Bilingual teaching for multilingual students? Innovative dual-medium models in Slovene-German schools in Austria

Judith Purkarthofer · Jan Mossakowski

Abstract Traditional bilingual education programmes in regional linguistic minority contexts face major challenges within the recent paradigm of linguistic diversity against a background of increasing migration, mobility and trans-locality. Based on three case studies, the authors of this paper focus on how particular dual-medium models are applied in Slovene-German schools in Carinthia, Austria. They examine not only how these schools provide for a balanced bilingual teaching and learning environment, but also how they deal with their students' multilingual realities and support their identification with bi- and multilingualism. The authors regard schools as institutional sites where linguistic dispositions are subject to discursive power relations and where language policies and educational goals are negotiated by teachers, parents and students alike. Drawing on speaker-centred and ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistic research, the authors seek to document experiences of all actors involved as well as spatial and discursive practices. Through this the authors show how these dual-medium schools achieve particular profiles in multilingual education which are potentially regarded as innovative examples of best-practice and as being of interest for students and families with heterogeneous linguistic backgrounds.

Keywords Dual-medium teaching models in bilingual education ·
Multilingual students · Slovene minority in Austria · Heteroglossic repertoires ·
School ethnography · Language biographical methods

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Résumé Enseignement bilingue pour élèves multilingues ? Modèles innovants à double vecteur linguistique dans les écoles germano-slovènes en Autriche – Les programmes traditionnels d'enseignement bilingue, appliqués dans les contextes régionaux à minorité linguistique, rencontrent des défis majeurs face au nouveau standard de diversité linguistique apparaissant dans un contexte de migration, de mobilité et de translocalité accrues. À partir de trois études de cas, les auteurs de cet article se penchent sur les formes d'application de modèles spécifiques à double vecteur linguistique dans les écoles germano-slovènes de Carinthie (Autriche). Ils examinent les moyens employés par ces écoles, d'une part en vue de garantir un enseignement bilingue et un environnement éducatif équilibrés, d'autre part pour intégrer les réalités multilingues de leurs élèves et favoriser leur identification au bilinguisme ou au multilinguisme. Les auteurs voient en ces écoles des sites institutionnels où les prédispositions linguistiques sont sujettes à des rapports de force de nature discursive, et où les politiques linguistiques et objectifs éducatifs sont concertés entre enseignants, parents et élèves. En s'appuyant sur les méthodes ethnographiques et celles centrées sur le locuteur issues de la recherche sociolinguistique, les auteurs s'attachent à documenter les expériences de tous les acteurs impliqués ainsi que les pratiques spatiales et discursives. Ils montrent par ce biais par quels moyens ces écoles à double vecteur obtiennent des profils spécifiques d'enseignement multilingue, susceptibles de constituer des exemples innovants de bonnes pratiques, et d'intéresser les élèves et les familles se trouvant en situation linguistique hétérogène.

Zusammenfassung Zweisprachiger Unterricht für mehrsprachige Schülerinnen und Schüler? Innovative Modelle mit zwei Unterrichtssprachen in slowenisch-deutschen Schulen in Österreich – Vor dem Hintergrund zunehmender Migration, Mobilität und Überregionalität stehen herkömmliche zweisprachige Bildungsprogramme in Regionen mit sprachlichen Minderheiten im Rahmen des neuen Paradigmas der Sprachenvielfalt vor großen Herausforderungen. Auf der Grundlage dreier Fallstudien beschäftigen sich die Autoren dieses Artikels mit der Frage, wie bestimmte Modelle mit zwei Unterrichtssprachen in slowenisch-deutschen Schulen im österreichischen Kärnten in die Praxis umgesetzt werden. Sie untersuchen nicht nur, wie diese Schulen für ein ausgeglichenes zweisprachiges Unterrichts- und Lernumfeld sorgen, sondern auch, wie sie mit den mehrsprachigen Lebenswelten ihrer Schülerinnen und Schüler umgehen und deren Identifikation mit der Zwei- und Mehrsprachigkeit unterstützen. Die Autoren betrachten Schulen als institutionelle Orte, wo sprachliche Neigungen den Herrschaftsbeziehungen des gesellschaftlichen Diskurses unterworfen sind und Sprachpolitik und Bildungsziele gleichermaßen zwischen Lehrkräften, Eltern und Schüler(inne)n ausgehandelt werden. Die Autoren stützen sich auf sprecherzentrierte und ethnographische Ansätze der soziolinguistischen Forschung und versuchen, die Erfahrungen aller beteiligten Akteure ebenso zu dokumentieren wie raumbezogenes und diskursives Handeln. Damit zeigen die Autoren, wie diese Schulen mit zwei Unterrichtssprachen in der mehrsprachigen Bildung bestimmte Profile erreichen, die potenziell als innovative Best-Practice-Beispiele gelten und für Schüler(inne)n und Familien mit heterogenem sprachlichem Hintergrund von Interesse sein können.

Resumen   ¿Enseñanza bilingüe para estudiantes multilingües? Modelos innovadores con medio dual en escuelas esloveno-germanas de Austria – Los programas tradicionales de educación bilingüe en contextos regionales de minorías lingüísticas deben encarar retos de importancia dentro del paradigma reciente de diversidad lingüística, frente a una situación de creciente migración, movilidad y translocalidad. Basándose sobre tres estudios de caso, los autores de este trabajo se centran en cómo se aplican determinados modelos de medio dual en escuelas esloveno-germanas en Carintia, Austria. Los autores no solo examinan cómo estas escuelas se ocupan de ofrecer un entorno equilibrado de enseñanza y aprendizaje bilingüe, sino también cómo manejan las realidades multilingües de sus estudiantes y soportan su identificación con bilingüismo y multilingüismo. Los autores consideran las escuelas como sitios institucionales donde las disposiciones lingüísticas están sujetas a relaciones de poder discursivas y donde las políticas de lenguas y los objetivos educativos son negociados tanto por los docentes como por los padres y estudiantes. Recurriendo a enfoques centrados en los hablantes y etnográficos en la investigación sociolingüística, los autores aspiran a documentar las experiencias de todos los actores implicados, al igual que prácticas espaciales y discursivas. Mediante este método, los autores muestran cómo estas escuelas con medios duales logran crear perfiles particulares en la educación multilingüe, que potencialmente pueden considerarse como ejemplos innovadores de buenas prácticas y que son de interés para estudiantes y familias con bases lingüísticas heterogéneas.

Резюме   Билингвальное обучение для мультилингвальных учащихся? Инновационные двусторонние модели-посредники в словенско-немецких школах в Австрии – Традиционные билингвальные образовательные программы в контексте региональных языковых меньшинств сталкиваются с большими проблемами внутри недавно возникшей парадигмы лингвистического разнообразия на фоне растущей миграции, мобильности и трансрегиональности. Основываясь на трех отдельных исследованиях, авторы данной статьи в центр внимания ставят то, как особые двусторонние модели-посредники используются в словенско-немецких школах в Каринтии (Австрия). Они рассматривают не только то, каким образом эти школы предоставляют сбалансированную билингвальную учебную среду, но также и то, как они обращаются с мультилингвальной реальностью своих учащихся и поддерживают их идентичность посредством би- и мультилингвизма. Авторы статьи рассматривают школы как институциональные площадки, где лингвистическое соотношение является предметом дискурсивных взаимоотношений, и где языковая политика и образовательные цели обсуждаются между учителями, родителями и учащимися. Основываясь на этнографическом подходе и на подходе, в центре которого находится учащийся, в социолингвистических исследованиях, авторы пытаются документально обосновать опыт всех акторов, вовлеченных в данный процесс, а также дискурсивную и существующую на этом пространстве

практику. Посредством этого авторы показывают то, каким образом такие двусторонние школы-посредники получают особые характеристики в мультикультурном образовании, что потенциально рассматривается как инновационный пример положительного опыта и представляет собой интерес для учащихся и семей гетерогенного лингвистического происхождения.

Introduction

Dual-medium education programmes in traditional minority contexts – primarily designed for the promotion of a minority language – face major challenges within the recent paradigm of linguistic diversity against the background of migration, mobility and European policy-making. The goal of these programmes – to provide students with equal time exposure to two languages and to use both languages as a medium of instruction (cf. Christian 1996, Torres-Guzmán 2002) – can be achieved via different strategies. In this paper, we will focus on dual-medium models that have been developed in the past two decades at Slovene-German schools in Klagenfurt/Celovec, the regional capital of Austria's most southern federal state, Carinthia.[1] These case studies deal with the experiences of teachers, parents and pupils in order to reflect on how dual-medium programmes can be adapted to learners' different and heterogeneous linguistic predispositions. Our own research draws on language biographical methods and ethnographic approaches to multilingualism (Busch 2006b) and aims at so-called "School Language Profiles" (Busch 2010). In this methodological framework, multilingual policies are regarded as bottom-up processes that involve all actors within schools, emphasising negotiation and the contexts of implementation.

   Despite growing interest in language learning and the European Union's and the Council of Europe's goals of fostering multilingualism,[2] the necessary implementation is still far from the requirements of Austria's multilingual realities. Language policy discourse focuses largely on German as the language which is believed to ensure social cohesion. Languages of migration – with Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Turkish having the highest number of speakers – have been offered as additional teaching subjects at primary and secondary schools since the 1970s, depending on there being sufficient numbers of pupils. Lesser-used languages are often put aside or remain even unknown (Busch 2006a, Brizić 2007) – and

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[1] Slovene is a legally acknowledged minority language in Austria, with the majority of speakers living in Carinthia (a southern federal state, bordering on Italy and Slovenia), and it can be used as an official language in several communities. Data from the 2001 census indicate approx. 14,000 speakers of Slovene (of a population of about 560,000 in Carinthia), but the number of speakers is probably higher, because people are forced to choose either German or Slovene (or another language). For the census data see: http://www.statistik.at/web_de/dynamic/services/publikationen/2/publdetail?id=2&listid=2&detail=35 [accessed 7 December 2011].

[2] European multilingualism is fostered by, for example, the Action Plan of the European Commission 2003, the Framework Strategy for Multilingualism 2005 and the Language Education Policy Profile (Carnevale et al. 2008).

accordingly support is in general rather low.[3] As for minority languages in specific regions, only Burgenland-Croatian, Hungarian and Slovene benefit from regulations regarding bilingual education. Other "autochthonous" minority languages are supported by few or single local initiatives.

Until the second half of the 20th century, Slovene education in Carinthia was intended eventually to strengthen the role of German: from grade to grade, instruction increasingly shifted from Slovene to German in the sense of "transitional" or "early-exit" bilingual education (cf. Lotherington 2004, p. 711). Teaching materials also displayed a clear ideological orientation towards the majority language. In the 1990s, a paradigm shift emerged, resulting from political changes in South-Eastern Europe, the fall of the Iron Curtain and globalisation processes. In Carinthia this led to Slovene being perceived as a relevant neighbouring language (Busch 2008b, p. 10). Slovene-German education has become of interest for residents whose background is German and who wish to have an increased multilingual focus in their children's schooling, for families who want to revive their often "lost" mother tongue, as well as for families who have migrated to Austria and intend to profit from curriculum languages that represent a language similar to their mother tongue.[4]

Recent changes in the pupils' background and the heterogeneity of the learner groups attending dual-language education programmes challenge schools in their didactic approach. Children do not only differ in their competencies in the majority language and the minority language (Busch 2008b, p. 11), but also bring along various other linguistic resources, which are sometimes part of the schools' curricula (e.g. English or Italian), but in most cases remain unrecognised (e.g. Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian). The mission statement of a dual-medium programme, which was initially designed for the maintenance of a particular minority language, is now being challenged in that more and more "clients" of bilingual schools seek multilingual enhancement in general.

In 2008/09, dual-medium teaching was in use in 68 primary schools in Carinthia and about 1,850 children (41.55 per cent) were enrolled in Slovene language instruction (LSRK 2009, p. 10). In the majority of these cases, the languages of instruction are not distributed systematically and actually differ greatly in quantity as well as quality, depending on teachers' competencies and resources. As for schools in Klagenfurt/Celovec, particular dual-medium models were developed in close cooperation with the University of Klagenfurt/Celovec and could guarantee a systematic distribution of the languages of instruction. Basically, there are three main methodologies to distribute languages of instruction systematically (cf. Christian 1996, among others). In time-based models, the distribution of the language of instruction relies on fixed timetables, changing the language on an hourly, daily or weekly basis or using the second language one day of the week, for

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[3] The right to participate in education in one's mother tongue is now very much pushed forward by civil society organisations, especially the "Netzwerk Sprachenrechte" ("Network for Language Rights"), a group of experts and practitioners in language and migration. For ongoing debates see Plutzar and Kerschhofer-Puhalo (2009).

[4] For more detailed insights into the history of bilingual education in the region see Busch 2008b or Wakounig 2008.

example. Person-based models indicate change of instruction language by change of teacher. Finally, in subject-based models, different subjects are assigned to different languages of instruction. This model is mostly used in secondary education, whereas time- and person-based models are often found in primary and pre-school contexts. Outside Klagenfurt/Celovec, dual-medium instruction is mostly pursued within a team-teaching system, where languages of instruction are not distributed systematically. Two teachers work in one class in order to instruct only parts of the class, since some (German-speaking) parents do not register their children for Slovene schooling.

In the following, we will examine how the theoretical models of dual-language instruction are applied (and partly combined) in three schools in Klagenfurt/ Celovec: the private primary school "VS Hermagoras/Mohorjeva ljudska šola",[5] the public primary school "Öffentliche Zweisprachige Volksschule 24/Javna dvo-jezična ljudska šola 24" ("VS 24")[6] and the public secondary school "Bundes-gymnasium und Bundesrealgymnasium für Slowenen/Zvezna Gimnazija in Zvezna Realna Gimnazija za Slovence".[7] We will compare this work with research on other current dual-medium instruction systems. Finally, we will conclude in which way these programmes are able to reflect particular conditions and requirements of the school, and see how they potentially live up to pupils' and parents' backgrounds and perspectives. Before that, we will briefly elaborate on our methodological framework.

School language profiles

Questioning how education is able to reflect pupils' multilingual reality presupposes that their heteroglossic repertoire must not be reduced to a dichotomy such as "the language of origin" vs. "the target language". Our speaker-centred approach draws on biographical, ethnographic and participatory methods. "School language profiles" are interested in the situated practices of a school in its particular environment, taking into account the perspectives of students, parents and teachers alike.[8] Teachers' pedagogical motivations and didactical experiences are highly relevant for children's perceptions of language issues, such as power relations (Cummins 2009) or the distribution of language use according to space and persons involved (Lee et al. 2008). Speakers interact in a complex set of expectations as well as competencies, and their heteroglossic repertoire is in an ongoing transformation according to their needs, to the requirements of the (imagined) environment and to attitudes towards languages or variations. Such bundles of metalinguistic disposition

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[5] Based on the research project "Jeder Tag Sprache", carried out in 2010 by the authors at the University of Vienna in cooperation with the University of Klagenfurt.

[6] Based on reports from the research project "Zweisprachiger Unterricht – Neues sprachpädagogisches Konzept" (2003–2011) carried out at the University of Klagenfurt by Vladimir Wakounig.

[7] Based on a research project in the "Bundesgymnasium und Bundesrealgymnasium für Slowenen/ Zvezna Gimnazija in Zvezna Realna Gimnazija za Slovence" in 2007, carried out by Brigitta Busch.

[8] Kim Potowski (2007) uses a similar approach in her case study of a dual immersion school in Chicago.

are not static, but modified over time. Similar to Bourdieu's notion of habitus,[9] the notion of "dispositions" refers to knowledge of linguistic variation, (meta)pragmatics and language ideologies (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) as well as to the emotions and desires linked to linguistic practices (cf. Kramsch 2006). In this view, communicative practices across language boundaries are regarded rather as a productive resource than as a deficiency.

In the case of Slovene-German schools, school language profiles were applied in two schools, where we focused on two age-groups (26 students aged 9 to 10 and 20 students aged 17 to 18) and their teachers and parents. Interviews with 15 teachers and eight parents were conducted. Whereas we were able to reach teachers and parents through interviews and group discussions, we developed creative workshops for pupils, applying several tasks in order to elicit language biographical narratives and meta-linguistic discourse.[10] One impulse task aims to associate colours and body parts with languages in order to portray one's linguistic repertoire within a pre-printed blank human silhouette (Krumm 2001, Busch 2010). The intention is to change the mode of representation from the written or spoken word to the visual and thus display processes of language choice which tend to operate unconsciously and cannot easily be verbalised. In this manner, notions and feelings about one's "linguistic self" in the elicited narratives are less bound to genre expectations and categories, such as "mother tongue". Together with the data from audio-recordings and further creative tasks, we documented individual language profiles for each participant, consisting of the transcribed oral descriptions and discussions of the drawings, scans of the body-parts portrait, and drawings and research notes taken by the researchers during and after the workshops. Usually such a profile shows at least four languages or varieties and gives us an idea of the speaker's imaginations of the (multilingual) self (Kramsch 2006). Analysis of the data was done for individuals and subsequently for the group (and school). In both steps, the repertoire of the self (and school) was made explicit and students', teachers' and parents' strategies and approaches to appropriate languages were analysed.

Through this approach, we were not dealing with questions of language competence and linguistic performance, but focused on how speakers think about their talking, about languages and about their language biography. Still, we were not primarily interested in the uniqueness of a particular life story but in the social dimensions of the language practices and ideologies that a speaker is exposed to and hence exposes as well throughout his/her life. The value ascribed to particular language practices can be understood in isolation neither from the people who employ them nor from the larger networks and social relationships which these individuals are engaged in. Understanding school as a nexus of practice (Scollon and Scollon 2003), we further examined how linguistic dispositions are enacted in an institutional setting, drawing on a topological approach based on multimodal data (Busch 2008a). Describing school as a spatial entity reveals linguistic hierarchies

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[9] Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus refers to shared knowledge and values of particular social groups of society, and is linked to preferences and actions that are regarded as valuable within a specific group. For details linked to metalinguistic dispositions see Busch 2010.

[10] For more detailed insight into methods and data see e.g. Busch 2010 or Mossakowski et al. 2010.

and power relations, as well as competing and subversive practices. Involving students in taking photographs of the linguistic landscape (Shohamy and Gorter 2009) is a participatory way of gaining relevant data, e.g. official notices and posters or graffiti and writing on walls or desks. Through our combined approaches and the triangulation of data, we sought to take the manifold perspectives of learners, teachers and parents into account.

Cases of dual-medium schools in Klagenfurt/Celovec, Carinthia

Since its foundation in 1989, the Hermagoras/Mohorjeva primary school in Klagenfurt/Celovec has applied a time-based model that changes the language of teaching in all classes on a daily basis: if German is the language of instruction on one day, then Slovene will be used on the following day. A further specificity is the broad language curriculum, integrating Italian from the first grade onwards as well as English from the third grade onwards. Slovene immersion weeks at the beginning of a school year, regular student exchanges with a school in Slovenia, a well-equipped library and further language-related projects complete the school's multilingual standing, which is also represented by bilingual labels or posters in classrooms and hallways. The school's teachers underline some of their system's advantages, like the clear distribution of languages and the chance to repeat teaching content in the other language on the following day and hence to support parallel and balanced language acquisition.

Taking four basic fields of communicative competencies into consideration – namely grammatical, sociolinguistic, discursive and strategic competencies (cf. Potowski 2007, p. 208) – we view teachers as role models who not only have to make rules and norms explicit to ensure their transmission but who are also competent speakers of two (and more) languages. Whereas traditional dual-language immersion focused very much on the teachers' linguistic input, the necessity of active language stimulation has been increasingly pointed out. Strategies which allow students to make less use of the majority language in group activities, to fulfil tasks in the minority language without the teacher's assistance and allow them to be the main participants in the learning environment have been suggested (cf. Potowski 2007, p. 209f.). In the case of Hermagoras/Mohorjeva, teachers try to balance respect for the students' language choice and proactive support for Slovene language use. Strategies to strengthen the use of Slovene include its use as a meta-language as well as in informal settings (i.e. breaks) and during the exchange programme, which is an occasion for students to overcome shyness and to start experimenting with the language.

During the last 20 years the proportion of children with little or no previous knowledge of Slovene has increased, either because their family background is (becoming) predominantly German or because they speak other languages at home, e.g. Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, English, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Tagalog or Thai.[11] In order to work with these individual predispositions and to support the

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[11] Other bilingual schools in the region have undergone this notable change as well. In 2008/09, 14 per cent of pupils enrolling in Slovene education programmes in Carinthia had good skills, 20 per cent had average skills in Slovene, and the rest virtually none (LSRK 2009).

learners' bilingualism adequately, Hermagoras/Mohorjeva splits grades into two classes according to the level of proficiency in Slovene, if possible. Drawing on findings in various multilingual education contexts, Ofelia García et al. view such strategies as a common and sufficient way to deal with linguistic heterogeneity (2006, p. 21). In both classes the time-based teaching model is pursued right from the beginning. According to the teachers, children with no prior knowledge are able to adapt quickly to Slovene as one of the two school languages.

However, two of the school's nine teachers highlight the beneficial effect of using the children's different levels of knowledge. Through translation and explanation by other students, teachers can be supported in their work and children achieve an "expert position". But whether the role of *language brokers*[12] can be experienced in a positive way is very much dependent on the general bias in a school's multilingual representation, organisation and practices. Audrey Amrein and Robert A. Peña (2000) have shown that bilingual students fulfilling a language broker role in an English–Spanish school in the USA seemed to strengthen their orientation to English-speaking peers rather than to Spanish-speaking ones. In an environment where parents' unfavourable language ideologies and asymmetries in the teachers' bilingualism or in the spatial representation of languages interfere, the success of a balanced bilingual education is limited. Although working with bilingual teachers, Jin Sook Lee et al. (2008, p. 90) have shown similar outcomes for another Spanish–English dual-medium school and concluded that "a thickening of identities of the teachers and students as speakers of either Spanish or English, rather than bilingual speakers of two languages" takes place.

Another dual-medium model applied in most of Carinthian schools, a so-called teacher tandem, seems to be similar (cf. "team-teaching system" above). Bilingual instruction is rather translation-oriented there and the role of Slovene becomes even more limited. In the case of Hermagoras/Mohorjeva, all teachers share the fact that they are highly bilingual and can thus be responsible for both languages in class. This fact enables a strict time-based system, and allows teachers to be perceived as bilingual speakers and hence as role models for the children. Also, the school as a linguistic landscape is equally marked as Slovene and German, both in representation as well as resources, and the teachers make huge efforts to reduce the overall dominance of German, which is common in Austria's educational institutions.

Nonetheless, these facts do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that this school's case is an example for a purely non-submersive approach to bilingual education – an approach which does not focus on the majority language over time –, due to the heterogeneity of its students' linguistic backgrounds. Whereas Slovene- and Slovene-German-speaking pupils benefit to a great extent from the dual language immersion, German-speaking pupils achieve a basis for Slovene as a future second language, and pupils with a first language such as Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian gain from Slovene as a helpful pathway to German. Notably, our language biographical work with the pupils has shown that languages from South-Eastern

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[12] The term language brokers refers to children of immigrant families who translate and interpret for their parents and other individuals.

Europe are increasingly perceived as emotionally close, since they are already related to a variety of contexts and persons (e.g. classmates, friends, family members and transnational mobility) and co-productive for the use of Slovene.[13] As for Slovene itself, such contextualisations were also common in pupils' comments in the workshops, regardless of which linguistic family background they came from. Therefore, from the perspective of the children, the "minority language" does not only play a role at school.

Another primary school in Klagenfurt/Celovec, the public VS 24, also provides a balanced Slovene-German education, but through a combined time- and person-based model. It switches between German and Slovene instruction on a weekly basis and gains additionally from the fact that two teachers share two classes and are hence able to prepare the content together. The teachers themselves change the language of teaching as well. One of them teaches in German in class A the first week, then uses Slovene for instruction in class B the following week. The second teacher uses German in class B the first week and Slovene in class A the following week. This system was established in 2003/04 and accompanied by evaluations in cooperation with the University of Klagenfurt/Celovec (cf. Introduction). When the VS 24 model was put into place, parents feared the children would be overstrained by the long periods of Slovene teaching – but according to Vladimir Wakounig's documentation (2008), attitudes towards the model have changed for the better. The clear distribution of languages has become an advantage for children and teachers alike, in comparison to the former team-based (and thus rather translation-oriented) bilingual teaching. Children with weaker language competencies (mostly in Slovene) benefit especially from longer periods of uninterrupted language immersion.

A similar model is applied in Northern Italy: Rico Cathomas and Werner Carigiet (2006) describe the case of a trilingual education system in schools in both the Ladin and German minority contexts, where the weekly language change is favoured as well, while the "one person – one language" approach is rejected in order to avoid the false construction of teachers as monolingual speakers (cf. Balboni 1997, pp. 146f.). It incorporates subject-based approaches as well as metalinguistic-oriented didactics in primary school, where Ladin-speaking pupils achieve a balanced bilingualism for German and Italian as well as a functional trilingualism for Ladin. At secondary level, German and Italian are languages of instruction, distributed by subjects.

While in many regions dual immersion programmes are applied only in primary schools (cf. Paciotto 2009, p. 452), Slovene-German education in Carinthia can be pursued in some secondary schools, e.g. the 1957-founded "Bundesgymnasium und Bundesrealgymnasium für Slowenen/Zvezna Gimnazija in Zvezna Realna Gimnazija za Slovence" in Klagenfurt/Celovec. The possibility of achieving a high proficiency in two or more languages makes the school an attractive choice for students from dual-medium primary schools – from both predominantly Slovene- as well as predominantly German-speaking backgrounds. Making Slovene education

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[13] Though not applying dual-medium education, some teachers at secondary schools in the Burgenland-Croatian minority context include comparative teaching of Burgenland-Croatian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and in this way meet the heterogeneous backgrounds of their pupils (Mossakowski 2009).

available up to the age of 18, the standing of bilingual primary schools is also strengthened. Students and parents already anticipate the option of dual-medium secondary education when the children start primary school and are hence less likely to opt for a German-only primary school than in areas where it is difficult to pursue bilingual education throughout an entire schooling career.

In addition to Slovene and German, the school offers further languages, especially in the so-called "Kugy-class"[14] since 1999, which is attended by pupils from Carinthia, Slovenia and Italy. Four languages are used for instruction in this class: Slovene, German, Italian and English.

The languages are distributed through a subject-based system. However, subjects are not assigned to one single language throughout all eight grades: Biology may be taught in Slovene in the first grade and in English in a higher grade. In general, didactics are oriented towards project-based learning. Longer language immersion periods as well as regular trips and school exchange foster the children's multilingual competencies. The fact that children start with different levels of competencies in first grade is being made a virtue in the way that they are encouraged to benefit from each other's knowledge, to engage in translation and comprehension activities and hence develop mutual understanding. Language acquisition is seen as a non-linear process and differences in the individual development are taken into account. It is because of the informal use of language as well as contact with regional varieties that the four languages are perceived as close to one's individual repertoire. Dialects, youth jargon and other non-standard forms allow individualised expression and strengthen the relations between personal and group identity.

The school's teaching material also provides students with resources in languages other than the language of teaching (e.g. German books in a Slovene biology class). In this regard, parents have also experienced advantages when they want to support their children: German books for subjects taught in Slovene are regarded as a possibility for non-Slovene-speaking parents to give additional explanations. As Carla Paciotto (2009, pp. 468f.) notes in the Italian-Slovene context, the distribution of languages might lead to a lack of specific resources (e.g. specialised terminology) in one or the other subject and the students or teachers have to come up with ways to balance these inequalities, especially when competence in a subject is a requirement for further or higher education.

The official internal communication at school (class-register, notices, and so on) takes place mainly in Slovene. However, to adapt to the increasing number of non-Slovene-speaking parents, invitations for parent-teacher conferences are now distributed in German as well. This helps to diminish the fears of parents whose choice of school for their children is based not primarily on the specific promotion of Slovene, but on the general valuing of the learning of, and in, several languages. The inclusion of parents in the schools' and societies' fostering of multilingualism is of great importance in all of the schools, as their impact on language attitudes among their children is highly visible.

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[14] Julius Kugy (1858–1944) was an alpinist and multilingual citizen of (then Austrian) parts of Italy, born to Slovene parents. He strongly opposed nationalist ideas and is symbolic for peaceful regional cooperation.

Conclusion

Having implemented different dual-medium approaches that diminish transitional processes in bilingual schooling, the schools we have dealt with nonetheless represent rather exceptional cases within Austria's bilingual educational landscape. Their experiences could surely influence language educational policies in Austria in a fruitful way, but until now they have had rather little impact. Still, their being potentially regarded as examples of best practice might primarily rest upon the fact that they apply strategies in the systematic and equal distribution of languages of instruction. It does involve some other reasons as well, as our ethnographic fieldwork shows.

First of all, the schools gain mainly from the commitment of their surroundings – be it partly from political authorities, to a significant extent from minority organisations and mostly from teachers, parents as well as pupils – and from the active need for collaborative negotiation of educational goals with all actors involved. These preconditions manifest widely in representational terms (e.g. a linguistic landscape that allows for a bi- and multilingual definition of a shared social space), in the availability of adequate teaching and learning resources or in context-sensitive teaching principles. What is more, social practices which promote languages outside the educational domain stimulate further possibilities for the pupils' use of the different languages. By consequence, they consider linguistic resources to be less at the periphery of their lives. The teachers' commitment also includes a pronounced interest in being bi- and multilingual role models and to support the students' self-construction as multilingual speakers. Time-based elements in a dual-medium model may seem appropriate in this regard, since they do not assign one single language to a teacher: the pupils are perfectly aware that their teachers are speakers (equally) competent in both languages. This allows for identification and for heteroglossic resources to be perceived as functionally balanced and as productive in a broader spectrum of purposes.

Another potential advantage of time-based instruction approaches is that through the absence of the other language, pupils and teachers make efforts to use the given language for all purposes – without switching to the sometimes "stronger" one. In this regard, teachers from the documented secondary school have reported that pupils from primary schools with time-based models show more routine in learning through different instruction languages. Still, the implementation of purely time-based models demands teachers with high levels of bilingualism (and thus adequate conditions of teacher training). A person-centred model may be easier to implement, since it does not necessarily require bilingual teachers. On the other hand, this model might be financially unfavourable as it requires two teachers for one class at the same time. As in every team setting, the quality of this model will also depend on the cooperation of the two teachers and their effort to avoid the reproduction of language hierarchies in the class setting: partial bilingualism, i.e. the teacher of the minority language being bilingual while the majority language teacher is not, can easily reinforce societal evaluations (cf. Amrein and Peña 2000). A way to circumnavigate both problems has been described above in the case of the primary school VS 24. This school combines the time- and person-based model in such a

way that two teachers share two classes, and thus keep personnel requirements at a comparable level. After all, each application of a model requires an individual adaptation regarding specific local contexts. In order to apply models of bilingual education adequately, the availability of economic, human and spatial resources has to be taken into account and may lead to an individual combination of particular elements of different models suiting the specific needs of a given school community. Brigitta Busch (2010) argues that the school language policy should be negotiated between teachers, learners and parents on the basis of school language profiles established for the specific school/class, as this would make it possible to adapt an appropriate model of dual-medium teaching and learning which takes into consideration all linguistic resources of the speaker and their needs and desires.

Although they were part of a minority programme in the first place, the schools we researched in have achieved particular profiles in innovative multilingual education that have become of interest for non-Slovene-speaking families as well, especially for students with linguistically-heterogeneous backgrounds. Overcoming boundaries of ethnic minority schooling and essentialist understandings of language use seems to be necessary when meeting the needs of different communities. New target groups for bi-/multilingual education are less traditional in their choice of language education and recognise the languages offered as an asset in the transmission of their family languages. This means that schools have to deal with a plurality of contexts in which children experience linguistic resources as socially relevant, since minority language use is no longer limited to the family domain, but is increasingly ascribed with economic value and associated with trans-local social networks. Multilingual education that takes pupils' individual perspectives on language learning into account integrates metalinguistic knowledge and allows for language learning across language boundaries (cf. García et al. 2006) and therefore furthers language comparison as well as inter-comprehension (i.e. communication in similar languages, with each speaker speaking in a language that he or she is most proficient in). Such a focus on the learners' diverse resources reflects their multilingual realities and different settings of language use, making a dual-medium approach available for several purposes.

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