strategies used and views towards Turkish language studies as an additional strategy for language maintenance. The following data collection included note-taking during online discussions as family members spoke in a less formal setting, reflecting their attitudes and beliefs towards language maintenance and studies into the Turkish language, following the onset of the pandemic. Discussions ranged from thirty to sixty minutes, and participants were able to speak in either English or Turkish to accommodate for language preferences.

3. Results

From the forty-five families researched in the case study, almost half (49 per cent) had children who were either attending an independent school where they were studying Turkish as a LOTE subject during weekdays, and/or were enrolled into Turkish classes on Saturdays either with VSL or a CLS. For many of the families, the decision to enroll their children into Turkish classes was solely to learn the Turkish language and be further embedded into the Turkish culture, make friends with peers sharing similar values and customs. Attending either a Saturday language school or a school that taught Turkish served as an additional environment to the family home, offering maintenance of Turkish language use. The data revealed that for many families (69 per cent), their language preference within the family home was Turkish. Additionally, during the initial interview process, when asked about their cultural identity, 49 per cent identified as Turkish, and a further 40 per cent identified themselves as being Turkish-Australian. A total of 89 per cent from all the interviewed participants (n=62 of the 70 participants) resonated either part or their entire entity of identity with their heritage culture.

The data findings revealed that for a majority of families, their heritage and culture was significant to their identity. For many, they continued to live within Turkish communities and formed close bonds, *"family friends,"* amongst Turkish peers. The results indicated the following ideologies acknowledged in the FLP process in serving to maintain the heritage language and culture, including: enrolling children into Turkish schools; marrying and maintaining friendships within the Turkish community; living within or at close proximity to Turkish communities;

regular travels to Turkey, and maintaining an awareness of the heritage land, which included keeping up-to-date with news events and watching Turkish television; embracing ongoing celebrations of cultural festivities; establishing an environment and purpose to speak Turkish. However, the practice of these beliefs was not always consistent with initial measures and intentions. Rather, complexities such as the following presented: children commencing school began to learn and speak English, bringing the language within the family home, particularly between conversations amongst siblings; furthermore, the break-down of the family unit and/or new partnerships formed from other cultures with the increase of intercultural relationships. These factors were more consistent with generations that followed the second- and first-generation, who were particularly invested in the maintenance of the Turkish language, bestowing cultural identity and values onto their children. For the first-generation, maintaining the Turkish language within the family home offered minimal challenges as their prime and only language remained Turkish. In order to maintain communications between parents and children, Turkish remained within the family home as the predominate language, and children were enrolled into the study of the Turkish language through necessity. The Turkish community reflected a language shift by 6 per cent in first-generation and 16.1 per cent in second-generation (Clyne & Kipp, 1997).

The data reflects a noticeable shift with second- and third-generation Turkish parents who were not as consistent with the maintenance of the heritage language and culture as first-generation Turkish speakers. Assimilating to the lifestyle and culture in Australia meant that families from second-generation onwards spoke fluent English and had minimal purpose for the use of the Turkish language. A shift in education also reflected change as second-generation were either born in Australia and commenced schooling in Australia, or migrated and completed schooling in Australia. Of the forty-five family participants, 31 per cent had both parents born in Australia (n=14 families), 51 per cent had one parent participant born in Australia (n=23 families), with 18 per cent of cases where both parents were born in Turkey, but migrated to Australia before the age of seven (n=8 families). All second- and third-generation parents researched experienced education in Australia. From the forty-five family participants (n=a total of 90 parents) found that 56 per cent (n=50) completed their secondary education and/or diploma studies, and 44 per cent (n=40) received tertiary degree(s). Whilst for many second-generation Turkish speakers, attending Turkish school was a necessity, for generations to follow a decline in enrolment numbers commenced. According to Ethnic Schools Association of Victoria (ESAV), the number of students enrolled in Turkish found a 68.4 per cent dramatic decrease from data recorded between 1998-2005 (Slaughter & Hajek, 2007), indicating a shift from enrolments into the study of the Turkish language as a strategy towards heritage language maintenance. For generations that followed the first-generation working-class migrants, the need to learn and speak Turkish lessened. The focus shifted towards the implementation of the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA) framework with the National

Board of Education and Training initiating a languages program in the 1980s, introduced into the curriculum between foundation prep years through to Year 12 secondary, making the study of a LOTE mandatory up to Year 9. For many schools, the program commenced with the teaching of languages, such as Italian, as the more common language taught, particularly amongst government schools. Private schools began to introduce the teaching of languages, such as Japanese, Chinese, and Indonesian, offering students a choice to study one language from the selection. Unless students were attending Turkish classes at *"Saturday School*," many students were studying a language other than Turkish. The Victorian Curriculum recommends a minimum of 150 minutes per week, at the primary school level, for the study of a LOTE.

For generations following the first-generation, the onset of studying a language within the school curriculum meant that many speakers from second-generation onwards were expected to learn and speak at least three languages: English, Turkish, and the school's select LOTE. For many families, the mindset presumption that bilingualism would impact the child's proficiency in English and literacy meant that there became greater emphasis on excelling at English, particularly as it remains to be the only compulsory subject within the curriculum. At least one English study (English, English as an Additional Language [EAL], English language or Literature) is mandatory inclusion into students' final two years of secondary studies, Victorian Curriculum of Education (VCE) entry score into tertiary, derived as the Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR-score). Second- and third-generation parents' focus shifted towards enhancing English and showing preference for languages other than Turkish to promote opportunities for their children. As one parent reflected in the interview, "*I don't think I would consider taking our kids to Turkish school. Our son is at a private school, and he's learning Chinese Mandarin at the moment. I sometimes say to my wife, 'I think his Chinese will overtake his Turkish soon.' I prefer that he does sport instead on Saturdays and assimilates that way into the community"* (Family 16, Father). The shift for many second- and third-generation parents, who understand too well the challenges of assimilating into Australia, less weight is added on speaking Turkish and/or attending Turkish classes in an environment where English is the dominant language.

Whilst a decrease of enrolments into the Turkish language found numerous impacting factors, the expectation for children to enhance the proficiency of the English language became prominent. The aim was to focus on English as the core language, particularly in senior secondary studies, following Year 8, once studying a LOTE no longer became mandatory. Further impacting factors into the declining enrolments of the Turkish language study included the view by some families that the VCAA scaling of the VCE Turkish subject, in the final year of secondary schooling did not offer an incentive, despite the ten per cent bonus of additional subjects. Furthermore, the assumption that Mathematics and Science-based subjects provided far greater scaling towards the ATAR. The VCAA and VTAC (Victorian Tertiary Admissions Centre, Scaling Report for the previous year, 2021, revealed the following subject study scores, to

calculate scaled aggregates for the ATAR. The following table reveals a sample of subjects and their scaled study scores, including the following languages that are taught as both first speaker and second speaker of the language- Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese. Approximately 40 languages are included as a VCE subject. However, the following languages are not scaled due to either less than ten student enrolments or nil candidates enrolled into the subject state-wide for 2021, as follows: Armenian, Bengali, Bosnian, Classical Hebrew, Croatian, Dutch, Filipino, Hungarian, Indigenous Languages, Indonesian First Language, Japanese First Language, Korean First Language, Maltese, Romanian, Swedish, Tamil, and Yiddish. The table below presents the mean score from the subject study score ranking. The table also reflects the scaled score by the VTAC to calculate the ATAR.

Table 1: Scaling Report, 2021

2021 Study	**Mean**	**20**	**25**	**30**	**35**	**40**	**45**	**50**
English:								
English	28.1	17	22	28	33	39	45	50
English (EAL)	28.4	16	22	28	34	40	46	50
English Language	32.4	21	27	33	38	43	47	50
Literature	31.3	20	26	31	37	42	46	50
Languages (sample of languages):								
Arabic	29.5	18	23	29	34	39	45	50
Chinese First Language	33.6	22	29	36	41	45	48	50
Chinese Language Culture and Society	31.8	22	27	31	36	41	45	50
Chinese Second Language (Advanced)	37.5	26	33	38	43	47	50	52
Chinese Second Language	39.6	30	36	41	45	48	51	53
Classical Greek	37.5	24	30	36	41	45	48	50
French	39.9	29	35	41	45	49	52	54
German	38.2	27	33	39	44	47	50	52
Greek	33.3	23	28	33	37	42	46	50
Hebrew	40.2	31	37	41	45	48	51	52
Indonesian First Language	-							
Indonesian Second Language	36.6	25	32	37	42	46	48	50
Italian	36.0	26	31	36	41	45	48	50
Japanese First Language	-							
Japanese Second Language	37.1	26	32	38	43	46	49	51
Korean First Language	-							
Korean Second Language	38.2	27	32	37	42	46	49	53
Latin	45.0	35	41	46	50	53	54	55
Macedonian	30.4	21	25	29	32	36	41	50
Portuguese	29.8	16	21	27	33	39	45	50
Turkish	**29.9**	**18**	**23**	**28**	**34**	**39**	**44**	**50**
Vietnamese First Language	32.8	21	27	32	37	42	46	50
Vietnamese Second Language	35.8	23	30	36	41	45	49	50
Mathematics:								
Further Mathematics	27.6	17	22	27	33	38	44	50
Mathematical Methods	33.7	21	28	34	40	45	49	51
Specialist Mathematics	40.5	28	35	42	47	51	54	55

Table 1: Continue								
2021 Study	**Mean**	**20**	**25**	**30**	**35**	**40**	**45**	**50**
Sciences:								
Biology	30.4	19	25	30	36	41	46	50
Chemistry	33.6	22	28	34	39	44	47	50
Environmental Science	27.7	18	23	28	33	39	44	50
Physics	31.7	20	26	32	37	42	47	50
Psychology	28.3	17	23	28	34	39	45	50

Source: Further scaling reports and subject study scores may be obtained- VTAC, 2021

The study score for the 2021 study of the Turkish language, in the final year of schooling, reflects a mean score of 29.9. In comparison with languages such as Italian and Greek, the mean score for Turkish fell lower by 6.1 for Italian and 3.4 for Greek. Subjects such as Specialist Mathematics and Mathematical Methods were scaled higher, however, Further Mathematics, rather, was scaled below the subject score. Furthermore, in the Sciences subject areas, Chemistry and Physics were the two subjects that scaled reasonably higher. In hindsight, these specialist subjects are generally not selected by vast majority of students. To investigate the study of the Turkish language against the subject scaling further, a student who received a study score of 20 for the subject was in fact scaled down to 18. The scaling down was consistent by one to two points. The following table reveals the mean and scaling score for Turkish over the past five years.

Table 2: Scaling Report for the Study of Turkish, 2017-2021								
Year	**Mean**	**20**	**25**	**30**	**35**	**40**	**45**	**50**
2021	29.9	18	23	28	34	39	44	50
2020	29.6	20	24	28	33	37	43	50
2019	29.4	19	23	28	32	37	43	50
2018	28.6	18	23	28	33	39	44	50
2017	30.3	17	22	28	34	39	43	50

Source: VCAT, 2017-2021

Table 2 shows that whilst the mean score received was higher in 2017 than the most recent 2021 data, the scaling was slightly lower (one-point) in three subject scores compared to 2017 and 2021 scaling. On average, Turkish was not a subject that necessarily scaled above the study score. In comparison with other subject areas, Turkish was not disadvantaged. However, when viewing a comparative of languages, Turkish did not receive advantageous scaling as most languages, such as Chinese, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Indonesian, Italian, Korea, Macedonian, Vietnamese, and Latin which was boosted between five to fifteen points. In fact, Turkish was one of the six languages, from over 40, which were scaled down, including Arabic, Auslan, Chin Hakha, Khmer, and Portuguese. Further factors impacting subject preferences to

study a language are also the differentiation between certain languages taught. Whilst Turkish is offered only as a standard language; such languages as Chinese, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Japanese, and Korean are offered as both first-speaker and second-speaker languages. The 2021 scaling report shows students studying a language as a second-speaker received a higher scaled score than the subject score received. Student's capacity and fluency in the studying the Turkish language may impact those who already do not feel proficient in the language.

The VCAA reveals previous years' enrolment of the final year in secondary schooling and the graded examination assessment results. The following table reflects the Year 12 oral and written assessment enrolments, from the years 2014 to 2020. The data reflects a shift in enrolment numbers, distinctly representative of an ongoing declining pattern.

Table 3: Number of VCAA students enrolled and assessed in the final oral and written examination, VCE LOTE Turkish (Unit 4)

Year	VCAA Students Enrolled	VCAA Students Assessed
2014	172	159
2015	153	133
2016	152	137
2017	128	116
2018	112	96
2019	111	100
2020	106	100

Source: Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2015-2021

Student enrolment numbers into the study of the Turkish language have decreased over the years, from 1845 pupil enrolments at primary and secondary schooling in 2010 to 1074 in 2020, the year of the pandemic spiraling. The declining enrolments into the study of Turkish continue to reveal a concerning pattern of descend as the table below shows. The Department of Education and Training reveal the following data below reflecting the shift of student enrolment numbers into the study of the Turkish language over the past decade.

Table 4: Number of student enrolments in Turkish in government primary and secondary schools and the VSL

Schools	2010	2012	2016	2020
State Primary School	652	733	521	424
VSL Primary School	468	431	341	234
State Secondary School	286	254	280	241
VSL Secondary School	439	398	254	175
Total Students Studying Turkish	**1845**	**1816**	**1396**	**1074**

Source: DE&T

Upon revisiting families after a two-year interval, and particularly, speaking with families during the global pandemic lockdown restrictions, the present data reveals that for the forty-nine per cent of families who previously had children enrolled into Turkish, all were impacted by the onslaught of COVID-19 and the closure of schools. The shift from face-to-face classroom learning to remote-platform online learning added further implications.

A vast majority had either ceased the enrolment of Turkish in its entirety or did not place as much emphasis on the study of the language, focusing more on core subjects such as English and Mathematics to ensure literacy and numeracy skills did not fall below standard curriculum level. The shift marked the complexities of online learning, particularly for students who may have already been struggling at school. For all forty-nine percent of families who had children enrolled into Turkish school, face-to-face learning ceased. Victoria experienced being the most locked down city in the world with a total of 262 days in 'lockdown,' with students losing over 121 days in onsite, face-to-face, learning since March, 2020. Whilst the official data from students' state standardized testing is yet to be revealed, families acknowledge that their child's learning was greatly impacted during remote learning. For many families, parents did not wish to add undue stress upon students who were already overwhelmed with online learning that focused on greater independency and isolation. Furthermore, there was also a consistent view across many families in minimizing the amount of screen time and study from home. Some schools had even implemented a no-homework policy and lesson reduction time whilst in remote learning platform. During online discussions, one parent highlighted, *"I don't want my child to go to school on Saturday and risk them getting COVID, or have them stress over learning from home when I struggle to help them with their studies because I have to work from home as well and can't help them like a teacher. Even if I wanted to, when schools reopened, I couldn't take my kids to Saturday school because their school closed down"* (Family 32, Mother). The COVID-19 lockdown restrictions and classes moving into remote learning impacted schools such as AusTurk which, for the current school year of 2022, ceased all enrolments and classes.

Whilst AusTurk has ceased all its Turkish classes in 2022, amid decreasing enrolments and the impact of COVID-19, the following table reflects the declining enrolments of students studying Turkish at VSL from primary schooling, through to the final year of secondary, Year 12, over a five-year period.

Table 5: Total enrolments from primary to secondary schooling, VSL Turkish

Year	Number of Enrolments
2022	347
2021	410
2020	396
2019	563
2018	542

Source: VSL, 2022

The decreasing enrolment numbers of students studying Turkish at VSL continued to show a pattern of decline from 2020, the year the COVID-19 pandemic struck. Over the five-year period, from its peak in 2019 with 563 students to its current year in 2022 with 347 students, found a decrease of 216 students enrolled into Turkish at VSL. The VSL campuses for Turkish enrolments have decreased from ten to eight campuses with regional areas in Victoria, Mildura, and Shepparton, impacted.

The predicament of sending children to Turkish school on Saturdays, in particular, during the era of COVID-19 was also recurring amongst families. Whilst for some families, the decision not to send children to school on Saturdays, prior to COVID-19, was due to an influx of sporting activities held on Saturdays or subject preferences; in the era of COVID, families reported hesitations of sending their child to school, even when onsite learning recommenced, out of fear of COVID exposure. Multiple families revealed that their child had *"lost"* so much schooling in the past two years from their mainstream education that they did not want to pose further undue pressure with Saturday schooling. As one parent reflected, *"My kids have already stayed at home for their education a year-and-a-half of the past two years, what's a Saturday going to do for them?"* (Family 23, Father). The sense that Saturday schooling was placed with less value or of importance than their weekday mainstream education was reflected by numerous families who chose to take a pause on Saturday schooling. For a number of families who had children commencing school in the past year or two, the decision to postpone enrolment of Saturday school to later years, once the pandemic had dispersed, was also reflected as a precautionary measure. Whilst there were second- and third-generation Turkish speaking parents who continued to encourage their child's ongoing attendance in Turkish classes, revealing that their decision to continue with Turkish enrolment was crucial for their child's enhancement of the heritage language skills, there was also acknowledgement that the learning was interrupted. Parents noted that upon the event of restricted lockdown measures returning to remote learning, Saturday Turkish classes would commence the following week of any given lockdown, to allow teachers ample time for preparation. In advertently, the later commencement would result in disrupted learning of at least one week, each lockdown.

The data also revealed further contributing factors to the steep declining enrolments with families reporting gaps in the learning and teaching of Turkish such as an influx of first-generation Turkish speaking teachers' retirement. Proficiencies in the Turkish language, of both student and teacher capabilities, and the standard of the Turkish curriculum was also reflective in parents' decision to omit Turkish lessons, particularly the continual detriment of teaching Turkish as a first language to speakers of Turkish as a second language. One parent, refined the sentiment that many parents were articulating with the following predicament:

> *"My son studied Turkish up to Year 7, but because he attends a private school, they have Saturday school sports, and the school signs a contract that it's compulsory they do sports. My daughter went to Turkish school until about Year 9, but she didn't find it stimulating. The*

> *Turkish curriculum is very dry. Our numbers in enrolments into the Turkish subject have declined… We have gone from 300 to 150 students studying Year 12 Turkish… Students and families, rightly so, don't want to study Turkish Year 12 only to have it impact their final score for entrance into university. Most of the teachers on the panel are Turkish-speakers from Australia, not Turkey. And yet they are still teaching these students with the expectations as though Turkish is their first language. For many, it's not… I find kids, in our time, were happy to sit in a classroom and listen, but kids now have limited attention span. The problem is we also have some students who don't want to be there, are not engaged… There has to be an 'istek' (a want). There has to be parental involvement as well... The Year 12 Turkish Examination- not much has changed because these people's views have not changed. Our study scores are not getting any higher, if anything they've declined as well. The median score is 29. People who have been running the curriculum for so long don't want change… Unfortunately, we don't have many young-generation of teachers coming through to Turkish. They're not confident of teaching Turkish, so we're not going anywhere- no progress. Many families don't want their children to have their scores decrease in a subject that is not offering much. If you can see your car is going to crash, do you press the brakes or do you press the accelerator?"* (Family 35, Mother).

The VCAA data continues to reveal the descending trend of student enrolment declining across all schooling years, consistent with students opting out of Turkish studies in their final years. Turkish was considered within the top ten of languages studied in all government schools and VSL until the end of 2006. The most recent report on LOTE programs and language provisions across Victorian government schools in 2020 no longer finds Turkish within the top ten of languages studied. The table below further indicates the numbers across the top ten language enrolments.

Table 6: Total enrolments in the top ten language study in government primary and secondary schools, including VSL, contrasting 2006 and 2020

Language	Top 10 Enrolments	Percentage (%) of Total Enrolments
	2006	
Italian	93,352	25.7
Indonesian	83,596	23.0
Japanese	68,930	19.0
French	39,814	10.9
German	34,665	9.5
Chinese (Mandarin)	15,007	4.1
Auslan	7,252	2.0
Greek	4,781	1.3
Vietnamese	3,353	0.9
Turkish	2,160	0.6

Table 6: Continue		
Language	**Top 10 Enrolments**	**Percentage (%) of Total Enrolments**
	2020	
Chinese (Mandarin)	91,412	19.6
Italian	82,141	17.6
Japanese	80,398	17.3
Indonesian	61,929	13.3
French	53,670	11.5
Auslan	31,355	6.7
Spanish	23,003	4.9
German	19,050	4.1
Vietnamese	2,920	0.6
Aboriginal Languages	2,791	0.6
Source: DE&T, 2006; 2020		

Student enrolment numbers into the study of the Turkish language began to decrease even prior to the pandemic with a mass exodus of members from the Turkish community at community schools associated with political affiliations. The shift in the student profile at such schools also affected the languages taught, shifting from teaching Turkish to now offering languages such as Arabic and French. In 2020, students enrolled into the study of Turkish consisted of 0.2 per cent with 1,074 students in total. The decline of student enrolments into the study of the Turkish language further highlights the shift in language preferences amongst third- and fourth-generation speakers and a need for ongoing research to the long-term effects of COVID-19 on heritage language maintenance. Clearly, the inevitable pauses to visits to extended family members and the heritage home, due to lockdown restrictions, may have also attributed to the shift in language preferences and patterns.

Furthermore, the VCE Year 12 Turkish Examination was also reflected by some families as being *"too challenging"* and at the detriment of students not only as the study was taught as a first language, but also due to the language barrier posed in the exam paper which required students to respond in both Turkish and English. When speaking to an assessor of the Turkish Examination, they shared their observations of students' papers. For students who studied Turkish as a second language, their responses to questions in Turkish scored relatively low; whilst for a student who may have migrated to Australia and studied Turkish as a first language, the questions reflecting a response in English did not generally score as high. In advertently, a student who may be highly proficient and fluent in Turkish was disadvantaged with the English response section. Ultimately, this factor also contributed to families deciding against the study of Turkish in fear of any risk to the ATAR score.

4. Discussion

Despite the pause in Turkish Saturday schooling and the decline in enrolment numbers, families felt that there was a shift in the language spoken at home. Families were spending

more time together and as a result communication within the family home altered. With the onset of working from home, with both parents at home (and in many cases, even grandparents' role, particularly in the circumstance of living within the same household), the presence of the home language was more profound. As a result, the dynamic in the family home shifted with more communication. One parent reflects on the impact of lockdown as follows:

> *"We're spending more time at home and altogether that we found ourselves watching a Turkish film every night to pass the time. My husband is more fluent in Turkish and with him working from home, we were speaking more Turkish, whereas in the past the kids would be speaking mainly English because it was mostly them talking to one another or me. All of a sudden, we were all present and instead of resorting to our separate rooms, we spent more time together as a whole family. Yes, they weren't attending Turkish school, but I felt like they were speaking more Turkish at home. It was like we went back to times when we were kids and spent quality time as a family."* (Family 43, Mother).

For all families who participated in the discussion forum, the consistent approach of tending to mental health, care and wellbeing was of far greater importance than any learning measures with the closure of onsite schooling. Whilst participation in sporting activities and being outdoors was important for families prior to COVID-19, it became of even greater significance during lockdown restrictions. According to the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), Australia saw an increase in psychological distress and the use of mental health services, with an increase in self-harm amongst youth groups (2021). The resounding message between families reflected the precedence of their child's health and wellbeing above all else.

Furthermore, the impact of technology, including the onslaught of social media platforms and gaming consoles, also reflected a shift in intergenerational dispositions. Families providing commentary on the use of technology as an additive to language maintenance acknowledged that unless technology was used to facilitate and enhance heritage language use and connection, the language choice filtered continued to show preference for English as the source of communication method. The impact of technology on student learning and attention span was also a point of recognition, with one parent sharing:

> *"Yes, technology has had its positives, but it also brings negatives with it as well. Our needs today are different. Quality family time is diminishing and as a result, the cultural and language experience is impacted. There's also a generational aspect. The younger generation's values and interests are different. They're resistant, they feel distressed, and that then concerns parents who decide not to put their child through the ordeal of Turkish school. Whereas, with us, our parents dropped us off to Saturday school regardless of whether you were tired or cried."* (Family 7, Mother).

The use of technology and the adverse effects during remote learning continue to be investigated with ongoing research into the impact of COVID-19 and the risks associated with online learning. Reports of increased emotional and social development challenges continue to prompt the investigation of the negative impact of online learning on both physical and mental health (Halupa, 2016). Studies have found that the move to online learning resulted in a decrease in learning time and a decline in assessment results, particularly for lower achievers (Bird et al., 2021). According to one study, findings showed that nearly half of Australian students were impacted by the move to online study with forty-six per cent in early years and vulnerable groups to be at risk of adverse effects of development and disconnection (Brown et al., 2020).

5. Conclusion

Contrary to assumptions made by concerned parents, the link between early years education and learning a language, with even one hour per week of a second language in the early years of primary schooling, benefits reading and literacy levels in English (Clyne, 1995). During COVID-19 restrictions, the remote learning platform placed emphasis on the home learning environment. For those who may have already been struggling, the expectation of greater independent learning brought light to the challenges faced by students. The link between parental involvement, the home family environment and communication revealed not only greater resilience and a sense of belonging, but also served as a sanctuary to foster both wellbeing and identity. In studies of Indigenous communities, findings reveal the significance of cultural identity and belonging to purpose and positive mindset (Wexler, 2009). In addition to the family home, the school environment serves as a platform to protect, accelerate, and promote both identity and belonging. For CLS, the connection between school and the heritage language serves as an asset to the membership of its culture. The importance of communities initiating high vitality strategies to maintain their heritage language, and governments implementing policies to preserve languages, is essential. Whilst the family home remains a significant environment in the sustainability of the heritage language, the success of initiatives such as the ongoing enrolment into Community Language Schools also serves as a successful measure to maintaining heritage languages. A significant number of families conflicted between the association of language as fundamental to identity as culture, and the contrasting view that one may still possess cultural identity without speaking the language. Initiatives into the promotion of Australia's community languages is essential. Ongoing studies reveal that without the fundamental use of explicitly and purposefully speaking the heritage/community language, the link to cultural identity will weaken across generations.

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Comparison of the Primary School Turkish Program Implemented in Turkiye and the Primary School French Program Implemented in France

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ABSTRACT
Every country follows a different program for teaching the mother tongue. In some countries, states apply different programs for their students and in some the national education program is central and applied in the same way throughout the country. Turkiye and France apply the programs defined by their ministries of national education. In this study, the Turkish teaching program and French teaching program in primary schools have been analyzed and compared in terms of learning outcomes and program structure. The common points and differences between the programs have been identified. Students start systematic language learning in primary school. When students have proficiency in their mother language, they become successful learners in other fields of study. Thus, primary schools play a vital role in educating individuals by raising their awareness about the importance of using their mother language appropriately and effectively. In Turkiye, primary school is 4 years and it is not divided into parts. In France primary school is 5 years and it is divided into two parts in terms of students' skills development. Students' language development starts with the family and continues at school. The role of classroom teachers and mother language teachers cannot be overlooked.
Keywords: National Education Program, Mother Language, French Program, Turkish Program, Primary School

1. Introduction

Your native language can be defined as the language you first learned, the language of your family, the language of your identity, or the official language of your country of origin. The most common definition is the language learned in childhood, and it has important emotional, linguistic, cultural and social responsibilities. Your native language serves as the basis for building basic learning in life.

Mother language teaching is one of the most important roles of the family and school. Individuals discover the world around them with their mother language. They develop their language skills through their mother language and they gain perspective with their mother language. They understand and learn about other disciplines first with their mother language, if they are not bilingual. In addition, individuals develop their personal and cultural identity through their mother language. Inadequate mother language teaching leads to individuals who are unsuccessful both in daily life and in academic life.

According to Koç (2021), following similar educational programs makes international student evaluations more common and more objective, as similar programs target similar educational outcomes. With the applications of those programs, targeted skills and behaviors are evaluated according to international criteria and it is possible to deliver feedback about the educational progress of the countries comparatively (Koç, 2021).

The United Nations offers a language teaching model which is applicable for all languages taught. When defining language competence, it is necessary to have a common understanding of the functions of the language. According to the common language model, the key components are the evaluation of language competence, and construction and delivery of the content. When the United Nations language model was created, the nature of human communication and language users' role as individuals and social actors were taken into consideration. In this model, the learner is placed at the center and the action-oriented nature of human communication is emphasized. According to this model, the circles of language competence subcategories are as follows: the main sub-categories of language competence are pragmatic competence, linguistic competence, and sociocultural competence; the sub-categories of those competences are functional competence, grammatical competence, and cross-cultural competence (UN, 2018).

In teaching the native language of the country in a classroom, bilingual children with different linguistic backgrounds need to be considered. The home language and culture of students may vary. The schools and the teachers need to have awareness of multilingual and multicultural students while teaching the mainstream language of the society. Bilingual students may not be familiar with the mainstream language as much as their monolingual peers are. Helot and Young (2002) suggest the following regarding teaching the mother language in a multilingual class:

> "Through language awareness activities, bilingual children can be given the opportunity to share with their peers and their teachers their personal experiences of speaking more than one

> language and of belonging to more than one culture. Teachers can thus begin to understand not only what it means to hold more than one identity but to realise that we all have composite identities which reflect the multiplicity and diversity of our belongings" (p.110).

We frequently come across studies in the literature comparing the mother tongue teaching programs different of countries. As a result of these comparisons, which include Turkey, it has been revealed that the curricula of countries have common and different aspects in terms of approach and content. In their study, Erdoğan and Gök (2007) compared the mother tongue curricula in Turkey, Finland and Ireland, and found that all three countries adopted a constructivist approach as common points, and as for differences, they stated that the curricula of Ireland and Finland mostly address the emotional/affective domain and the curriculum of Turkey addresses the cognitive domain. (Erdoğan and Gök, 2011).

Teaching the mother tongue needs to be evaluated for bilingual children as well. For bilingual children, teaching the mother tongue is very important for teaching the mainstream language. Teaching Turkish to children living in France is important for their learning French and using it in academic contexts. The mainstream language and the children's mother languages being different should not be recognized as a disadvantage but rather a richness for a child. For this reason, teaching Turkish first will help children learn French effectively. Turkish, which has a high vitality and is spoken by a large population in France, can be maintained through giving new generations a sound mother language education (Akıncı, 2017).

In this study, the Turkish teaching program applied in primary school in Turkey and the French teaching program implemented in primary school in France are compared by examining the reports and programs published by their ministries of national education.

Turkish and French Education Systems

Education trains individuals in different respects (academically, psychologically, and emotionally) by giving the knowledge in different disciplines of life. Since the foundation of the Turkish republic, not only social but also educational reforms have been introduced. Reforms in education can be done periodically to follow international developments in education. One of the most important reforms in national education in Turkey was the transition to 12 years of compulsory education (4 years of primary school, 4 years of middle school, and 4 years of high school) in 2012. Together with these modifications, the Turkish mother tongue teaching program, textbooks, and methods have also been revised. In 2005-2006 education year, the sentence-based teaching model was transformed into the phonetic-based teaching method, as sentence-based teaching was thought to be an obstacle to global and critical thinking. In the old method, students were more directed towards memorization. For mother tongue teaching, phonetic-based teaching, which is no longer practiced, was used in Europe as well. In Turkey, preschool education is not obligatory and the age of starting school is 6 (it was previously 7). As for the French education system, kindergartens are part of all primary schools and parents

are asked to actively participate in schooling. Kindergartens, which have existed since 1881 in France, have been compulsory since 2021 starting from the age of 3. In the French education system, preschool education is important for acquiring the basics of reading and writing. There is strong collaboration between kindergarten and first grade. However, in the Turkish system preschool education is not obligatory and children start learning the basics of reading and writing in the first grade of elementary school, which makes their skills acquisition one year behind in comparison to their French peers (Bozavlı, 2017).

Onan (2016) suggests effective methods which can be embedded in Turkish teaching programs. The suggested methods make the language learning process more meaningful and permanent. In Turkish programs, discussions, criticisms, using multiple sense-oriented activities, connecting the subjects to real life situations, pre-assumptions, verbal symbols, and associations can be utilized. Students have different learning styles and different language learning backgrounds. The communication skills of the teacher play an important role in the learning process. Communication is an important part of the learning and teaching process. In the learning process, the brain reaches meaning through examples. Exemplifying the content is highly important for comprehending the subject. Students should not be directed to memorization. For transferring information from short-term memory to long-term memory, predicting, reasoning, analysis, synthesis, criticizing, discussion, interpreting, and questioning methods should be used. Memory training in the early ages of children has a positive effect on their understanding, concentration, and short-long term memory capacity. To benefit from such an effective teaching model, the Turkish teaching programs should be revised from preschool education to train competent language users (Onan, 2016).

For mother tongue development, the first responsible stakeholder is the family. Children start using the language which is spoken around them. First teachers are the first caregivers in the family, who may be parents, grandparents, or babysitters. Systematic language learning starts in primary school and the teachers have the primary role in teaching the mother tongue systematically. In systematic language teaching, writing is taught together with verbal expression. Turkish education includes listening, verbal expression, reading, writing, and visual reading/perception. Turkish and French education differ in some respects in mother tongue education. In the French education system, preparation for learning the mother tongue (such as listening, reading, and writing) starts from preschool. Listening is the fundamental skill which is prioritized to be developed first. Teachers prepare classroom activities for developing listening skills and make seating arrangements accordingly. In addition, they teach how to open and hold books and pencils, regular linear writing, and other exercises to develop muscles. In this way, the children start school with basic skills for systematic language learning. In Turkey, as kindergarten is not so common, these authentic preparation activities are done in the first grade and teachers spend a lot of time on such activities. Another point is that classrooms are not homogenous in terms of students' background mother tongue development, as some of

them attend preschool education and some do not. Thus, it is inevitable that a primary school student in France has better language progress than their Turkish peers in terms of mother tongue development (Bozavlı, 2017).

Acquiring necessary competences in mother language ensures the acquisition of competences in other languages and other fields of study. Although there may be confusion about the effects of mother language, acquired proficiency in mother language contributes to learning the target languages (Giroux, 2016: 56).

The French primary school program consists of five years, which are named CP (Preparation class), CE1 (elementary class 1), CE2 (elementary class 2), CM1 (middle class 1), and CM2 (middle class 2). *College* continues with 6th, 5th, 4th, and 3rd classes/grades. In primary school the students have 10 hours of French lessons each week (Le Bulletin official de l'education nationale, 2018).

The Turkish school system consists of 3 cycles: the first cycle is primary school (4 years), the second cycle is secondary school (4 years), and the third cycle is high school (4 years). Obligatory education is 12 years in Turkey. In the first two years of primary school, Turkish lessons are 10 hours a week, and in the second two years of primary school Turkish lessons are 8 hours a week. As for secondary school, in the 5th and 6th grades Turkish lessons are 6 hours a week and in the 7th and 8th grades they are 5 hours a week (MEB, 2021).

Pattern of the Study

In this study, a descriptive model is used, as it aims to identify the differences and similarities between the Turkish teaching program and the French teaching program.

In this study, the mother tongue curricula of Turkey and France were examined using the document analysis method, one of the qualitative research methods. Document analysis is the examination of sources obtained on the researched subject in accordance with scientific principles (Kıral, 2020).

Turkish Teaching Program

The targeted skills defined in the Basic Law of National Education (No. 1739) for Turkish programs, which is prepared according to the aims and principles of Turkish National Education, are as follows (Milli Eğitim Temel Kanunu, 1973: 5101-5112):

"*Improving listening/monitoring, speaking, reading and writing.

*Using Turkish consciously, correctly, and carefully in line with the rules of Turkish writing and speaking.

*Helping students gain reading and writing habits.

*Improving the imaginary world, emotions and ideas, and vocabulary knowledge of students in relation with their reading and listening.

* Expressing ones' own opinion and feelings in a spoken or written discourse clearly.

*Improving research, discovery, and interpretation skills of students.

*Having access to different media (printed or virtual), arranging information, questioning, and using and producing information.

*By comprehending texts, having a questioning and criticizing perspective.

*Strengthening national feelings and ideas, placing importance on national, spiritual, ethical, historical, cultural, and social values.

*Realizing aesthetic and artistic values through Turkish and world culture and art works''.

Themes in the Turkish Program

In the Turkish program, the themes are recycled throughout the grades. They are "virtues, national culture awareness, national struggle and Atatürk, individuals and society, reading culture, communication, rights and freedoms, personal development, science and technology, health and sports, time and space, emotions, nature and universe, art, citizenship, and children's imaginary world" (MEB, 2018).

8 themes are used at all grade levels and 4 texts are utilized for each theme. 3 of these texts are reading and 1 is a listening/watching text. Thus, a total of 32 reading and listening/watching texts are used throughout the books. Text types are grouped under 3 main forms: informative, narrative, and poetry.

The targeted gains for each skill area and for each grade are given in detail in the Turkish Teaching Program that was implemented in 2019. All schools apply this program and prepare teaching materials in line with the aims defined in the program (MEB, 2019). 1st grade, 2nd grade, 3rd grade, and 4th grade Turkish language teaching program target achievements (according to the "Primary Turkish language course teaching program" published by the Ministry of Education in 2019) are summarized as follows.

1st Grade Turkish Program

In grade 1, children learn to differentiate natural and non-natural sounds as they improve their listening skills. The students can differentiate the sounds which correspond to a letter. By looking at the visuals, the students can guess the meaning of the text that they are going to read or listen to. The students can determine the topic of the subjects that they are listening to and respond appropriately to questions. They can follow verbal instructions and listening strategies. They understand non-verbal messages. For speaking, they use words appropriately. They can produce spontaneous speech and can talk about subjects by applying speaking strategies when the context of the subject is given. The reading part is divided into two parts, which are preparation for reading and fluent reading. They can read syllables and words. They can read short and easy texts and pay attention to punctuation marks, stress, and intonation. They can read texts written in different handwriting. They can guess the opposite meaning of words, answer questions related to visuals, and guess the content of the text from visuals. They can

understand the texts and give appropriate responses to the comprehension questions related to the texts. They can find an appropriate title for the text and understand the meaning of shapes and symbols. As for writing, they can do painting and drawing and write letters appropriately. They can write syllables, words and numbers appropriately. They can write related words for given visuals. They can leave appropriate gaps between words and sentences. They can use capital letters and punctuation marks appropriately in their writing. They can support their writing with visuals and revise/correct what they have written (MEB, 2019).

2nd Grade Turkish Program

In grade 2, students can guess the subject of a text from visuals and they can also guess the development and conclusion of an event from visuals. Students in this grade can retell a text they have heard, determine the subjects of texts they have heard, respond to questions about texts they have heard, suggest different titles for texts they have heard, follow oral instructions, and understand non-verbal messages. As for speaking, they can use vocabulary appropriately, speak spontaneously, talk about a subject in a given framework, and apply speaking strategies. For reading, the targeted skills are fluent reading, vocabulary acquisition, and comprehension. They can understand the basic parts in reading materials, and read by paying attention to punctuation marks, stress, and intonation. They can read poems. They can read texts written in different writing styles and handwriting. They can guess the meaning of unknown words from visuals. They can guess the opposite meaning and synonyms of words. They can understand the general sense of a text. They can answer questions on the texts they have read. They can find an appropriate title for a text. They can recognize different text types. They can define the elements of a story; they can understand written instructions. They can also understand the meaning of symbols, shapes, and signs. As for writing, they can write meaningful and correct sentences. They can write poems and short texts. They can support their writing with visuals. They can find an appropriate title for their writing. They can use capital letters and punctuation in the correct places. They can correct their own writing mistakes. They can use question marks appropriately. They can apply writing strategies (MEB, 2019).

3rd Grade Turkish Program

In grade 3, students can guess the subject of a text that they are going to listen to. They can guess what will happen in a story. They can define the theme of a story that they listen to. They can give appropriate answers to questions related to a text that they listen to. They can state their own opinion in relation to what they listen to. They can explain what they listen to. They can ask questions related to the events, characters, and setting (who, where, what, how). They can follow the courtesy/politeness rules of listening and responding. As for speaking, in addition to the skills acquired in the previous grades, they can join discussions in the classroom. They can address others and respond appropriately, they know the rules of not interrupting others,

they can wait for others to finish speaking, and they know when to take turns. For reading, they can understand the proverbs in a text and they can make up a word list from the texts with their meanings. In addition to previously acquired skills, they can understand e-mail and social media contents (invitations, thank you messages, etc.). They can distinguish between real and imaginary elements in a text. They can make inferences about what they read. They can find different solutions for different problems given in a text. They can associate the content of a text read with the visuals. The relationship between image and subject is emphasized. They can understand the meanings of shapes, symbols, signs, figures, and written instructions. They can utilize materials such as maps, advertisements, posters, product labels, and user manuals. They can answer questions about the information in tables and graphics. They can write letters and short memories. They can write events in order and express their feelings and ideas. They can fill in forms in accordance with instructions. They can use capital letters and punctuation where appropriate. Students are encouraged to read what they have written in class and display it on the school or classroom board. They can write letters in accordance with their structural features. It is ensured that the students can write letters paying attention to the main and additional elements in their writings. It is ensured that students write carefully, legibly, and neatly by leaving appropriate spaces between words (MEB, 2019).

4th Grade Turkish Program

In the fourth grade, improving the higher order thinking skills of students is targeted and a variety of additional skills are added, such as following and evaluating media content and using digital content. For the targeted skills in grade 4, the skills targeted in grade 1, 2, and 3 are repeated and new skills are added. Media texts (advertising, public service announcements, etc.) are played/watched so that students can make inferences about their target audience and purpose. It is ensured that students question the content of what they listen to/watch in terms of consistency between different texts. Students can implement listening strategies. They can make inferences about what they read. They can identify problems and develop solutions for those problems. They can determine the authors' point of view in a text. They can make comparisons between texts and underline keywords. They can understand the content of digital texts. They can construct electronic mails and social media content such as advertisements, announcements, different types of messages, travel blogs, etc. They can evaluate written sources in different genres like brochures, journals, and newspapers. They can edit a text and pay attention to punctuation, write conjunctions (de, ki) appropriately, and pay attention to grammatical correctness. They can fill in forms in accordance with given guidelines. They can write abbreviations and know the meaning of them. They can write numbers correctly. They can use words with real, metaphorical, and terminological meanings in their writing. Students are encouraged to create their own writing styles and implement writing strategies (MEB, 2019).

French Teaching Program

Since 2014, the French school program has been divided into four cycles. The first cycle is the "*maternalle*" section, which includes "*petite, moyenne, and grande*" sections. The second and third cycles are elementary school. The second cycle is divided into three parts: CP, CE1, and CE2. The third cycle is divided into three parts: *CM1, CM2, and 6th* grades. Cycle four is college, which consists of 5th, 4th, and 3rd grades (Bulletin officiel n° 30 du 26-7-2018).

The targeted values in the French teaching program are, "respecting, diversity, equity, commitment to achieving excellence, collaboration, truth and integrity. Core skills and competencies are critical thinking and problem solving, creativity and innovation, communication and collaboration, cultural identity and global citizenship, personal development and leadership and digital literacy" (Gil, 2020).

In preschool education, the students develop oral and listening skills. They understand the function of writing. At this level, vocabulary acquisition and phonological awareness are emphasized. Students discover alphabetic principles and the regularities of language. Children learn the basis of their mother language, French, and the benchmarks for learning French are given in preschool. Teaching French aims to give children communication skills, helping them living in society and making the entry into other fields easier. The basics of all fields can be achieved through the mother tongue. In CE2, basic skills in reading and writing are integrated for all students, and during this cycle, explicit learning of French is programmed at certain hours each day.

It can be noted that early studies in the didactics of writing production were naturally interested in the characteristics of texts produced by students in order to explain the discrepancy between the performance achieved or achievable, and the explicit or implicit expectations of the school writing exercises (Plane, 2008).

Cycle 1. First Learning Cycle (*Petite*, *Moyenne*, and *Grande* sections of *maternalle*)

In the French program, preschool education is the period in which children learn the basics of the language and develop their language skills. In preschool education, speaking is emphasized. The mastery of alphabetical code and identification and memorization of words are frequent activities. For successful integration into other disciplines, learning French is the foundation. Written and oral expression are important in improving the ability to express oneself. The strategies for understanding are that texts are taught explicitly. In teaching students, the flow of a conversation, taking turns, debating, etc. are also emphasized (Bulletin officiel n° 30 du 26-7-2018).

Cycle 2. Cycle of Fundamental Learning (CP, CE1, and CE2)

Targeted skills in CP, CE1, and CE2 are as follows. The skills have been evaluated under three categories, which have their own subcategories. Firstly, oral language skill focuses on

listening and understanding the spoken communication, expressing oneself easily, and taking a part in discussions by paying attention to distance. Reading comprehension focuses on recognizing and identifying words, understanding a text, reading texts from different genres, and reading aloud. Writing skill focuses on copying a written or spoken text, writing texts, and correcting ones' own writing after re-reading it. Students pay attention to and learn the specific characteristics of grammar, spelling, and lexical aspects of the language (Eurydice, 2022).

In this cycle, understanding and expressing oneself are emphasized. The students can listen to and respond to texts read by adults. They can take part in different communicative contexts. They can identify words easily. They can understand a text and give appropriate answers. They can revise and correct their own writing. They can understand how language works and learn about spelling (Bulletin officiel n° 30 du 26-7-2018).

Reading and writing develop in connection with each other. Reading and writing are systematic part of language learning, and they develop along with other learning at school. In CP, children recognize the letters and sounds, and they achieve deciphering and automatic identification of words. Over the three years, autonomy in reading a variety of texts is acquired. They can understand a variety of texts, including informative texts, throughout the three years. Reading and practicing different texts improve students' general knowledge, vocabulary, and perspectives. Reading practice contributes to writing. In CP, students practice first writing activities, which are matching the letters with sounds and phonemes. At the end of CP, letter code automation should be completed.

Texts are taken from heritage literature, ranging from albums, novels, tales, fables, and poems to theatre. Texts are adapted to the children's age and language levels. Reading for different motivations, like for pleasure or for obtaining information, is encouraged. With copying, students improve the spelling of the words and they avoid making orthographic mistakes. They learn to produce the standardized layout of the letters. They learn to write using handwriting or digitally. They learn to copy and transcribe from different media, such as books, tables, posters, etc. To start writing, it is not necessary to be a fluent reader (Bulletin officiel n° 30 du 26-7-2018).

Cycle 3. Consolidation Cycle (CM1, CM2, and 6th grade)

In oral language skills, listening to understand and comprehend, speaking while taking the audience into account, taking part in a variety of spoken discourse, and taking on a role and an attitude in an interaction are emphasized. For reading and written communication, having the ability to read fluently by understanding the text, understanding texts from different disciplines including literary texts, interpreting the images and symbols, perceiving one's comprehension, and reading without needing any guidance are emphasized. Skills focused on at this level are paying attention to grammar, speaking, and lexicon; understanding the differentiation between oral and written language; identifying the parts of a sentence; acquiring lexical spelling; and comprehending the constituents of a complex sentence (Eurydice, 2022).

In this cycle, similar to the previous level, understanding and expressing oneself and listening to understand a message are targeted. The students can prepare a speech that takes the audience into account. They can read fluently and they can adopt a critical attitude towards what they read and what they listen to. They can write by hand efficiently and fluently. They can understand and interpret documents and images. They can write on a keyboard. They can become autonomous readers. They can understand the elements of language and how language works. After listening to a story, they can give related responses without depending on the text. They can master the relationship between listening and speaking. They can participate in interactions actively. They can give presentations, say a text from memory, and make short presentations with a slideshow or based on their notes. They can understand historical and artistic works by describing and interpreting them. They can have cultural exchanges and have awareness about cultural richness. In music education, developing listening skills is targeted by introducing songs from different foreign or regional languages, and in math, science, and technology lessons, teaching scientific language is targeted. Students also are trained in expressing themselves in different contexts like theatrical practice, and communicating their feelings through different gestures and bodily codes through gymnastic and acrobatic performances (Le Bulletin official de l'education nationale, 2018).

In cycle 3, students acquire literary understanding and interpretation of texts by connecting the content with their own personal experience. Students are encouraged to read complex and long texts. Students are also encouraged to read such texts from other disciplines. Readings are discussed in classes and different perspectives are voiced. In this cycle, students are first introduced to literary and artistic culture. In CM1 and CM2, the teaching of French is the responsibility of classroom teachers, and four basic language skills (speaking, reading, listening, and writing) are integrated into all lessons. In 6th grade, this teaching is provided by the French teacher, a specialist in literature and the French language. All the other courses contribute to the mastery of the language. Grammar teaching starts with spelling and it continues at all levels. In grammar teaching, the aim is to train the students to think about the language. It is not the memorization of grammatical rules, but about the functions of grammar which help in understanding a sentence. The aim here is to help the students to understand the language as an organized system regulated by rules which evolved historically (Bulletin officiel n° 30 du 26-7-2018).

2. Discussion and Conclusion

Mother language education is vital for students' further academic and personal success. If students learn their home language in an efficient way, it enables them to learn other languages effectively, in addition to ensuring academic achievement (Cummins, 1979).

Prioritizing the children's first language before the age of six is crucial for children's further academic achievement. In societies where there is more than one official language, it

is observed that the mother tongue has primary importance. When teaching a foreign language, the concepts should be taught by basing them on the mother language. In other words, in order to teach a foreign language successfully the mother tongue needs have a sound foundation (Rogers, 2014).

In both the Turkish and French programs, targeted skills are recycled, which means repeating similar skills by adding new skills to higher levels. The French program includes teaching grammar, and the rules are taught from the beginning. Explicit grammar teaching is not suggested for young learners even if it is their native language. For reading, Akyol (2015) states that the most important skill that a person gains is literacy and it is not only a technical skill but also related to senses, feelings, and perceptions. Every individual may not gain this skill at the expected time and in the expected way. In classrooms, every student may show different levels of progress in terms of their language development. When the program for targeted skills is implemented efficiently, it is sure to obtain successful outcomes.

When both the Turkish and French programs are been analyzed, different and common points are identified in both of the programs. Both are operated by the Ministry of National Education. They share the point that the national education is central. The program may look very idealized. In practice, all the targeted skills may not be realized fully. The materials for these programs need to be evaluated for further studies. The materials need to be prepared in line with those targeted aims. Teacher training is another important point for the success of the mother language teaching programs. The teacher training programs should be revised to train more qualified teachers. Mother language teaching is not only the responsibility of the Turkish or French language teachers. It is the responsibility of other fields teachers, like math, science, and arts teachers, to include training regular classroom teachers. Another stakeholder for the students' mother language development is the family. They need to be conscious about their children's language development.

Mother tongue learning can be improved through providing mother language materials, by beginning literacy through mother tongue, and by training teachers about language learning and supporting them with effective teaching methods (Nishanthi, 2020).

The programs evaluated in this study are idealized school programs. Those targeted skills may not be achieved a hundred percent. When the programs of the two countries are compared, in terms of skills improvement there is not much difference. In both of the programs, four skills are emphasized, with different strategies. There are systematic differences between Turkish and French programs in that the French program starts at an earlier stage than the Turkish program and French children acquire the basics of their language at an earlier age.

Further studies could focus on teaching Turkish as a foreign language in France and teaching French in Turkey. Nurlu (2013) mentions that Turkish is taught as a mother tongue and culture, and also taught in an "alive languages" framework. In Turkey, teaching French as a foreign language has a long history due to bilateral relations between the two countries.

Historically, how those languages are taught, how they have improved, and how they have gained commonality can be analyzed in comparative studies.

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Le Bulletin official de l'education nationale/ Ministre de l'education nationale/ Programme d'enseignement du cycle de consolidation (cycle 3)

TANIM

İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi'nin yayını olan Dilbilim Dergisi, açık erişimli, hakemli, yılda iki kere yayınlanan, çok dilli bilimsel bir dergidir. 2009 yılında kurulmuştur.

AMAÇ VE KAPSAM

Dilbilim Dergisi, esas olarak sosyal bilimler ve beşeri bilimler alanlarında dilbilim ile ilgili konuların incelendiği, araştırıldığı bir platform sağlar. Derginin amacı dilbilim konusunda kaliteli makaleler yayınlayarak alana ilişkin bilgiye katkıda bulunmaktır. Derginin hedef kitlesini akademisyenler, araştırmacılar, profesyoneller, öğrenciler ve ilgili mesleki, akademik kurum ve kuruluşlar oluşturur.

Dilbilim Dergisi'nin kapsamı dilbilim, göstergebilim, edebiyat, çeviri çalışmaları ve öğrenme bilimleri ve ilgili alanlardan oluşur. Dergi, Türkçe, Fransızca ve İngilizce araştırma, derleme, kısa bildiri makaleleri yayınlar.

EDİTORYAL POLİTİKALAR VE HAKEM SÜRECİ

Yayın Politikası

Dergiye yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makalelerin içeriği derginin amaç ve kapsamı ile uyumlu olmalıdır. Dergi, orijinal araştırma niteliğindeki yazıları yayınlamaya öncelik vermektedir.

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir.

Ön değerlendirmeyi geçen yazılar iThenticate intihal tarama programından geçirilir. İntihal incelemesinden sonra, uygun makaleler Editör tarafından orijinaliteleri, metodolojileri, makalede ele alınan konunun önemi ve derginin kapsamına uygunluğu açısından değerlendirilir.

Bilimsel toplantılarda sunulan özet bildiriler, makalede belirtilmesi koşulu ile kaynak olarak kabul edilir. Editör, gönderilen makale biçimsel esaslara uygun ise, gelen yazıyı yurtiçinden ve / veya yurtdışından en az iki hakemin değerlendirmesine sunar, hakemler gerek gördüğü takdirde yazıda istenen değişiklikler yazarlar tarafından yapıldıktan sonra yayınlanmasına onay verir.

Makale yayınlanmak üzere dergiye gönderildikten sonra yazarlardan hiçbirinin ismi, tüm yazarların yazılı izni olmadan yazar listesinden silinemez ve yeni bir isim yazar olarak eklenemez ve yazar sırası değiştirilemez. Yayına kabul edilmeyen makale, resim ve fotoğraflar yazarlara geri gönderilmez.

Açık Erişim İlkesi

Dergi açık erişimlidir ve derginin tüm içeriği okura ya da okurun dahil olduğu kuruma ücretsiz olarak sunulur. Okurlar, ticari amaç haricinde, yayıncı ya da yazardan izin almadan dergi makalelerinin tam metnini okuyabilir, indirebilir, kopyalayabilir, arayabilir ve link sağlayabilir. Bu BOAI açık erişim tanımıyla uyumludur.

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Derginin tüm giderleri İstanbul Üniversitesi tarafından karşılanmaktadır. Dergide makale yayını ve makale süreçlerinin yürütülmesi ücrete tabi değildir. Dergiye gönderilen ya da yayın için kabul edilen makaleler için işlemleme ücreti ya da gönderim ücreti alınmaz.

Telif Hakkında

Yazarlar dergide yayınlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmaları Creative Commons Atıf-GayrıTicari 4.0 Uluslararası (CC BY-NC 4.0) olarak lisanslıdır. CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı, eserin ticari kullanım dışında her boyut ve formatta paylaşılmasına, kopyalanmasına, çoğaltılmasına ve orijinal esere uygun şekilde atıfta bulunmak kaydıyla yeniden düzenleme, dönüştürme ve eserin üzerine inşa etme dâhil adapte edilmesine izin verir.

Hakem Süreci

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir. Gönderilen ve ön kontrolü geçen makaleler iThenticate yazılımı kullanılarak intihal için taranır. İntihal kontrolünden sonra, uygun olan makaleler baş editör tarafından orijinallik, metodoloji, işlenen konunun önemi ve dergi kapsamı ile uyumluluğu açısından değerlendirilir. Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar.

Seçilen makaleler en az iki ulusal/uluslararası hakeme değerlendirmeye gönderilir; yayın kararı, hakemlerin talepleri doğrultusunda yazarların gerçekleştirdiği düzenlemelerin ve hakem sürecinin sonrasında baş editör tarafından verilir.

Hakemlerin değerlendirmeleri objektif olmalıdır. Hakem süreci sırasında hakemlerin aşağıdaki hususları dikkate alarak değerlendirmelerini yapmaları beklenir.

- Makale yeni ve önemli bir bilgi içeriyor mu?
- Öz, makalenin içeriğini net ve düzgün bir şekilde tanımlıyor mu?
- Yöntem bütünlüklü ve anlaşılır şekilde tanımlanmış mı?
- Yapılan yorum ve varılan sonuçlar bulgularla kanıtlanıyor mu?
- Alandaki diğer çalışmalara yeterli referans verilmiş mi?
- Dil kalitesi yeterli mi?

Hakemler, gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir.

Yayın Etiği ve İlkeler

Dilbilim Dergisi- Journal of Linguistics, yayın etiğinde en yüksek standartlara bağlıdır ve Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Open Access Scholarly Publishers Association (OASPA) ve World Association of Medical Editors (WAME) tarafından yayınlanan etik yayıncılık ilkelerini benimser; Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing başlığı altında ifade edilen ilkeler için: https://publicationethics.org/resources/guidelines-new/principles-transparency-and-best-practice-scholarly-publishing

Gönderilen tüm makaleler orijinal, yayınlanmamış ve başka bir dergide değerlendirme sürecinde olmamalıdır. Her bir makale editörlerden biri ve en az iki hakem tarafından çift kör değerlendirmeden geçirilir. İntihal, duplikasyon, sahte yazarlık/inkar edilen yazarlık, araştırma/veri fabrikasyonu, makale dilimleme, dilimleyerek yayın, telif hakları ihlali ve çıkar çatışmasının gizlenmesi, etik dışı davranışlar olarak kabul edilir.

Kabul edilen etik standartlara uygun olmayan tüm makaleler yayından çıkarılır. Buna yayından sonra tespit edilen olası kuraldışı, uygunsuzluklar içeren makaleler de dahildir.

Araştırma Etiği

Dilbilim Dergisi- Journal of Linguistics araştırma etiğinde en yüksek standartları gözetir ve aşağıda tanımlanan uluslararası araştırma etiği ilkelerini benimser. Makalelerin etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır.

- Araştırmanın tasarlanması, tasarımın gözden geçirilmesi ve araştırmanın yürütülmesinde, bütünlük, kalite ve şeffaflık ilkeleri sağlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma ekibi ve katılımcılar, araştırmanın amacı, yöntemleri ve öngörülen olası kullanımları; araştırmaya katılımın gerektirdikleri ve varsa riskleri hakkında tam olarak bilgilendirilmelidir.
- Araştırma katılımcılarının sağladığı bilgilerin gizliliği ve yanıt verenlerin gizliliği sağlanmalıdır. Araştırma katılımcıların özerkliğini ve saygınlığını koruyacak şekilde tasarlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma katılımcıları gönüllü olarak araştırmada yer almalı, herhangi bir zorlama altında olmamalıdırlar.
- Katılımcıların zarar görmesinden kaçınılmalıdır. Araştırma, katılımcıları riske sokmayacak şekilde planlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma bağımsızlığıyla ilgili açık ve net olunmalı; çıkar çatışması varsa belirtilmelidir.
- Deneysel çalışmalarda, araştırmaya katılmaya karar veren katılımcıların yazılı bilgilendirilmiş onayı alınmalıdır. Çocukların ve vesayet altındakilerin veya tasdiklenmiş akıl hastalığı bulunanların yasal vasisinin onayı alınmalıdır.
- Çalışma herhangi bir kurum ya da kuruluşta gerçekleştirilecekse bu kurum ya da kuruluştan çalışma yapılacağına dair onay alınmalıdır.
- İnsan öğesi bulunan çalışmalarda, "yöntem" bölümünde katılımcılardan "bilgilendirilmiş onam" alındığının ve çalışmanın yapıldığı kurumdan etik kurul onayı alındığı belirtilmesi gerekir.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telife bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir.

Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır, bu bağlamda "yazar" yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise, makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek ve / veya revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel süpervizyonu tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır ve yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar yazar sıralamasını Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formunda imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar.

Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler "teşekkür / bilgiler" kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir.

Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkiler, çıkar çatışması ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler. Bir yazar kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse, bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve işbirliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Editör ve Hakem Sorumlulukları

Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar. Gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalacağını garanti eder. Baş editör içerik ve yayının toplam kalitesinden sorumludur. Gereğinde hata sayfası yayınlamalı ya da düzeltme yapmalıdır.

Baş editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Hakem atama konusunda tam yetkiye sahiptir ve dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemlerin araştırmayla ilgili, yazarlarla ve/veya araştırmanın finansal destekçileriyle çıkar çatışmaları olmamalıdır. Değerlendirmelerinin sonucunda tarafsız bir yargıya varmalıdırlar. Gönderilmiş yazılara ilişkin tüm bilginin gizli tutulmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir. Bazı durumlarda editörün kararıyla, ilgili hakemlerin makaleye ait yorumları aynı makaleyi yorumlayan diğer hakemlere gönderilerek hakemlerin bu süreçte aydınlatılması sağlanabilir.

YAZILARIN HAZIRLANMASI

Dil

Türkçe, İngilizce ve Fransızca makaleler yayınlanır. Gönderilen makalelerde makale dilinde öz ve İngilizce öz olmalıdır. Türkçe ve Fransızca makalelerde ayrıca İngilizce geniş özet istenebilir. Ancak makale İngilizce ise, İngilizce geniş özet istenmez.

Yazıların Hazırlanması ve Yazım Kuralları

Aksi belirtilmedikçe gönderilen yazılarla ilgili tüm yazışmalar ilk yazarla yapılacaktır. Makale gönderimi online olarak https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iudilbilim sayfasından erişilen http://dergipark.gov.tr/login

üzerinden yapılmalıdır. Gönderilen yazılar, makale türünü belirten ve makaleyle ilgili detayları içeren (bkz: Son Kontrol Listesi) Kapak Sayfası; yazının elektronik formunu içeren Microsoft Word 2003 ve üzerindeki versiyonları ile yazılmış elektronik dosya ve tüm yazarların imzaladığı Telif Formu eklenerek gönderilmelidir.

1. Yazılar **Makale Şablonu** kullanılarak hazırlanmalıdır. Makale ana metninde, çift taraflı kör hakemlik süreci gereği, yazarın / yazarların kimlik bilgileri yer almamalıdır.
2. Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makale ile birlikte yazar bilgilerini içeren **Kapak Sayfası** gönderilmelidir. Kapak Sayfasında, makalenin başlığı, yazar veya yazarların bağlı bulundukları kurum ve unvanları, kendilerine ulaşılabilecek adresler, cep, iş ve faks numaraları, ORCID ve e-posta adresleri yer almalıdır (bkz. Son Kontrol Listesi).
3. Giriş bölümünden önce 180-200 kelimelik çalışmanın kapsamını, amacını, ulaşılan sonuçları ve kullanılan yöntemi kaydeden makale dilinde öz ve İngilizce öz yer almalıdır. Türkçe ve Fransızca makalelerde özlerin yanısıra 600-800 kelimelik İngilizce geniş özet sunulması tercih edilir. Makale İngilizce ise İngilizce geniş özet istenmez. Özlerin altında çalışmanın içeriğini temsil eden, 5'er adet anahtar kelime yer almalıdır.
4. Çalışmaların başlıca şu unsurları içermesi gerekmektedir: Makale dilinde başlık, öz ve anahtar kelimeler; İngilizce başlık, öz ve anahtar kelimeler; geniş özet, ana metin bölümleri, kaynaklar, tablolar ve şekiller.
5. **Makale Türleri:**

   Araştırma Makaleleri: Orijinal araştırma makaleleri derginin kapsamına uygun konularda önemli, özgün bilimsel sonuçlar sunan araştırmaları raporlayan yazılardır. Orijinal araştırma makaleleri, Öz, Anahtar Kelimeler, İngilizce Geniş Özet, Giriş, Yöntem, Bulgular, Tartışma, Sonuçlar, Kaynaklar bölümlerinden ve Tablo, Grafik ve Şekillerden oluşur.

   Öz: Makale dilinde başlık ve İngilizce başlık öz'lerin üzerinde yer almalıdır. Araştırma yazılarında Türkçe ve İngilizce özler 180-200 kelime arasında olmalı ve çalışmanın amacı, yöntemi, ana bulguları ve sonuçlarını ifade etmelidir. Ayrıca Türkçe ve Fransızca makaleler için özlerden sonra 600-800 kelimelik İngilizce özet sunulması tercih edilir.

   Giriş: Giriş bölümünde konunun önemi, tarihçe ve bugüne kadar yapılmış çalışmalar, hipotez ve çalışmanın amacından söz edilmelidir. Hem ana hem de ikincil amaçlar açıkça belirtilmelidir. Sadece gerçekten ilişkili kaynaklar gösterilmeli ve çalışmaya ait veri ya da sonuçlardan söz edilmemelidir. Giriş bölümünün sonunda çalışmanın amacı, araştırma soruları veya hipotezler yazılmalıdır.

   Yöntem: Yöntem bölümünde, veri kaynakları, çalışmaya katılanlar, ölçekler, görüşme/ değerlendirmeler ve temel ölçümler, yapılan işlemler ve istatistiksel yöntemler yer almalıdır. Yöntem bölümü, sadece çalışmanın planı ya da protokolü yazılırken bilinen bilgileri içermelidir; çalışma sırasında elde edilen tüm bilgiler bulgular kısmında verilmelidir.

   Bulgular: Ana bulgular istatistiksel verilerle desteklenmiş olarak eksiksiz verilmeli ve bu bulgular uygun tablo, grafik ve şekillerle görsel olarak da belirtilmelidir. Bulgular yazıda, tablolarda ve şekillerde mantıklı bir sırayla önce en önemli sonuçlar olacak şekilde verilmelidir. Tablo ve şekillerdeki tüm veriyi yazıda vermemeli, sadece önemli noktaları vurgulanmalıdır.

   Tartışma: Tartışma bölümünde o çalışmadan elde edilen veriler, kurulan hipotez doğrultusunda hipotezi destekleyen ve desteklemeyen bulgular ve sonuçlar irdelenmeli ve bu bulgu ve sonuçlar literatürde bulunan benzeri çalışmalarla kıyaslanmalı, farklılıklar varsa açıklanmalıdır. Çalışmanın yeni ve önemli yanları ve bunlardan çıkan sonuçları vurgulanmalıdır. Giriş ya da sonuçlar kısmında verilen bilgi ve veriler tekrarlanmamalıdır.

Sonuçlar: Çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar belirtilmelidir. Sonuçlar, çalışmanın amaçları ile bağlantılı olmalıdır, ancak veriler tarafından yeterince desteklenmeyen niteliksiz ifadeler ve sonuçlardan kaçınılmalıdır. Yeni hipotezler gerektiğinde belirtilmeli, ancak açıkça tanımlanmalıdır.
Şekil, Resim, Tablo ve Grafikler: Metin içinde kullanılan fotoğraf, plân, harita vb. materyallerin ".jpg / .tiff" uzantılı kayıtları gönderilecek dokümanlara eklenmelidir. Bu tür belgelerin baskı tekniğine uygun çözünürlükte (en az 300 piksel) ve sayfa alanını aşmayacak büyüklükte olmasına dikkat edilmelidir. Fotoğraf ve levhaların 10 sayfayı aşmamasına dikkat edilmeli ve metin içinde parantezle atıfta bulunulan resim, harita veya diğer ekler makalenin sonuna eklenmelidir.
Derleme: Yazının konusunda birikimi olan ve bu birikimleri uluslararası literatüre yayın ve atıf sayısı olarak yansımış uzmanlar tarafından hazırlanmış yazılar değerlendirmeye alınır. Yazarları dergi tarafından da davet edilebilir. Derleme yazısı, başlık, öz, anahtar kelimeler, İngilizce geniş özet (Türkçe makaleler için), ana metin bölümleri ve kaynaklardan oluşmalıdır.

6. Referanslar derginin benimsediği American Psychological Association (APA) 6 stiline uygun olarak hazırlanmalıdır.
7. Kurallar dâhilinde dergimize yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen çalışmaların her türlü sorumluluğu yazar/yazarlarına aittir.

Referans Stili ve Formatı

Dilbilim Dergisi, metin içi alıntılama ve kaynak gösterme için APA (American Psychological Association) kaynak sitilinin 6. edisyonunu benimser. APA 6.Edisyon hakkında bilgi için:

- American Psychological Association. (2010). Publication manual of the American Psychological Association (6th ed.). Washington, DC: APA.
- http://www.apastyle.org/

Kaynakların doğruluğundan yazar(lar) sorumludur. Tüm kaynaklar metinde belirtilmelidir. Kaynaklar aşağıdaki örneklerdeki gibi gösterilmelidir.

Metin İçinde Kaynak Gösterme

Kaynaklar metinde parantez içinde yazarların soyadı ve yayın tarihi yazılarak belirtilmelidir.

Birden fazla kaynak gösterilecekse kaynaklar arasında (;) işareti kullanılmalıdır. Kaynaklar alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır.

Örnekler:

Birden fazla kaynak;
(Esin ve ark., 2002; Karasar 1995)
Tek yazarlı kaynak;
(Akyolcu, 2007)

İki yazarlı kaynak;
(Sayıner ve Demirci 2007, s. 72)
Üç, dört ve beş yazarlı kaynak;
Metin içinde ilk kullanımda: (Ailen, Ciambrune ve Welch 2000, s. 12–13) Metin içinde tekrarlayan kullanımlarda: (Ailen ve ark., 2000)
Altı ve daha çok yazarlı kaynak;
(Çavdar ve ark., 2003)

Kaynaklar Bölümünde Kaynak Gösterme

Kullanılan tüm kaynaklar metnin sonunda ayrı bir bölüm halinde yazar soyadlarına göre alfabetik olarak numaralandırılmadan verilmelidir.

Kaynak yazımı ile ilgili örnekler aşağıda verilmiştir.

Kitap

a) Türkçe Kitap
Karasar, N. (1995). *Araştırmalarda rapor hazırlama* (8.bs). Ankara: 3A Eğitim Danışmanlık Ltd.
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e) İngilizce Kitap
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Al, U. ve Doğan, G. (2012). Hacettepe Üniversitesi Bilgi ve Belge Yönetimi Bölümü tezlerinin atıf analizi. T*ürk Kütüphaneciliği, 26,* 349–369. Erişim adresi: http://www.tk.org.tr/

e) DOI'si Olan Makale

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Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867

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Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 105,* 12593–12598. http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105

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Schneider, R. (2013). Research data literacy. S. Kurbanoğlu ve ark. (Ed.), Communications in Computer and Information Science: Vol. 397. *Worldwide Communalities and Challenges in Information Literacy Research and Practice* içinde (s. 134–140) . Cham, İsviçre: Springer. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-03919-0

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g) Müzik Kaydı

Say, F. (2009). Galata Kulesi. *İstanbul senfonisi* [CD] içinde. İstanbul: Ak Müzik.

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a) Turkish Book

Karasar, N. (1995). *Araştırmalarda rapor hazırlama* (8th ed.) [Preparing research reports]. Ankara, Turkiye: 3A Eğitim Danışmanlık Ltd.

b) Book Translated into Turkish

Mucchielli, A. (1991). *Zihniyetler* [Mindsets] (A. Kotil, Trans.). İstanbul, Turkiye: İletişim Yayınları.

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Ören, T., Üney, T., & Çölkesen, R. (Eds.). (2006). *Türkiye bilişim ansiklopedisi* [Turkish Encyclopedia of Informatics]. İstanbul, Turkiye: Papatya Yayıncılık.

d) Turkish Book with Multiple Authors

Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y., & Sever, H. (2002). T*ürkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme* [Performance evaluation in Turkish search engines]. Ankara, Turkiye: Total Bilişim.

e) Book in English

Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

f) Chapter in an Edited Book

Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

g) Chapter in an Edited Book in Turkish

Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi [Organization culture: Its functions, elements and importance in leadership and business management]. In M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi* [Organization sociology] (pp. 233–263). Bursa, Turkiye: Dora Basım Yayın.

h) Book with the same organization as author and publisher

American Psychological Association. (2009). *Publication manual of the American psychological association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

Article

a) Turkish Article

Mutlu, B., & Savaşer, S. (2007). Çocuğu ameliyat sonrası yoğun bakımda olan ebeveynlerde stres nedenleri ve azaltma girişimleri [Source and intervention reduction of stress for parents whose children are in intensive care unit after surgery]. *Istanbul University Florence Nightingale Journal of Nursing, 15*(60), 179–182.

b) English Article

de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society, 10*(2), 149–173. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002

c) Journal Article with DOI and More Than Seven Authors

Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine, 372,* 2087–2096. http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184

d) Journal Article from Web, without DOI

Sidani, S. (2003). Enhancing the evaluation of nursing care effectiveness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research, 35*(3), 26-38. Retrieved from http://cjnr.mcgill.ca

e) Journal Article wih DOI

Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly, 27,* 261–278. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07317131003765910

f) Advance Online Publication

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1037/a45d7867

g) Article in a Magazine

Henry, W. A., III. (1990, April 9). Making the grade in today's schools. *Time, 135,* 28–31.

Doctoral Dissertation, Master's Thesis, Presentation, Proceeding

a) Dissertation/Thesis from a Commercial Database

Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 9943436)

b) Dissertation/Thesis from an Institutional Database

Yaylalı-Yıldız, B. (2014). *University campuses as places of potential publicness: Exploring the politicals, social and cultural practices in Ege University* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Retrieved from: http://library.iyte.edu.tr/tr/hizli-erisim/iyte-tez-portali

c) Dissertation/Thesis from Web

Tonta, Y. A. (1992). *An analysis of search failures in online library catalogs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). Retrieved from http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/~tonta/yayinlar/phd/ickapak.html

d) Dissertation/Thesis abstracted in Dissertations Abstracts International

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering, 65*(10), 5428.

e) Symposium Contribution

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome.* Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

f) Conference Paper Abstract Retrieved Online

Liu, S. (2005, May). *Defending against business crises with the help of intelligent agent based early warning solutions.* Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Enterprise Information Systems, Miami, FL. Abstract retrieved from http://www.iceis.org/iceis2005/abstracts_2005.htm

g) Conference Paper - In Regularly Published Proceedings and Retrieved Online

Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 105,* 12593–12598. http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105

h) Proceeding in Book Form

Parsons, O. A., Pryzwansky, W. B., Weinstein, D. J., & Wiens, A. N. (1995). Taxonomy for psychology. In J. N. Reich, H. Sands, & A. N. Wiens (Eds.), *Education and training beyond the doctoral degree:*

Proceedings of the American Psychological Association National Conference on Postdoctoral Education and Training in Psychology (pp. 45–50). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

i) Paper Presentation

Nguyen, C. A. (2012, August). *Humor and deception in advertising: When laughter may not be the best medicine.* Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

Other Sources

a) Newspaper Article

Browne, R. (2010, March 21). This brainless patient is no dummy. *Sydney Morning Herald, 45.*

b) Newspaper Article with no Author

New drug appears to sharply cut risk of death from heart failure.(1993, July 15). *The Washington Post,* p. A12.

c) Web Page/Blog Post

Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepp: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/

d) Online Encyclopedia/Dictionary

Ignition. (1989). In *Oxford English online dictionary* (2nd ed.). Retrieved from http://dictionary.oed.com

Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.). *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy.* Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/

e) Podcast

Dunning, B. (Producer). (2011, January 12). *inFact: Conspiracy theories* [Video podcast]. Retrieved from http://itunes.apple.com/

f) Single Episode in a Television Series

Egan, D. (Writer), & Alexander, J. (Director). (2005). Failure to communicate. [Television series episode]. In D. Shore (Executive producer), *House;* New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

g) Music

Fuchs, G. (2004). Light the menorah. On *Eight nights of Hanukkah* [CD]. Brick, NJ: Kid Kosher.

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