

Introduction

While the *European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*² (ECHR) from 1950 regulates general legal human rights aspects, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* - agreed upon by the member states of the Council of Europe in 1992 - regulates linguistic and language rights with respect to 'the protection of the historical regional or minority languages of Europe'³. In the Charter it is among others stated that regional or minority languages of the member states are to be recognized 'as an expression of cultural wealth'. In addition, it is outlined, that the use of regional or minority languages has to be facilitated and/or encouraged 'in speech and writing, in public and private life' (ibid). The Charter thus regulates an area with respect to linguistic and language rights of regional or minority languages in Europe that historically has caused many debates throughout the history of Europe⁴. According to the Charter, 'regional or minority languages' means languages that are:

- a. 'traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and
- b. different from the official language(s) of that State'⁵.

What has though been mentioned by researchers⁶ and what besides might attract the attention today 20 years after the agreement upon the legal status of regional and minority languages in Europe - is the historical fact, that in the definition used in the European Charter from 1992, languages of migrants were not defined as minority languages. In the Charter it is hence outlined that regional and minority languages do

'not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants'⁷.

During the last decades nonetheless, not only countries in Europe but also other countries are becoming increasingly diverse in regard to origins, cultures, religion and languages of the population.

Charts and statistics from both United Nations Population division and the World Bank etc. illustrate how global migration processes in the late 20th and early 21st century has led to an increased quantity of people moving from place to place⁸. In the period from 1960 to 2000 the total number of migrants increased from approx. 92 million to approx. 165 million. The largest wave of migration in this period took place to Western Europe and the United States respectively. As outlined by Özden et al. in this period 'the migrant stocks in the US and Western Europe grew by 24.3 million and 22 million respectively, constituting around 42% of

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² Council of Europe (1950), *European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, Council of Europe, Rome;

³ Council of Europe (1992), *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, Council of Europe, Strassbourg;

⁴ Kortmann, B. and J. van der Auwera (eds.) (2011), *The languages and linguistics of Europe: a comprehensive guide*, de Gruyter Mouton, Berlin, New York; Østergaard, U. (2001), *Europas ansigter: nationale stater og politiske kulturer i en ny, gammel verden*, Rosinante, København;

⁵ Council of Europe (1992), *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, Council of Europe, Strassbourg;

⁶ E.g. Guus, E. and Gorter, D. (eds) (2001), *The Other Languages of Europe: Demographic, Sociolinguistic and Educational Perspectives*, Multilingual Matters. New York;

⁷ Council of Europe (1992), *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, Council of Europe, Strassbourg;

⁸ World Bank (2011), *Trade and International integration*; UN (2011), *Population Distribution, Urbanization, International Migration and Development: An international Perspective*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, United Nations;

the world total in 2000⁹. Rapid development in modern technology with respect to transportation and community combined with global migration processes has enabled major population movements, and accordingly an increasing complexity in population composition not only in Europe as a whole, but also in the different member states¹⁰.

In responding to the growing diversity countries in Europe however, face a number of challenges with respect to not only the sociological, political and social transformations taking place within each country but also with respect to the linguistic and language rights connected to this. The challenges of complexity have been met in different ways¹¹.

Based on a case study of one of the member states of Europe, e.g. Denmark, in this article I want to discuss and suggest a broadening of the definitions in The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages from 1992; in conclusion I will address some challenges for the future of a diverse Europe.

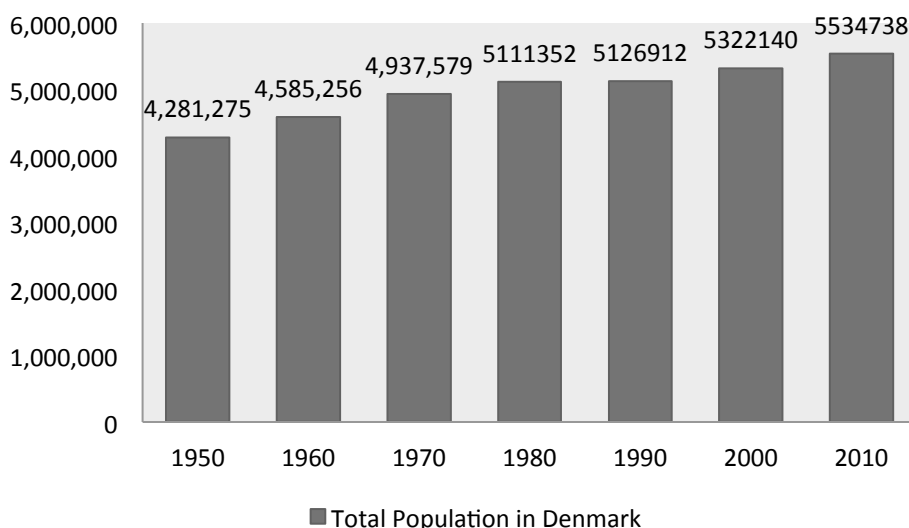
Background - migration to Denmark in the period 1950-2010

As in most other European countries linguistics and language rights of minorities in Denmark as defined in the European Charter from 1992 - with regard to e.g. the German minority in the south of Denmark - has been regulated legally in the past. Conversely, linguistics and language rights specifically connected to the increased migration to the country and hence to the increased variety of other languages being spoken in Denmark has been an important issue of debate in the past decades.

In recent history Denmark has been a rather homogenous country regarding both origin of inhabitants, costumes, history, religion and language. The increased diversity of the country has on the other hand, as in many other European countries, been subject to many legislative initiatives and for this reason been a continuous topic of the public and political discourse since the late 1970's.

Compared to other European countries Denmark is a small country. In table 1 below the population in Denmark in the period from 1950 to 2010 is shown¹². Whereas the population in 1950 was approximately 4.2 million inhabitants, this amount increased to about 5.5 million 60 years later in 2010.

Table 1 Total population in Denmark 1950-2010



An international perspective, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, United Nations;

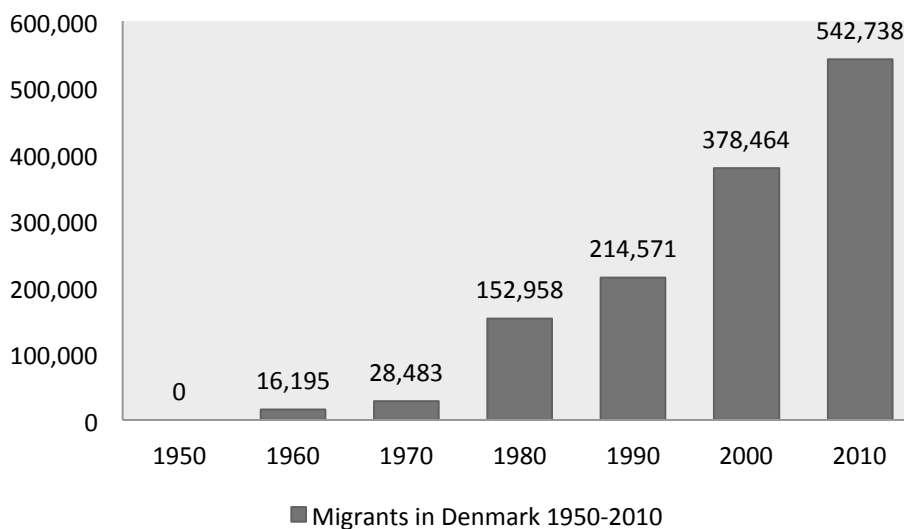
¹¹ Eriksen, T.H., Alghasi, S. Ghorashi, H. (eds.). (2009), *Paradoxes of Cultural Recognition. Perspectives from Northern Europe*, Ashgate Publishing Group, Ashgate e-book, Abingdon, Oxon, GBR; Schuerkens, U. (2005), 'Transnational Migrations and Social Transformations: A Theoretical Perspective', *Current Sociology*, July 2005, vol. 54 (4): 536-553, Sage Publications, London; Terrén, E. (2008), 'Remaking civic coexistence: Immigration, religion and cultural diversity' in: Cameron, McCarthy (ed.), *Transnational Perspectives on Culture, Policy, & Education: Redirecting Cultural Studies in Neoliberal Times*, Peter Lang, New York;

¹² Data and charts are generated based on official Danish statistical information (Danmarks Statistik 2000, 2011).

The immigration to Denmark in the same period has – as indicated in the above mentioned calculations of the World Bank and UN - been rather extensive. Yet, in the first decades after World War II until the early 1970s merely relatively few immigrants lived in Denmark. According to information from official Danish statistics, 1959 is the first year in which foreigners are registered with an amount of 16.195 persons and a percentage of 0,4% of the total population. Included in this amount was a group of about 1400 Hungarian refugees coming to Denmark in the 1950s after the uprising in Hungary in 1956¹³. As it is evidenced in table 2 below, the immigration to Denmark – similar to other European countries – started in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Table 2 illustrates the number of persons – including refugees, migrants and their descendants¹⁴ – migrating to and living in Denmark in the period from 1950-2010.

Table 2 Migrants and their descendants in Denmark in the period from 1950 to 2010



In the late 1960s and early 1970s immigrants from mostly former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Morocco and Pakistan – very often through migration chains from Germany - came to Denmark to work. Apart from this also political refugees started coming to the country. The immigration of refugees since the 1970s and onwards is a result of Denmark in 1968 having ratified the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention about ‘respect for human rights in armed conflicts’ and refugees¹⁵.

The immigration to Denmark in the 1980s, compared to the previous decades – as evidenced in table 2 - increased significantly. The reasons were several; firstly, due to a slow-down in the economy the Conservative-led government tried to get the economy moving by inviting further immigrants to work in Denmark; secondly, from the mid 1980s due to the adaption of new immigration laws facilitating more refugees to seek

¹³ Danmarks Statistik/[Statistics Denmark] (1959), *Statistisk årbog [Statistical yearbook]*, Danmarks Statistik, København; Kornø Rasmussen (2008), *Den danske stamme: en befolkningshistorie*, Politikens forlag, København; Petersen, K.B. (2005): ‘Country Report Denmark. Language Teaching – Danish as a Second Language for Migrants in Denmark. History – Background – Context of Language Teaching’;

¹⁴ In this article the definitions of ‘migrant’ and ‘descendant’ follow the definitions in official Danish statistics; e.g. ‘migrants/immigrants’ are defined as persons ‘born overseas. None of the parents are both Danish nationals and born in Denmark’ whereas ‘descendants’ are defined as ‘born in Denmark. None of the parents are both Danish nationals and born in Denmark. When one or both parents born in Denmark acquire Danish citizenship, their children can not be classified as descendants, but as persons of Danish origin’ (Danmarks Statistik 2011:12).

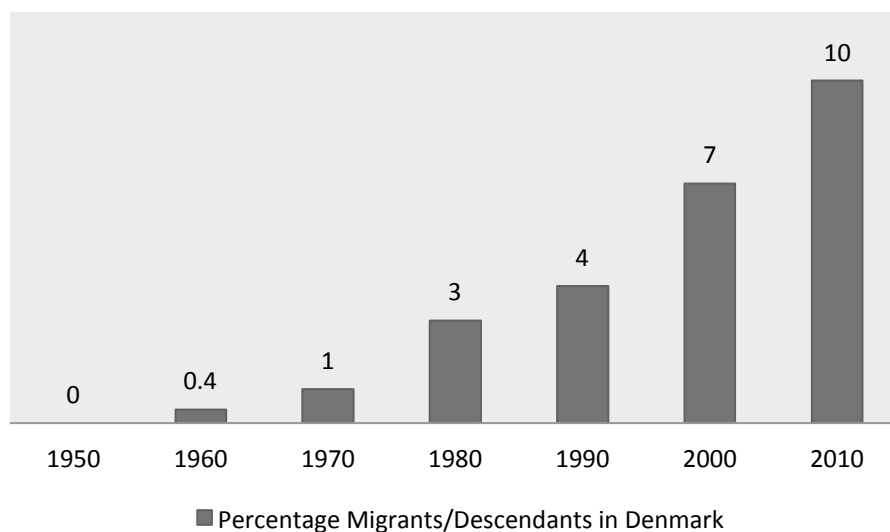
¹⁵ Kornø Rasmussen (2008), *Den danske stamme: en befolkningshistorie*, Politikens forlag, København, p. 129;

asylum in Denmark, and laws giving immigrants living in Denmark the legal right to reunion with their families, the immigration increased rapidly¹⁶. From the mid-1980s, a considerable immigration consisting of mainly adult immigrants with refugee status from non-EU developing countries received residence permit in Denmark. Primarily refugees from civil war-torn countries as Iran, Iraq and Lebanon (Palestinians) came to Denmark in this period¹⁷.

In the 1990s the immigration to Denmark continued to increase as both the Conservative and Social-Democrat-led governments – despite some efforts to limit the immigration - more or less followed the political stance of previous decades. By 2000 the total amount of immigrants and descendants living in Denmark reached 378.464, which – indicated in table 3 below - equals 7 % of the total population, consisting of 4,7% immigrants and 2,3% descendants¹⁸. As in the previous decade, immigrants coming to Denmark in the 1990s consisted mainly of refugees; both from EU countries, e.g. from Bosnia-Herzegovina and other Balkan countries due to the wars in Ex-Yugoslavia and from non-EU developing countries experiencing civil wars, e.g. Iraq, Somalia and Afghanistan.

A change in government in 2001 and the announcement of a changed and restricted immigration policy in Denmark especially towards non-EU citizens changed the picture of persons immigrating to Denmark in the 2000s. Due to the economic boom before the financial crisis in 2008 many EU-citizens from both Germany and in particular from former Eastern European countries, e.g. Poland and the Baltic countries were encouraged to travel to Denmark to work¹⁹. Hence, despite the political intentions to limit the immigration to Denmark from 2001 and onwards, the total amount of persons – immigrants and descendants - living in Denmark by 2010 increased to 542.738. Compared to the year 2000 – as it is shown in table 3 below - the percentage of migrants and descendants living in Denmark in the year 2010 increased to 10 %²⁰.

Table 3 Percentage of Migrants/Descendants of total population in Denmark in the period 1950-2010



Altogether, since the late 1970s an increasing number of residents from both EU and especially from non-EU developing countries have come to Denmark either to work or as political and/or humanitarian refugees.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 134 ff.

¹⁷ Ibid; Danmarks Statistik/[Statistics Denmark] (2000), *Danmarks statistik gennem 150 år. 1850-2000: Oversigt udgivet i anledning af Danmarks Statistiks 150 År [Statistics Denmark throughout 150 years. 1850-2000: Lists published on the occasion of Statistic Denmark 150 years]*, Danmarks Statistik, København;

¹⁸ Ibid; Danmarks Statistik/[Statistics Denmark] (2011), *Indvandrere i Danmark [Immigrants in Denmark]*, Danmarks Statistik, København;

¹⁹ Kornø Rasmussen (2008), *Den danske stamme: en befolkningshistorie*, Politikens forlag, København;

²⁰ Danmarks Statistik/[Statistics Denmark] (2011), *Indvandrere i Danmark [Immigrants in Denmark]*, Danmarks Statistik, København;

By January 2011 the percentage increased to 10, 1% of the total population in Denmark; immigrants representing 7, 7% and descendants 2, 4% of this amount. Among the immigrants about 60 % are non-EU-citizens from so-called ‘non-Western countries’²¹, whereas about one fourth of all immigrants living in Denmark are refugees²². Table 4 shows the biggest migrant groups living in Denmark in 2010.

Table 4 Biggest Migrant/Descendants groups living in Denmark by January 2010²³

Migrants & Descendants					
Denmark - January 2010					
Country of origin	Migrants	Descendants	Total	Percentage of Total	Language
Turkey	32.255	26.961	59.216	10,9%	Turkish/ Kurdish
Germany	28.234	2.678	30.912	5,7%	German
Iraq	21.306	7.958	29.264	5,4%	Arab
Poland	25.443	2.958	28.401	5,2%	Polish
Lebanon	12.012	11.763	23.775	4,4%	Arab
Bosnien-Hercegovina	17.911	4.310	22.221	4,1%	Serbo-Croatian
Other African countries	17.054	4.586	21.640	4,0%	African languages
Pakistan	11.169	9.223	20.392	3,8%	Urdu
Yugoslavia (ex.)	11.021	5.938	16.959	3,1%	Serbo-Croatian
Somalia	10.127	6.704	16.831	3,1%	Somalian
Norway	14.663	1.404	16.067	3,0%	Norwegian
Other countries in Asia	11.907	3.509	15.416	2,8%	Asian languages
Iran	12.098	3.111	15.209	2,8%	Farsi
Sweden	13.233	1.921	15.154	2,8%	Swedish
Vietnam	8.919	4.959	13.878	2,6%	Vietnamese
Great Britain	11.832	1.221	13.053	2,4%	English
Afghanistan	9.966	2.664	12.630	2,3%	Pasto/Dari et al.
Sri Lanka	6.715	4.088	10.803	2,0%	Tamil
South- and Mid America	9.352	870	10.222	1,9%	Spanish/Portuguese/
Moroco	5.140	4.691	9.831	1,8%	Moroccan
China	8.506	1.182	9.688	1,8%	Cantonese/Mandarin
North Amerika	8.773	908	9.681	1,8%	English
Thailand	8.849	562	9.411	1,7%	Thai
Philippines	8.377	930	9.307	1,7%	Phillipino
Iceland	7.876	1.090	8.967	1,7%	Icelandic

²¹ In official Danish Statistics from 2011, p. 12 ‘Western countries’ are defined as ‘ All EU-countries plus Andorra, Island, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Norway, San Marino, Switzerland, The Vatican States, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand’, whereas ‘non-Western countries’ are defined as ‘all other countries’. See: Danmarks Statistik/[Statistics Denmark] (2011), *Indvandrere i Danmark [Immigrants in Denmark]*, Danmarks Statistik, København;

²² Danmarks Statistik/[Statistics Denmark] (2011), *Indvandrere i Danmark [Immigrants in Denmark]*, Danmarks Statistik, København, p. 7;

²³ Figures from Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration/ [Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration] (2010), *Tal og fakta om integration. Befolkning, uddannelse, beskæftigelse. Tema om børn. September 2010/[Numbers and facts about integration. Population, education, employment. Theme on children]*, Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration, København; p. 19;

Other countries	81.684	12.126	93.810	17,3%	Other languages
All countries	414.422	128.316	542.738	100%	

A closer look at the immigrants and descendants living in Denmark in 2010 – shown in table 4 - reflect the immigration policy in Denmark throughout the past decades.

It is obvious, that members of the ‘old’ non-EU citizen migrant groups in Denmark – those who came to Denmark in the 1970’s to work - constitute a big part of the migrants and their descendants still living in Denmark by 2010. The group of Turks is the biggest group continuously living in Denmark constituting 10, 9 % of the total amount, whereas the group of Pakistani represents about 3, 8 %.

However, also non-EU citizen refugee groups and especially their descendants, coming to live in Denmark in the 1980s and onwards represent a rather big amount of persons still living in Denmark in 2010. The group of persons from Iraq – in particular remarkable is the growing group of descendants -constitutes 5, 4 %, whereas immigrants and their descendants from Iran – likewise coming to Denmark in the 1980s – represent 2, 8% and immigrants from Lebanon represent 4, 4% of the total.

It is furthermore obvious that many of the refugees, who came to Denmark in the 1980s and 1990s, remained in the country. In 2010 the migrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina cover 4, 1 %, Somalian constitute 3, 1 %, Afghanian 2, 3 % and Tamils from Sri Lanka 2, 0 %.

Citizens from the EU – e.g. from Germany, and above all from Poland – coming to Denmark in the 2000s constitute respectively the second and fourth biggest groups of EU-citizen immigrants living in Denmark in 2010. While Polish immigrants did not appear in the official statistics in 2000, in 2004 the percentage of Polish immigrants increased to 2, 9 % and in 2010 – as evidenced in table 4 - the figure is 5, 2 %²⁴.

With the increasing immigration and variety in the Danish population throughout the past decades the diversity of languages spoken in Denmark is evident. Apart from the languages, spoken by the biggest immigrant groups, indicated in table 4 above, already in the 1990s a Danish linguist counted more than 100 different languages being spoken in Denmark²⁵. The importance of national language and identity, the question of language rights and language education- respectively in the native language/mother tongue and/or in the national language, e.g. Danish - has been an area of increased awareness not only in research, but also in the political debates and discussions in Denmark in recent decades. A glance at the importance of the national language in nation building and, discussions about different concepts of national identity may illustrate the situation in Denmark.

Importance of language in nation-building and language rights - education in the national language

Not only in Scandinavian but also in recent European debates the importance of language in nation building has been emphasized. The Swedish researcher Damsholt has illustrated how the national²⁶ language and school text books have played an important role in the self- determination and building of e.g. the Scandinavian nation-states in the 19th century as ‘an important means of dissemination of the idea of a nation’²⁷. While primarily essentialist notions of national identity, nation hood and nation have been forwarded in European policy contexts – and have e.g. been evidenced in naturalization tests and curricula from both the Netherlands and Denmark– the theoretical concepts of a fixed national identity connected to mostly one

²⁴ Ibid; Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration [Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration] (2004), *Årbog om udlændinge i Danmark 2004 – Status og udvikling*, Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration, København;

²⁵ Stensig, J. (1996), ‘Sprog i Danmark og i verden – forskelle og ligheder blandt verdens sprog’ in: T. Kristiansen et al., *Dansk sproglære*, Dansk lærerforeningen, København;

²⁶ In this article I use the term ‘national language’ as the official language/languages spoken in the described country, e.g. Danish in Denmark, whereas I use the term ‘native language’ - in parallel to the official Danish use of the term ‘mother tongue’ - as the language spoken by speakers of other languages living in the country, e.g. non-national EU-citizens (EU migrants) and non-national non EU-citizens (third country migrants) living in Denmark.

²⁷ Damsholt, K. (1993), ‘Nationalkarakterens genkomst’ [The return of the national character], *Folk og Kultur: Årbog for Dansk Ethnologi og Folkemindevidenskab*, København, p. 78;

standardised language however seem to be challenged through the increased complexity and diversity of modern societies²⁸. During recent decades theories about national identity in terms of constructivist and relativist theoretical positions being related to particular social interactions, individual belongings and hence being seen as objects to change in terms of e.g. ‘liquid identity’ have been promoted²⁹. According to sociologists and anthropologists not only the concept of individual identity but also the understanding of *national identity* need to be reconsidered and reconstructed in order to respond adequately to the challenges of increased diversity of modern societies. This entails, as Vasta highlights:

‘an acceptance and affirmation of the fluidity of the national identity, which in any case continues to change through the process of globalisation and the interaction of cultures at local level’³⁰.

Despite theoretical discussions of the fluidity of national identity however - parallel to the increase in migration to e.g. Denmark - the national language and the education of migrants and descendants in the national Danish language and culture continue to be of great importance³¹. In Denmark the significance and importance of in particular adult immigrants learning Danish language and culture as a right and a tool and means to cope with the life in the national Danish community has been highly prioritized since the early immigration to Denmark.

Danish for adult speakers of other languages – non-national EU-citizens and non-national non EU-immigrants and refugees with valid residence permit

The historical development of language and culture education of adult immigrants in Denmark – the so-called Danish for speakers of other languages³² (DSOL) – hence, is closely connected with the migration to Denmark during the last decades, beginning with the migration to Denmark in the 1970s of the workers from Turkey, Pakistan, former Yugoslavia and Morocco. Unlike other countries in Europe such as Germany and France, the government in Denmark from the beginning of the immigration to Denmark was aware of the importance of adult education for both non-national EU citizens and for non-national non-EU citizens – third country immigrants and refugees - with valid residence permit; the majority of the adult immigrants coming to the Denmark since the 1970s have as a result participated in this education³³. Hence, already in a ministerial initiated report from 1971 it was suggested that adult immigrants in Denmark should be offered free language and culture education and that they freely could chose and themselves organise language schools. The language education was seen as an important precondition for adult immigrants ‘to cope with the Danish society’³⁴. Consequently, from the 1970s and onwards DSA and DSOL education of adult immigrants was set up within the framework of the Danish welfare state based on an education policy framework introduced for the entire Danish public education project and implemented according to the ‘Civic’ and ‘Leisure Law’ from 1968³⁵. For this reason, the understanding in laws and curriculum documents with respect to the education of adult immigrants from the 1970s and onwards have been focusing on adult immigrants’ personal development and democratic involvement, promoting multiculturalism, participatory and awareness raising activities

²⁸ E.g. Bauman, Z. (2000), *Liquid Modernity*, Polity, Cambridge; Bauman, Z. (2004), *Identity: conversations with Benedetto Vecchi*, Polity, Cambridge; Hall, S. (1991), ‘Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities’, in: King, A.D. (ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World system*, Macmillan, London; Petersen, K. B. (2011), ‘Cultural Awareness or a National Monocultural Discourse? – Struggles and Influences in DSOL curriculum and teacher education’; Vasta, E. (2009), ‘Engaging with Diversity: Europe Between Imagined Homogeneity And Enduring Cultural Difference’; Østergaard, U. (2001), *Europas ansigter: nationale stater og politiske kulturer i en ny, gammel verden*, Rosinante, København;

²⁹ E.g. Bauman, Z. (2000), *Liquid Modernity*, Polity, Cambridge

³⁰ Vasta, E. (2009), ‘Engaging with Diversity: Europe Between Imagined Homogeneity And Enduring Cultural Difference’;

³¹ Petersen, K. B. (2011), ‘Cultural Awareness or a National Monocultural Discourse? – Struggles and Influences in DSOL curriculum and teacher education’, p.30;

³² In this article, - in reference to international literature - I use the abbreviation DSOL ‘Danish for speakers of other languages’ in parallel with the term ‘Danish as a Second Language’ or DSA.

³³ E.g. Andersen, O.S. (1990), ‘The Danish tradition of folkeoplysning - a tool of autonomy and integration’; Journees de Sevres (2004), *L’intégration linguistique des adultes migrants en Europe*, Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Paris;

³⁴ Arbejdsministeriet/[Ministry of Employment] (1971), Betænkning nr. 589 om udenlandske arbejderes forhold i Danmark/[Report on the conditions of foreign workers], Arbejdsministeriet, København;

³⁵ Ibid;

in adult immigrant education and teacher education³⁶. A comprehensive adult language education system has been developed since the 1970s including language and culture education, curricular guidelines and assessments³⁷. Since 2003 adult immigrants receiving any kind of social or economic support from the state – both EU and third country immigrants with a valid residence permit - have the right and obligation - within 3 years to attend Danish language and culture education, based on CEFR³⁸ standards including ongoing and final assessment.

However, - as outlined by e.g. the British researcher Vasta and others - in the past decades changes and reforms with respect to adult immigrant education and integration policy have been undertaken, not only in Europe but also in Denmark³⁹. During the past decade – according to Vasta - a ‘retreat’ from multiculturalism ‘both in policy and in public discourses’ has taken place in many European countries⁴⁰. Policy approaches have been promoted representing a ‘pervasive view that pluralist or multicultural approaches to immigrant inclusion have failed’⁴¹. As a result, a number of European countries, among these also Denmark, in the 2000s has introduced more assimilationist policies including e.g. stricter requirements for citizenship, residence, etc. Furthermore, a number of European countries have introduced so-called ‘Britishness’ or ‘Dutchness’ tests as a condition to obtain citizenship⁴². Similar trends have been observed in Denmark in the 2000s. In 2006 naturalization tests and in 2010 residence tests focusing on Danish only subjects in continuation of rather essentialist understandings of culture, history and nationhood have been introduced in order for adult migrants in Denmark to obtain citizenship and residence. Furthermore, e.g. in Denmark in 2003 a new curriculum for the teaching of adult immigrants was adopted in which Danish culture and history in essentialist perceptions were made mandatory replacing former focus on cultural awareness raising approaches in language and culture teaching for adult immigrants. Studies of the language and culture education policy towards adult immigrants and foreigners in Denmark in the 2000s illustrate that a primarily mono cultural discourse has been promoted and excluded former multicultural approaches⁴³.

Danish for speakers of other languages without a residence permit – asylum seekers

While Danish language and culture education is a right – and obligation - for adult immigrants and refugees with a valid residence permit, asylum seekers above 18 years without a residence permit -often living in special centers- have fewer possibilities to learn Danish. It is however stated that asylum seekers while living in Denmark are obliged to participate in education provided in the centers. The education often consists of English language, native language education as well as education in ‘subjects helping the asylum seekers to obtain employment or start own business in home countries’⁴⁴.

Children of asylum seekers aged 7-16 years are offered special education in the centers. The children are taught Danish, English and other subjects taught in primary and secondary school. The weekly number of lessons corresponds the lessons given in the equivalent grade in school. Some children attend classes in a regular school class⁴⁵.

How then is the situation for immigrant children and children of descendants in Denmark with a valid residence permit with respect to learning Danish as the national language of the country?

³⁶ Ibid; Andersen, O.S. (1990), ‘The Danish tradition of folkeoplysning - a tool of autonomy and integration’; Petersen, K. B. (2011), ‘Cultural Awareness or a National Monocultural Discourse? – Struggles and Influences in DSOL curriculum and teacher education’;

³⁷ Petersen, K.B. (2005): ‘Country Report Denmark. Language Teaching – Danish as a Second Language for Migrants in Denmark. History – Background – Context of Language Teaching’ (unpublished);

³⁸ Council of Europe (2001), *Common European Framework of References for Languages*, Cambridge, University Cambridge.

³⁹ Regeringen (2002), *På vej mod en ny integrationspolitik af 5. marts 2002*, Regeringen, København;

⁴⁰ Vasta, E. (2009), ‘Engaging with Diversity: Europe Between Imagined Homogeneity And Enduring Cultural Difference’, p.19;

⁴¹ Ibid;

⁴² Ibid, p. 28;

⁴³ Kornø Rasmussen (2008), *Den danske stamme: en befolkningshistorie*, Politikens forlag, København; Petersen, K. B. (2011), ‘Cultural Awareness or a National Monocultural Discourse? – Struggles and Influences in DSOL curriculum and teacher education’, in: *JISTE, Journal of International Society of Teacher education*, 15, 1:20-27; Petersen, K.B. (2012) in print, ‘Diversity as a common research priority for Nordic and Southern African Universities’, paper presented at the *Sanord Symposium*, June 2012, Aarhus University, Denmark;

⁴⁴ NyiDanmark.dk (2012), *Asyl, Ansørgernes vilkår*, NyiDanmark.dk;

⁴⁵ Ibid;

Danish for children of other languages in primary schools

While adult immigrants with valid residence permit have been provided with language and culture education in Danish since 1971, children of immigrants in 1976 - with the adoption of the first executive order - got the right to receive lessons in Danish as a second language in primary school⁴⁶. For children not knowing Danish, the lessons are offered in classes, often located in the primary school provided for non-national learners. Children knowing some Danish language were furthermore, offered additional lessons in parallel to their participation in the daily teaching for all children in the primary school. The right to receive education in Danish as a second language in primary school has continued to exist from 1976 and onwards. The description of the content and curricula for bilingual and multilingual children in primary school in Denmark has furthermore continuously been developed⁴⁷. Goal of the teaching is that bi- and multicultural children are able to follow the ordinary classes in primary schools.

The quality of the teaching has however been discussed by both teachers and researchers. Whereas a master's degree at university level⁴⁸ is compulsory for teachers of adult immigrants, the situation for teachers in primary school is different. Only in 2007 – after 5 years of piloting - Danish as a second language was decided to be an independent subject in Danish teacher education. Studies and evaluations from 2011 nevertheless indicate that only 16 % of all teachers in Denmark have the skills to undertake the education of bilingual learners⁴⁹. Yet, in 2012 the government proposed a new teacher education, in which the subject Danish as a second language has been removed as an independent subject in the Danish teacher education and replaced by common ideas of language in all subjects⁵⁰.

Whereas the teaching of Danish for speakers of other languages in primary school thus seem to be less stressed, a growing awareness of the fact that language knowledge is a precondition not only for coping with the national language but also with other subjects such as math's, physics, science, history, geography has been prevalent in the discourse of the 2000s. Based on Danish and international research, promoted in didactics in primary school since the 2000s the focus of the national language in other subjects has been prioritized by the government⁵¹.

Despite that teacher qualifications in undertaking education of bilingual children have been less emphasized in the 2010s, the importance of the national language in primary school nevertheless has been highly prioritized since the early immigration to Denmark of migrants and their children from the 1970s and onwards. In comparison, the policy with respect to the rights of bi- and multilingual children to receive native language or mother tongue education conversely, has varied significantly throughout the past decades; it has furthermore been subject to many and intense discussions and debates in Denmark. Before I turn to these debates, I will shortly introduce the Danish language support for preschoolers, established at a legally base from the 1990s.

Danish Language support for preschoolers

In the 1990s an ongoing debate about many immigrant children's lack of knowledge of the national language Danish when starting primary school resulted in an additional paragraph in the Education act of primary schools, called § 4 a. From 1996 onwards Danish language support, the so-called language stimulation or language support for preschoolers was introduced for immigrant children from the age of 3 years. In the beginning this Danish language support was voluntary, in 2004 however, the language support for preschool

⁴⁶Hetmar, T. (1991), *Tosprogede elever – en undervisning i udvikling*, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, København; Undervisningsministeriet/[Ministry of Education] (1976), *Bekendtgørelse af 8. marts 1976 om folkeskolens undervisning af fremmedsprogede elever*, Undervisningsministeriet, København;

⁴⁷ Undervisningsministeriet (1995), *Fælles mål – Dansk som andetsprog. Faghæfte 19*, Undervisningsministeriet, København; Undervisningsministeriet (2006), *Bekendtgørelse nr. 350 af 2006 om folkeskolens undervisning i dansk som andetsprog*, Undervisningsministeriet, København; Undervisningsministeriet (2009), *Fælles mål – Dansk som andetsprog. Faghæfte 19*, Undervisningsministeriet, København;

⁴⁸ Since 1999 a University Masters Degree in Danish as a Second Language has been mandatory for teachers of adult migrants in Denmark.

⁴⁹ Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut (2011), *Læreruddannelsens faglige kvalitet*, Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, København, URL (5 June 2012), www.eva.dk;

⁵⁰ Ministeriet for Forskning, Innovation og Videregående Uddannelser (2012), *Reform af Læreruddannelsen*, Ministeriet for Forskning, Innovation og Videregående Uddannelser;

⁵¹ Ibid; Undervisningsministeriet (2008), *Sproget med i alle fag – andetsprog og didaktik i folkeskolen*, Undervisningsministeriet, København;

children was made compulsory⁵². In a ministerial website from 2012 the following is stated as an explanation:

‘In primary school the language of instruction is Danish. It is therefore of importance that children already when they start primary school are good at speaking Danish (...). Language stimulation in continuation of § 4a is aimed at bilingual children getting extra help to achieve a sufficient level in Danish before they start school’⁵³.

Different actions, publications and measures in language assessment, language screening and language support for three year old children onwards have been developed by most counties and communities throughout Denmark⁵⁴.

As evidenced in the previous sections Danish as the national language thus has played and still plays a very important role in the building of the Danish nation and the educational system - from preschool to primary and adult education. In comparison, the formal recognition of other languages and their status in Denmark is different.

The formal recognition of the various languages and their status in Denmark

In continuation of the European Charter of 1992, mentioned above in the introduction, only relatively few minorities in Denmark in a historical perspective have got a right to speak and learn their own language. The German minority in southern Jutland is referred to as an example of this. With the Greenland Home Rule Act Greenlandic in 1979 was formally recognized as the official language besides Danish in Greenland. However, as outlined in the Act, Section 9, 1 from 1979 ‘Greenlandic shall be the principal language; Danish must be thoroughly taught’⁵⁵. Since 2009 Greenlandic is the only official language in Greenland. On the Faroe Islands the Faroe language is the official language, while Danish is taught in primary schools.

Language rights in compulsory and non-compulsory education

In this section the introduction of language rights in compulsory education is focusing on immigrant languages and the right of children to speak and learn their native language - in official Danish legislation mostly called ‘mother tongue education’. In the history of immigration to Denmark this particularly area has been subject to changes in legislation and intense debates.

In the above mentioned first executive order from 1976 about immigrant children’s right to learn Danish, it was additionally stated that municipalities in Denmark were obliged to offer foreign children ‘education in their mother tongue’⁵⁶. This right for children in compulsory education to learn their native language has been a legal right since 1976 and was confirmed in 2001⁵⁷. The language education was often undertaken by adult immigrants, sometimes teachers themselves from their own country of origin. Sometimes however, the teachers were less educated, which has been subject to debate. In the period from the 1970s to the early 2000s Denmark nevertheless, followed the policy of the other Scandinavian countries with respect to native language education, in particular Sweden and Norway⁵⁸.

In 2002 however, as part of a changed policy by the newly elected government, a new Act was adopted. In the ‘Act of mother tongue education in public schools for children from the Member States of the European Union (...)’ it was stated that children of EU-citizens, of citizens from the European Economic Community, e.g. Norway, from Greenland and the Faroe Islands at a legally base should be offered about 3-5 lessons

⁵² The policy and the fact that immigrant preschool children from the age of three years are being included in acts of primary school has among others been discussed by e.g. Kristjánsdóttir, B. S. (2006), ‘Indvandrerskab – assimilatorisk indvandrerpolitik frem for uddannelsespolitik’, *UFE-nyt*, 77, Undervisere for tosprogede elever, Danmarks Lærerforening, København;

⁵³ Info.dk (n.d.), *Sprogstimulering af tosprogede småbørn*, Undervisningsministeriet, København;

⁵⁴ E.g. Aarhus kommune (2012), *Sprogvurdering og sprogstimulering af 3-årige*, Aarhus Kommune, Aarhus;

⁵⁵ Prime Minister’s Office (1978), *The Greenland Home Rule Act, Act No. 577 of 29 November 1978 (Translation)*, Prime Minister’s Office, Copenhagen;

⁵⁶ Undervisningsministeriet/[Ministry of Education] (1976), *Bekendtgørelse af 8. marts 1976 om folkeskolens undervisning af fremmedsprogede elever*, Undervisningsministeriet, København;

⁵⁷ Undervisningsministeriet (2001), *Bekendtgørelse nr. 536 af 12. juni 2001 om folkeskolens modersmålsundervisning for tosprogede elever*, Undervisningsministeriet, København;

⁵⁸ Hetmar, T. (1991), *Tosprogede elever – en undervisning i udvikling*, Danmarks Lærerskole, København;

in their native language. But in the same Act, it was also stated that the former rights for all bilingual children – among those immigrant children from non-EU countries – was no longer in force⁵⁹. What happened in 2002 was thus that the rights of EU-citizen immigrant children were made compulsory, whereas it was made voluntary for the municipalities to offer native language education for children of non-EU citizen immigrants in Denmark⁶⁰.

In combination with the earlier mentioned voluntary Danish language support for preschoolers being made compulsory in 2004, a result of the act from 2002 was that many municipalities chose not to provide native language education for non-EU citizen immigrant children. Hence, since 2002 the Danish policy towards the language rights of non-EU citizen immigrant children in compulsory education has differed from the policy in other Scandinavian countries, in particular from Sweden.

In the following overview three debates with respect to languages and linguistic rights in Denmark from the 2000s will be outlined. The first debate is connected to the above introduced legislation and right to native language education for bilingual/multilingual children of EU and/or non-EU citizens. The second debate connected to the first is an ongoing debate in Denmark since the early 2000s about bilingual children's lower performance in results from Pisa studies, while the third debate from the beginning and mid 2000s concerns legal aspects in two different cases with respect to Roma children's rights in Denmark.

An overview of current debates

The question of *immigrant children's right to native language education* in compulsory education – whether coming from EU or from non-EU member states – has been subjected to a variety of more or less intense debates in Denmark since the 1970s and onwards. In the debates different points of views have been presented pro and contra native language education in compulsory education. The arguments in favor of the right to native language education have been several.

Firstly, fundamental rights – in continuation of UN-declaration from 1950, article 2 and 26, the ECHR and the UN 1992 *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* – have been presented as arguments for all mono- and bi-respectively multilingual children to having access to native language education in the compulsory education⁶¹.

From 2002 and onwards secondly, arguments have been stated about the discrimination of immigrant children from non-EU countries in Denmark compared to children of parents with EU-citizenship. It has been critiqued that only 5000 children from EU-member states compared to approximately 70.000 children from non-EU countries have been receiving compulsory native language education since 2002. It has in addition been emphasized that many non-national children from non-EU countries might be in even more need of native language education than others⁶².

Thirdly, comparisons with other countries, first of all with Sweden have been made as arguments for equal possibilities for immigrant children in Scandinavian countries.

Further arguments - outlined by researchers - concerning the question about native language acquisition/education supporting bilingual children's academic development and achievements in the second language, e.g. Danish, have been intensely debated throughout the recent decades. From the 1980-1990s it has been the general opinion among researchers - under the influence of both American and Canadian studies indicating direct correlations between cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) and developed native language/mother tongue proficiency in contrast to basic interpersonal communicative skills (so-called BICS) that native language/mother tongue education contribute to bilingual children's academic skills⁶³.

⁵⁹ Undervisningsministeriet (2002), *Bekendtgørelse nr. 618 af 22.7. 2002 om folkeskolens modersmålsundervisning af børn fra medlemsstater i Den Europæiske Union, fra lande, som er omfattet af aftalen om Det Europæiske Økonomiske Samarbejdsområde, samt fra Færøerne og Grønland*, Undervisningsministeriet, København, § 8, stk. 2;

⁶⁰ Ibid;

⁶¹ UN (1947/2012), *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, United Nations; Council of Europe (1950), *European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*; UN (1992), *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities*;

⁶² Ravn, K. (2008), 'Elever, der får modersmålsundervisning, klarer sig bedre i skolen', *Folkeskolen.dk*;

⁶³ E.g. Hetmar, T. (1991), *Tosprogede elever – en undervisning i udvikling*, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, København; Kristjansdóttir in Ravn, K. (2008), 'Elever, der får modersmålsundervisning, klarer sig bedre i skolen', *Folkeskolen.dk*; Frank, L. (2012), 'Radikale vil have modersmålsundervisning', *Folkeskolen.dk*; Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & R. Phillipson (1994) 'Linguistic Human Rights, past and

Arguments raised among others by politicians against the native language education have emphasized other positions.

Firstly, economic aspects combined with the questioning of the value of native language education and secondly, proposals to spend the money on Danish language training instead of mother tongue education are a main argument. The municipality of Copenhagen – the capital city of Denmark – has been one of the municipalities in Denmark continuing to offer native language education after 2002. In 2011 the Conservative vice chairman of children and youth committee in the municipality of Copenhagen criticized the economic planning in the following way:

'It is completely wrong that the municipality for years have spent so much money on mother tongue education. Instead, the money should be used for Danish lessons'⁶⁴.

Thirdly, in political and economic debates the evidence of the importance of native language/ mother tongue education has been questioned. From the 2000s and onwards politicians have been rather unwilling to accept the arguments of the importance of native language/mother tongue education for bilingual children. Discussions about immigrant parents sending their children to Muslim private schools has however led some politicians to discuss whether native language education should be reintroduced in primary school⁶⁵. In 2012, the Danish minister of children and education – after the change of government in 2011 - proclaimed that native language education or 'mother tongue' education is on the agenda of the newly elected Social-Democrat government'⁶⁶. However, no actions have so far been taken to submit new orders suggesting native language education to be compulsory for all bilingual children in Denmark.

Closely connected to the debates about bilingual children's right to native language education, intense debates in Denmark have focused on the OECD *PISA surveys and results* focusing in particular on the results *of bilingual children in Denmark*. In the late 2000s so-called 'Pisa Ethnic' - surveys among bilingual non-native children were conducted as it had been 'obvious from the first PISA studies from the year 2000 and onwards that bilingual children performed less well'⁶⁷. The results among others showed that in particular the reading skills in Danish were low compared to native speaking children; in schools with more than 40 % bilingual children furthermore the results were lower than in schools in which less than 40 % of the children being bilingual. Children of first generation immigrants performed less well than children of second generation immigrants living in Denmark⁶⁸. Additionally, studies in the late 2000s from Sweden – where native language education for all bilingual children as mentioned earlier has been compulsory all the time - reported that native language education had positive effect on the scores of bilingual children in Sweden. However, in Denmark it has been discussed whether the positive achievements could be justified by the native language education or by other factors; as a result of the reports from Sweden it has been suggested to conduct further investigations in Denmark⁶⁹. Thus, pro and contra concerning native language in compulsory education combined with the academic achievements of bi- and multilingual children in Pisa studies remain to be important subjects to debate in Denmark in the 2010s.

The third debate to be referred in this section – similarly influencing legislation in Denmark - is from the beginning and mid 2000s concerning the rights of *Roma children and their parents living in Denmark*. The Roma population in Denmark - consisting of immigrants and their descendants mostly coming from former Yugoslavia to Denmark in the 1970s - has different educational and socioeconomic background. The group of Romas in the center of the debate was former workers at a Danish shipyard in a city to the north of Copenhagen, however since the mid 1980s due to the close down of the shipyard unemployed receiving economically and social support by the state/municipality.

present'; Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000), *Linguistic genocide in education, or worldwide diversity and human rights?*, Lawrence Erlbaum Ass, Mahwah, NJ;

⁶⁴ Fuglsang, J. & P. Mainz (2011), 'Sprogplan er slået fejl', *Politikken*, 17 August 2011;

⁶⁵ Frank, L. (2012), 'Radikale vil have modersmålsundervisning', *Folkeskolen.dk*;

⁶⁶ *Ibid*;

⁶⁷ Egelund, N., C.P. Nielsen og B.S. Rangvid (2011), *Pisa etnisk 2009. Etniske og danske unges resultater i Pisa 2009*, AKF, Anvendt Kommunal Forskning, København, p. 3;

⁶⁸ *Ibid*;

⁶⁹ Søndergaard, J. et al (2011), 'Hvad er effekten af modersmålsundervisning?', *Politikken*, 1 November 2011,

In the *first case* to be referred, a municipality in Denmark – approximately from the mid 1980s - started gathering Roma children in special classes with the explanation that many of the children did not go to school at a regular base and thus were difficult to integrate in normal classes. In 2002 a complaint was sent to the legal Danish authorities criticizing the ‘segregation (racial separation) of Roma children by isolating them in ethnic based separate classes’⁷⁰. In the complaint it was firstly stressed that the Roma classes did not follow legal principles of the Danish Primary School Education Act and, secondly it was outlined that the establishment of separate Roma classes conflicts with international human rights prohibiting segregation based on ethnicity⁷¹. The case was juridical reviewed and, among others in 2005 stressed by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in a resolution about the ‘Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by Denmark’, outlining that ‘concern remains about the equality of education for Roma children taught separately in a class for Roma children with high rates of absenteeism’⁷². In January 2005 the classes were closed by the municipality⁷³.

The *second case*, also related to the education of Roma children in Denmark in the same municipality concerned the fact that the municipality from February 2000 decided to shorten the social economic support by a certain daily amount of Roma parents to children, who did not show up in the school class. The case was subject to debate. In 2002 it was stated by legal authorities that ‘this practice was illegal’ and the municipality had to repay the money to the Roma parents⁷⁴. Since 2002 this practice is no longer used by the municipality.

Language rights in non-compulsory education (especially higher education)

While the debates about children’s language rights in Denmark hence, have been subjected to intense debate in Denmark in recent decades, the question of language rights in non-compulsory education and especially higher education has not been subject to similar discussions. In higher education in Denmark most teaching is undertaken in Danish. International students are encouraged to evidence their knowledge of English before entering higher education. Students of other languages conversely, as other adult immigrants in Denmark, described in the previous sections – have the right to learn Danish while studying. Furthermore, students of other languages have the right to write their exams in English, and, if they choose to write the exams in Danish they may have the right to have additional time to finish their assignments. In 2011 students from the United States, China and Turkey constituted the largest number of international students in Denmark⁷⁵.

In conclusion - challenges for the future

As it has been evidenced in this article Denmark during the past decades has turned into an increasingly diverse society in terms of culture, origin and religion, and languages spoken by the people living in the country. Previously rather homogeneous societies like Denmark – similar to other Scandinavian and European countries - have been influenced by the global migrations processes and, this has challenged the concepts and self perceptions of these countries as being homogeneous. What has happened to Denmark as to other immigration countries throughout the world is likely to be a situation, observed by Schurkens, in which ‘migration not only changes the migrant, but it changes the society of emigration and the society of immigration’⁷⁶.

⁷⁰ Romnet.dk (2012a), ‘Romaklasser i Helsingør’, *Romanet.dk*;

⁷¹ Ibid;

⁷² Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (2005), *Resolution ResCMN(2005)9 on the implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by Denmark*;

⁷³ A full description of all details including the legal reviews and decisions can be seen on Romanet.dk (2012a), ‘Romaklasser i Helsingør’, *Romanet.dk*;

⁷⁴ Romnet.dk (2012b), ‘Romaerne i Helsingør’, *Romanet.dk*,

⁷⁵ NyiDanmark.dk (2011), *Markant flere udenlandske studerende i 2011*;

⁷⁶ Schuerkens, U. (2005), ‘Transnational Migrations and Social Transformations: A Theoretical Perspective’, *Current Sociology*, p. 543;

However, in responding to the growing diversity modern societies like EU member states and among those Denmark - as it has been evidenced in this article - face a number of challenges with respect to language education, to language and linguistic rights of the children and adults living in the country. It is illustrated that the national language education of Danish for speakers of other languages plays a crucial role in the efforts to integrate the new citizens in the country – adults as well as children. It is however furthermore evidenced how current debates with respect to children's right to learn their native language has been handled differently in Denmark in comparison to other Scandinavian countries, in particular Sweden.

With respect to language and linguistics rights in Denmark, it could - in continuation of Guus and Gorter's investigations from 2001- be outlined, that 'the definitions of minority languages in the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages are challenged. A widening of its scope is proposed in order to include rather than exclude immigrant languages in the range of European minority languages'⁷⁷.

As the British researcher Vasta outlines with respect to European policy - applicable also to the Danish policy of the past decade - 'the shift away from multiculturalism' has had negative impact on former cultural recognition of immigrants and has furthermore, 'led to a move away from the right to pursue' immigrant's 'own language, traditions and culture in favor of an emphasis on those of the dominant culture' (ibid). In other words according to Vasta a sort of 'engineering' an assimilative discourse has taken place in Danish and European policy towards immigrants in the 2000s.

However, as emphasized by several researchers and politician neither 'Danishness tests' nor other national tests and demands for increased assimilation seem to be able to solve the problems and challenges facing European countries. Efforts to link foreigners to the countries they have settled in through specific tests focusing on traditional national culture in essentialist terms do not appear to be an appropriate response to the increasing cultural diversity in the population composition of European countries. As Vasta outlines

'social solidarity or immigrant participation cannot be achieved without immigrants and ethnic minorities developing a sense of belonging. But this cannot be produced through the likes of Britishness or Dutchness tests or a policy shift towards assimilationism (...) In other words 'social cohesion' cannot be engineered'⁷⁸.

A reconceptualisation of concepts like culture, national identity, multiculturalism and citizenship might be suggested as a way to address the diversity and complexity of modern societies⁷⁹. Broadened concepts as an alternative to the imagined homogeneity of many European countries in the past therefore, according to several researchers, politician and others, must embrace not only what the majority puts into law and action in order to assimilate immigrants but needs to set the conditions for the transformation of the entire spectrum of modern diverse societies as 'a philosophy and policy that promotes an acceptance of cultural diversity' by also 'encouraging the recognition of immigrants and their children as legitimate citizens by the society and its institutions'⁸⁰. Also concepts of citizenship and *civic coexistence*, according to Terrén, are in a need to be reconceptualised. As outlined by Terrén 'citizenship in increasingly complex and heterogeneous civil societies implies rethinking legal rights, but also the attitudes and representations that condition the experience of intercultural contact in daily life. Citizenship is thus deeply implicated in the cultural dimension of civic coexistence, as it always implies some kind of collective identity and a certain sense of belonging'⁸¹.

⁷⁷ Guus, E. and Gorter, D. (eds) (2001), *The Other Languages of Europe: Demographic, Sociolinguistic and Educational Perspectives*, Multilingual Matters. New York;

⁷⁸ Vasta, E. (2009), 'Engaging with Diversity: Europe Between Imagined Homogeneity And Enduring Cultural Difference'; *Difference* in: Eriksen, T.H., Alghasi, S. Ghorashi, H. (eds), *Paradoxes of Cultural Recognition. Perspectives from Northern Europe*. Ashgate Publishing Group, Ashgate e-book, Abingdon, Oxon, GBR, p. 28;

⁷⁹ Petersen, K.B. (2012) in print, 'Diversity as a common research priority for Nordic and Southern African Universities', paper presented at the *Sanord Symposium*, June 2012, Aarhus University, Denmark;

⁸⁰ PVasta, E. (2009), 'Engaging with Diversity: Europe Between Imagined Homogeneity And Enduring Cultural Difference' in: Eriksen, T.H., Alghasi, S. Ghorashi, H. (eds), *Paradoxes of Cultural Recognition. Perspectives from Northern Europe*. Ashgate Publishing Group, Ashgate e-book, Abingdon, Oxon, GBR, p. 30;

⁸¹ Terrén, E. (2008), 'Remaking civic coexistence: Immigration, religion and cultural diversity' in: Cameron, McCarthy (ed.), *Transnational Perspectives on Culture, Policy, & Education: Redirecting Cultural Studies in Neoliberal Times*, Peter Lang, New York, p. 79;

As optimistically highlighted by Terrén, ‘reassessing our feelings of belonging and the attitudes we develop toward culturally diverse people is a process that, when based on the common denominator of intercultural coexistence, can lead to a stronger democracy’⁸².

In the future, the continuous cultural diversity not only in Denmark but also in other EU member states and in EU as a whole may thus at best contribute to the further development of stronger democratic societies.

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⁸² Ibid, p. 81;

- Eriksen, T.H., Alghasi, S. Ghorashi, H. (eds.). (2009), *Paradoxes of Cultural Recognition. Perspectives from Northern Europe*, Ashgate Publishing Group, Ashgate e-book, Abingdon, Oxon, GBR;
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