

SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DEMOCRATIC INVOLVEMENT AND GROUP APPROACH IN IMMIGRANT-DOMINATED AREAS – EXPERIENCES FROM RAADMANDSGADES SKOLE AND HEIMDALSGADES OVERBYGNINGSSKOLE IN COPENHAGEN CITY, DENMARK

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I. POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS

Per Bregengaard,

1. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE INTEGRATION WORK OF SCHOOLS IN COPENHAGEN

“The goals are

- that bilingual pupils should achieve sufficiently good results from their education to enable them to take part in the life of the community at work as the equals of their Danish fellow pupils
- that the multi-ethnic combination of the pupils is seen by the children, teachers and parents as an enrichment of the Danish culture and as a means of supporting internationalisation in Danish society
- that the schools need to be culturally accommodating, with the personal, cultural and language backgrounds of all children as the point of departure for the whole of the work of school.”

(Objective 2000 for primary and lower secondary schools in the City of Copenhagen)

The City of Copenhagen’s goals for its schools reflect a desire for mutual integration in a democratic multicultural society characterised by solidarity, elasticity and amplitude and with equal opportunities for all. Meeting these goals in the real world is a complicated matter when it comes to school policy in relation to ethnic minorities, which is the theme that we will focus on in the following.

2. EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND DIFFERENT CULTURES – IN MODERN SOCIETY

People from ethnic minorities are very different from each other. But many ethnic cultures and subcultures are characterised by religious, hierarchical and patriarchal authorities, values, ideas and attitudes that are remnants of a traditional peasant society. They are far from the requirements of the labour market today that must be met in order to keep up with and influence developments in society.

Integration can be defined as a process in which immigrants, refugees and their descendants are functionally adjusted to and adapt themselves to society. Without giving up what they regard as their present ethnic identity, culture and language, they can participate in society on an equal footing with ethnic Danes by acquiring the necessary language proficiency, skills and qualifications.

Many competencies are not neutral qualifications in terms of value, but are precisely attached to a cultural personality. For example, one cannot have a critical, independent and democratic attitude and at the same time subject oneself to a tradition-bound authority and perpetuate this view, even though many people who live in a cultural borderland are experts at separating, maintaining and commuting between the different arenas of life. If the school system protects minority pupils' "peculiarities" – for example in the form of authoritarian attitudes – by invoking the sacred principles of equality and tolerance, minority children and youngsters are left behind in the development and are kept in a straitjacket outside modern society. This will also be a signal from the school system to the families that they are to pass on an outdated culture to the next generation.

Not even a language can be reduced to a mere tool for communication. Language and culture are closely inter-linked. Good proficiency in Danish is a prerequisite for doing well and independently in Denmark, and one requirement is therefore to understand, become familiar with, and (to some extent or other) absorb Danish culture.

The idea of equal cultures is a beautiful notion, but one that is not completely compatible with a society that is constantly developing in numerous areas and makes specific demands on the people in it. Different cultures are more or less appropriate in a given social context, and they are consequently not in an equal position.

This reservation about adopting a principle of absolute reciprocity in an integration strategy is consequently not only limited to what the powerful majority culture may be willing to accept and negotiate. The reservation also concerns the acquisition of the competencies that are necessary to be able to participate on an equal footing in modern societies. Some make this a question of "Danish schools". The reality of the matter is that the progressive middle-class school system, in its form and contents, is generally the system that is best geared to meeting the requirements that are made in our democratic knowledge society.

3. INTEGRATION AS A JOINT PEDAGOGICAL PROJECT

Another problem involved in the integration strategy is that the values, ideas, attitudes and behaviour of different cultures may be incompatible. There are limits to the harmonisations of mutual recognition. The interaction and work of schools and classes cannot be based on equal validity, which leads to indifference. One must choose, even though a certain amount of elasticity, combinations, transitional schemes and compromises can be imagined in the joint foundation on which the class, the school and subsequently society are to be based. We have a joint project.

If we look at school practices, we are unlikely to find any teachers who, out of blind respect for minority pupils' cultural background, teach on the basis of the values and behavioural patterns of traditional peasant societies. The elements that are included in the pedagogical work as positive elements are firstly "translations" of different, even contradictory, cultures, values and norms into more abstract and open views in which different cultures can be confirmed. We are to understand each other. Secondly, some distinctive cultural features that may be called external ethnic manifestations,

such as clothes, food, stories and explanations of the festivals, are included as elements. These are the exotic elements that can more easily be transferred to, transplanted to and meet with the majority society. It is important that these ethnic manifestations are taken seriously.

Integration is not just something that schools and society consciously try to arrange. It is a process in which all children and young people are inherently fellow players. They are en route. They are each sorting through their own cultural and ethnic baggage. Their identity is formed and changed under the influence of their surroundings, including whether there is a positive or negative attitude to these ethnic manifestations and other distinctive cultural features. This process takes place for Danish and other ethnic cultures. They are by no means static cultures, but are continuously developing and forming new “bastard” cultures. Some call this process cultural creolisation. Others use the term cultural hybrids.

These cultural hybrids may represent something new, but they are often more fragmented mosaics. 22-year-old Nasim was born in Denmark, has an Iranian background, is a Muslim and has the following view of himself:

“I’m a Muslim, which is a personal religion for me. I drink and smoke when I feel like it and I don’t wear a scarf. But I still regard myself as a Muslim, because I think that Islam is about being wholehearted and doing things wholeheartedly. For example, I do not have any doubt that my “God” would not accept it if I prayed or wore a scarf out of a sense of duty rather than because I wanted to and understood the reasons for it. To me, religion is about being good to my fellow beings. And I try to be. I don’t feel that I’m not a good Muslim simply because I do not meet other people’s requirements for being a Muslim.

I don’t feel 100 per cent Iranian. How could I possibly, seeing that I was born and raised in Denmark, where all the experiences and impulses that I had while I was growing up here in Denmark, together with Danes, have made me the person that I am today. Therefore, I cannot meet all my parents’ demands, because they grew up under a completely different set of values, in another time and place. So their reaction, as well as the reactions from others of the same generation, is that I have become too Danish. The result of this is that, like many other young people of ethnic background, I question who I really am and where I come from ... I feel like a mixture of Iranian and Dane, which I don’t see as a problem. On the contrary, I regard it as a fantastic opportunity to show what a human being can be capable of ...”

Successful integration processes entail that schools have such amplitude that reasonable room is created for the integration strategies of different children, young people and their parents. This is achieved through a dialogue. How should bathing, school camp, children’s birthdays, food at gatherings, church attendance at Christmas, etc. be handled?

This must, for example, mean that the formulated basic principle of the Danish Primary and Lower Secondary School Act to use the pupils’ backgrounds as a basis must be taken into greater consideration than previously also in the work with minority pupils. All children’s and young people’s personal, language and cultural backgrounds must be incorporated and utilised in all pedagogical work. The minority pupils’ self-esteem and identity must be strengthened by allowing them, to a greater extent than before, to see a positive reflection of themselves in the contents of the teaching, in puppets, pictures, teaching aids and materials as well as the adults.

4. ETHNOCENTRISM OR CHOICE OF VALUES

The “good” educationist chooses by doing what she or he thinks is best for the children. Politicians choose by formulating objectives, targets and rights that public educators are to relate to

positively. Once objectives are drafted and activities are commenced across cultural differences and based on a desire for integration, good intentions may quickly be put to the test, whether one wants to stand firmly behind some principles and rights or strike the happy mean.

For example, I find it right that children learn that boys and girls are equal, that they know their body and have a natural relationship with it. I must therefore admit that I clearly do not respect opposite values in these matters. Likewise, I am of the opinion that it is important that children learn about other cultures than their own, despite the fact that some people experience other cultures as hostile and immoral. I feel that games and experiences are important elements in school activities even though letters and figures reign much more supremely in other pedagogies and cultures. I am of the opinion that democracy and dialogue are a communal affair and an asset in all matters of life, one that must be continued and disseminated at the expense of authoritarian relations.

When one chooses to do what one thinks is best, one should be aware that the point of view is that of one's own culture. Ethnologists use the term *ethnocentrism* about the view that the values, attitudes and norms on which you have been brought up are the best and are superior to other values, attitudes and norms. This pejorative technical term signals a narrow-minded missionising master race mentality. In continuation hereof, there is often the assimilation view that all people from ethnic minorities must be turned into "real" Danes as quickly as possible. In the opposite camp, there is the view that everything has equal validity, which, as mentioned above, often leads to indifference.

5. CULTURAL, UNIQUE AND JOINT CHARACTERISTICS

Despite my "good upbringing" in which I have learnt to adopt a nuanced view of other people, I am of the opinion that a certain amount of ignorance also has some qualities that provide insight. One quality in the understanding of foreign people is that you can summarise their culture, values and qualities. The outsider may, in fact, create an insight that is damaged by too much immersion in a foreign culture and that evaporates if she or he becomes part of it. It is like an Impressionist pointillist painting. If you get too close to the painting, the landscape dissolves into a myriad of dots. They only make sense when viewed from a distance, when they can no longer be distinguished from each other.

The problem with the ethnic and cultural label may then be that it becomes the explanation and that it obstructs any progress in, for example, the concretisation of a specific child's problems, which may be connected with stigmatisation, conflicts in the home, war traumas or other problems. The culture may become an excuse for powerlessly putting the problems aside.

A teacher's basis should obviously be that each human being is a unique individual and not a subset of a mass. This requires that teachers can also see some ways out of the culturally conditioned problems that we all acknowledge exist. It is wrong to regard everyone as equal in a non-problematising way. It is correct to look at the actions, values and norms of different children and young people in the light of the cultural context in which they have been brought up and to which they belong. One must seek to understand and respect them. But this respect cannot stretch so far that it becomes impossible to create a set of joint norms and some joint experiences and recognitions, under which friendship, group, school and society can thrive and flourish.

The basic view is elasticity and an integration philosophy. Everyone must have the qualifications and skills for being able to participate in and influence our joint society. Democratic processes are fundamental elements for the elasticity, harmony and cohesiveness of a society

characterised by social and cultural upheaval. Schools should be a meeting place for diversity, and they should strengthen joint human values. Schools should take part in the formation of society. The tool for this is intercultural pedagogy.

6. INTERCULTURAL PEDAGOGY

Intercultural pedagogy consists of general education, activities and teaching that promote personal development and mutual respect, understanding and interaction between different cultures that are often ethnically conditioned. It is about knowledge, feelings and behaviour. None of these elements can be left out.

The basis is that children and young people have different experiences and behaviours, conditioned by cultural differences. Intercultural activities and teaching concern understanding of others as well as self-awareness. The focus is on questions concerning culture and identity. The objective is to create self-esteem and some joint fundamental values for our co-existence. Solidarity, human rights, the democratic conversation and democratic processes are fundamental elements in this process. Intercultural pedagogy prevents and combats discrimination and racism. Intercultural pedagogy is therefore also important in schools that do not have a single pupil from ethnic minorities.

Some will regard the requirement for a practice based on intercultural pedagogy as subversive to society and as lower prioritisation of our present Danish culture. The intention is not to subvert, but, on the contrary, to unite a society that is becoming increasingly polarised.

A practice based on intercultural pedagogy obviously has international perspectives, but the fulcrum is cultures in the schools, in the local community and in the nation as a whole. The joint basic values cannot be static in this context, but must be regarded as a “social contract”, which is under constant change and negotiation between individuals, who are bearers of the cultures. This takes place in a continued, dynamic and open process. People and cultures change and new ones emerge. The changes are not seen in the light of dissolution, but as a challenge to create something new.

Intercultural pedagogy and democratic general education form part of an interaction, supplement each other and constitute a whole. Democratic processes cannot take place without cultural and social differences being taken seriously. Intercultural pedagogy creates the basis for bringing children and youngsters of different backgrounds to understand each other and enabling them to act together on a democratic basis.

I am of the opinion that intercultural pedagogy must put oppression, exploitation and discrimination on the agenda, but not in such a way that children and youngsters become disillusioned, cynical or without hope. A degrading role as a victim rarely creates respect. Respect is created when action is taken in defiance, when ways forward are found and when people stand together and create historical changes. The atmosphere between pupils and between pupils and teachers in and outside the classroom is of great importance. Instead of primarily stimulating the individual performance and competition that are characteristic features of many activities and much teaching, room must be created for a joint identity and responsibility in the group or class across cultural differences. A spirit of friendship should prevail – a spirit that is promoted and developed through knowledge of each other.

Intercultural pedagogy must follow the cultural changes in society in general and in the small community and cannot become locked in, for example, rigid fixed curriculum requirements for

specific school subjects. One could say that intercultural pedagogy contributes to children's and youngsters' adjustment to society, but it would, in fact, be more correct to describe it as a tool for the development of both themselves and society, both here and now and in the future.

II. RÅDMANDSGADES SKOLE

Lise W. Egholm

Rådmandsgades Skole is an old primary school, built in 1889, but later extended and renovated, most recently in 1999. The school has a teaching staff of 54 teachers, 12 of whom are bilingual.

1. THE PUPILS AND THEIR FAMILIES

The school currently has 540 pupils, distributed from 0 – 7th grades. After the 7th grade, most of the pupils continue at the lower secondary school HGO, Heimdalsgades Overbygningsskole, which is a superstructure school for the district schools in the area.

The school has approximately 80% bilingual children, who come from many different countries with many different languages. Many of the families have come to Denmark as refugees, but we also have many first generation and second generation immigrants. By far the majority of our children were born and raised in Copenhagen.

The largest group in the school is Arabic-speaking children, who originate from all parts of the Arab world. Most are Palestinians, many come from Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, some from Morocco and Algeria.

The second largest group is the Danish group, most of whom are children of well-formulated and well-aware parents, who have a degree from an intermediate study programme of higher education. However, we also have some children from socially disadvantaged families.

The third largest group is the Pakistani families, who are typically second generation and third generation immigrants, most of whom are well integrated.

Added to this are Turks/Kurds, who nearly all come from the Konya region, which means that they are influenced by village norms and traditions. They are often married to someone in their own families, and some of the children have learning difficulties at school.

The school has a variety of small groups, for example Somalis and a number of groups from the former Yugoslavia, who speak many different languages.

2. THE SCHOOL'S DEVELOPMENT

Three factors gave great impetus to the development of the school:

1) *A heavy increase in the share of bilingual pupils in the school*

A large-scale subsidised housing construction project in the local area of the school was populated with families from the Middle East, Africa, Turkey, etc. in a few years. The residential area currently has 92% bilingual residents. Around 1995-1996, there was a large influx of these families' children into our school. It was decided that the school was to be extended, and, at the same time, the percentage of bilingual pupils had increased from 30% to 60%.

2) A joint course for all teachers

The teachers' (natural) frustration resulted in a desire for vocational updating to handle this brand-new task. An inflammatory speech was given (by the principal!), and the teachers had to make a choice: They could either become really good at handling bilingual pupils or move to another school!

They all stayed on – and attended 30-hour courses on Islam, Danish as a second language, school-home co-operation, etc. Good!

3) A municipal pilot project focusing on the pupils' mother tongue

The City of Copenhagen initiated a language group pilot project in certain parts of the city, where the aim was to support learning by bilingual pupils via their mother tongue.

In our school, this meant that Arabic and Urdu-speaking (from Pakistan) families were to choose, when their child was enrolled in the school, whether they wanted their child to be in a so-called language group class. The reactions covered the whole gamut from a very positive response from those parents who were aware that their child's best language was his or her mother tongue to nearly insulted reactions from those parents whose children had gone to both day nursery and kindergarten and who therefore definitely did not need to be supported in their mother tongue.

The language group pilot project ran from 1996-99 and showed unambiguously that the children from the language groups became better at both their mother tongue and Danish and enjoyed going to school more than the other bilingual pupils who did not receive the same support and attention. The report on the trial project was entitled: "The best thing Copenhagen has done so far".

The pilot was consequently a success, which meant that we – and the City of Copenhagen – have chosen to continue this division of pupils into groups, and today this forms part of our language work with the pupils. The basis of the pilot's success is that the increased acceptance and attention (and extra resources) naturally result in children who are more proficient in Danish. The idea is that, in a class with, for example, 22 pupils, there is a group with the same language background, for example 8-10 Arabic-speaking children. A pre-school teacher or a primary school teacher is attached to this group. The pre-school teacher remains at the pre-school grade level (grade 0) and has a new class of pupils every year, whereas the primary school teacher follows the pupils in the first and second grades – and with fewer lessons – into the third grade and possibly the fourth grade. In the day-to-day pedagogical work, this means that there are two teachers in most of the lessons during the children's introductory schooling. In different courses and projects, the bilingual teacher can then select the Arabic-speaking or Urdu-speaking pupils and, for example, explain the work that has been planned for the week in question. Later, the whole class will be gathered, and here classes are, of course, taught in Danish.

Concepts and background material can then also be processed via the bilingual teacher. For example, a class was being taught about witches, who are found in many cultures, but, in Scandinavia, there are both good and evil witches, which is not the case in the Arab world.

3 weekly lessons for this work are built into the language group classes, and they are scheduled after the ordinary school hours for the class.

3. BILINGUAL TEACHERS

As a result of the language group trial project, bilingual teachers were employed at the school – 3 Urdu-speaking and 3 Arabic-speaking primary school teachers/pre-school teachers. In recent years, we have been further committed to employing bilingual teachers, so that we now also have teachers with Albanian and Kurdish/Turkish backgrounds. The Deputy Head of the school is Danish and is of Kurdish origin. We are one of the schools in Copenhagen with the largest number of bilingual teachers – 12 out of 54 teachers. Most of them are qualified teachers or are receiving training in a teacher training college. A few of the bilingual teachers are not sufficiently proficient in Danish, which is a problem.

On the whole, these teachers are a blessing – in relation to the children, the parents and the other teachers. The school-home co-operation, which is important in our school form, is significantly improved when communication via the mother tongue is possible. Many cultural barriers that we previously experienced are no longer a problem at all. For example, participation in museum visits, excursions, bathing after sports activities, etc. Conversations about sensitive subjects, when children are experiencing difficulties, become easier when they can take place in the children's and parents' own language. However, we also often tell the parents: "Learn Danish – it will support your children". The children see the bilingual teachers as identification models and thus acquire greater self-esteem. This is of huge importance.

Attitudes in the staff room change significantly when you are daily sitting next to a colleague with a non-Danish background. This broadens your outlook and means that you become more aware of your own values and that you also question many things. It is an eye opener.

4. THE CO-OPERATION WITH THE PARENTS

For 6 years, the school has held *ethnic evenings*, i.e. 3 annual meetings for parents whose country of origin is Turkey, the Arab countries, Somalia and Pakistan. These evenings are a great success. The parents meet and discuss various issues concerning teaching and child education, based on an introduction. A bilingual teacher, a Danish teacher and the principal of the school are present at these meetings. The debate takes place in the parents' own language. At intervals, there is translation into Danish. Minutes from the evening's meeting are sent to the School Board, and this year we will elect representatives from the different groups, who will then meet with the School Board a couple of times a year – i.e. a kind of "ethnic council" will be set up. There is much positive feedback from these evenings, and they have also meant that the parents form networks from which they can receive support in relation to the ordinary parents' meetings, at which we have also registered increased attendance. Excellent!

5. GROUP-BASED INTEGRATION AS A STRATEGY

From the commencement of the language group trial, we have formed classes based on

language/cultural affiliation, and we have therefore also placed Danish children in groups in the classes. We do this based on the strategy that all children need to feel at home in a group. The school is now 4-tiered in kindergarten, the first grade and the second grade, and we have the following groups:

- a. Danish and mixed.
- b. Arabic and mixed
- c. Danish and mixed
- d. Urdu and mixed

It is, however, a prerequisite that a + b and c + d work closely together, seeing that there are no Danes at all in b and d.

6. THE SCHOOL'S PRESENT ACTION AREAS

6.1. Greater educational proficiency

At the school, we have focused intensely on dealing with issues and problems regarding the meeting of cultures and bilingual pupils, but we are now (including based on inspiration from OECD's recommendations) also highly committed to achieving greater educational proficiency.

We are primarily very committed to improving reading proficiency. The code to reading must be broken earlier and by everyone – including bilingual pupils. Two reading counsellors are being trained. Tests in the classes form the basis for advising teachers of Danish in more goal-oriented activities and work. All studies show that reading proficiency is essential.

6.2. Breaking of patterns.

Commitment to work aimed at Behaviour, Contact and Well-being (BCW work). Far too many children do not thrive at school and therefore learn too little in class. We have three BCW teachers, and we have also employed a social counsellor, who can help the children acquire meaningful leisure time and who can also bridge the gap to the Social Services Department. In our pupil group, in which a number of the parents are cash benefits recipients and some are torture victims, it is very important to focus on BCW. We see that it works.

7. EVALUATION CULTURE

In Denmark, there has not been any particularly goal-oriented evaluation of pupils for many years. The OECD report has shown that it is necessary to change this. Instead, we have been very good at ensuring that the pupils thrive, but there must be much greater evaluation of how much the pupils benefit from the teaching – and this evaluation will start now. Based on the Ministerial graded targets, we will lay down targets in relation to the individual pupil and in relation to the group.

For our school, it will be natural to compare our results with the schools with which we form a network via a development project entitled: "A Good School Life for All".

8. A PROUD SCHOOL

We attach great importance to our SENSE OF COMMUNITY – and we are proud of our school. The school is kept tidy and presentable. We have children’s art – and real art – on the walls, and we take good care of our school. Great priority is given to the sense of community, including via the arts. We have morning gatherings with community singing and performance. DANCE is an important element. We were a pilot school for a project on “dancing in school”, and this can be felt. The boys also dance. We also have good habits regarding sports activities, and we are so fortunate that, despite the school being located in a “stony wilderness”, we have a large (contaminated) area near by where we can play ball games. We have established a sports club with cricket and floor ball among the sports.

We are committed to group-oriented integration via our language groups, and our experiences are positive. However, one language should not be too dominant in the same class. We must ensure that the ordinary teaching and conversations take place in Danish.

The school has maintained and, in fact, increased its share of well-functioning Danish children in recent years. This is positive and necessary for proper integration, so we have great hopes for the City of Copenhagen’s new initiatives aimed at countering ethnic segregation in schools.

For more information, visit the school’s website at www.raadmandsgades-skole.dk

III. HEIMDALSGADES OVERBYGNINGSSKOLE, HGO

Ingrid Brandt

HGO is a Copenhagen lower secondary school at which pupils attend the 8th, 9th and 10th grades. The school is a joint lower secondary school for the three district schools in the district of Ydre Nørrebro, and it has one of the City of Copenhagen’s 10th grade environments. The pupils also come from other parts of the city and represent an ethnic diversity. An old bread factory has been converted into a vibrant learning environment where the aesthetic and flexible surroundings form a synthesis. Much pedagogical thought and care have been put into the structure and design of the school, and it opened its doors in August 2001.

Of the school’s 230 pupils, around 50% have another ethnic background than Danish. The school has 28 teachers, and the pedagogical management consists of a principal and five departmental heads.

The school is organised into 5 competence environments, which the pupils pass through during their time at the school:

- the practical/aesthetic theme area, the Workshop
- the international/cultural theme area, the Station
- the physical/arts theme area, the Studio
- the natural science/experimental theme area, the Laboratory

- the 10th grade environment

In addition to these five areas, the school has a special needs class for pupils with general learning difficulties and two reception classes for senior English-speaking pupils.

The Studio has a stage and is fitted with the necessary lighting and sound equipment, a fitness room, a music practice room with a sound studio, group rooms and an outdoor climbing wall. The Workshop consists of a workshop and a pictorial art environment. The Station has all types of virtual equipment. The Laboratory has a physics laboratory and a greenhouse with a solar cell system for conducting natural science experiments. The teaching is divided into themes for the subjects that fall naturally under the individual competence environment. Danish and mathematics are subjects that are taught in all semesters. For example, the 8th grade has all its physics lessons in the semester in which they are in the Studio, as physics belong naturally to this competence environment, and the lessons in religious knowledge have been placed in the Workshop. For the 9th grade, the English lessons are located in the Station, and the physics lessons are located in the Laboratory. The pupils take a final leaving examination in English and physics at the end of the semester after six months. In addition to its own area, the five lines of the 10th grade use all 4 theme areas. Three lines correspond to the school's themes. The lines are language and culture, expression through body and music, natural science/natech. In addition, the school offers a girls' line, girl's life in the family and society, and a boys' line, challenges for boys.

1. THE SCHOOL'S BASIC VALUES

The key words for the school's basic values are flexibility, respect for the individual, elasticity, intrusiveness and a progressive democratic process. The days of the industrial society are long gone, the information society may have ended yesterday and what will happen tomorrow? We must and should relate seriously to these issues. The principal task of the school system is to create a culture in which the youngsters thrive. This is the best basis for learning, general education, subject-related education and training for working life, social life and family life. Division of time, the school bell, division into subjects, repeated timetables and one class, one teacher, one classroom belong to the school system of the industrial society. In the schools of the future, pupils will not be interrupted in their immersion in studies every 45 minutes to change assignment and, moreover, drink, eat and go to the toilet on command.

Like the school's basic values, the basis for our meeting with pupils and parents is mutual respect, intellectual liberty and equal status. This makes great demands on the staff, who must always be conscious of their own prejudices and stereotypes. The signals must come from us, and they must be clear. This means that our culture and our behaviour in the meeting with pupils and parents must reflect this attitude. We are to be credible ambassadors for the behaviour that we intend to promote.

2. RECIPROCITY BETWEEN SCHOOL AND PARENTS

A prerequisite for good co-operation is that the expectations are known. Ethnically Danish parents have general knowledge of the school's expectations based on their own schooling. Our bilingual parents do not necessarily have knowledge of these expectations, which means that they cannot communicate them to their children. It is therefore important that, as a school, we make our

expectations clear. It is our experience that pupils and parents want to meet the school's requirements and strive to do so once they know what we expect from them.

But expectations are not a one-way street. As a school, we also wish to know what the pupils and parents expect from us. This is a good and credible signal to send out as a school if communication and co-operation are to be constructive and equal. Based on these theories and principles, we have implemented various practices.

3. THE SCHOOL'S STRATEGIES

At HGO, we have chosen five strategies to meet the objective of well-being, general education and subject-related education:

- the project work form
- goals, targets and evaluations
- flexibility
- extended learning concept
- democratic general education.

4. THE PROJECT WORK FORM

The organisation of the teaching is generally project-oriented, but each semester also contains more conventional subject-divided modules. We attach great importance to *teaching* the pupils how to work under the project work form. The pupils work individually or in groups. The project headings are adjusted to the themes of the individual competence environment, and the products reflect the individual theme. In addition to centrally fixed goals, the pupils work with their own subject-related goals. Each pupil keeps a logbook, and courses in logbook keeping are included in the school study programmes. Specific time must be set aside for this important work to ensure that the logbook keeping does not drown in the hectic activities of the day. In the new school year, we plan to introduce flexible meeting hours to meet this requirement. Half an hour will be allocated for the logbook work in the morning as well as half an hour in the afternoon. Half the pupils will then meet half an hour before the actual school start in the morning, and half the pupils will stay on for half an hour longer in the afternoon. Our experience is that it is necessary to organise and fix a time schedule for this work.

5. GOALS, TARGETS AND EVALUATIONS

National rules have been laid down for the holding of final leaving examinations after the 9th and 10th grades as well as for the awarding of marks with a follow-up conversation with pupil and parents. No standards have been laid down for use in connection with the awarding of marks, but joint goals and targets have been adopted for the subjects taught in the primary and lower secondary schools. The final leaving examination is not compulsory, but it is a condition for the pupil to be enrolled in an upper secondary school. From the 6th grade, all pupils prepare a study plan together with the youth counsellor and the teachers. This plan is adjusted on a continuous basis through conversations. In the 9th and 10th grades, we hold internal tests in the leaving examination subjects.

When pupils start at HGO, the teachers register the individual pupil's academic standard and proficiency based on local tests. The pupil's academic proficiency and social skills are monitored closely through teacher-pupil conversations based on target and action plans. These conversations must, as a minimum, be held twice a year.

We do not have an unambiguous picture of whether our pupils perform in line with youngsters of the same age in other schools. Seeing that the leaving examinations are not compulsory, it is difficult to use the Ministry of Education's statistics on examination marks. The rate of participation in examinations is high (between 90 and 100%) at HGO. We encourage academically weak pupils to participate in the examination preparations and in the examinations themselves, as we regard this as an important part of the learning process. It goes without saying that this pulls the mark average downwards. Regarding the number of pupils from HGO who continue in an upper secondary school study programme, we follow the national average.

We feel that we have a well-functioning evaluation culture in which we have prepared good, effective evaluation methods. The evaluation results form the basis of a current adjustment of the day-to-day practice, and they have formed the basis of several pilot projects on new examination types that have been approved by the Ministry of Education.

6. FLEXIBLE SCHOOL

This organisation of the teaching requires great flexibility at all levels. It is necessary to work with autonomous teams of teachers, varying work schedules and plans, flexible physical settings and extensive use of IT. The consideration for the individual pupil requires space and room. The competence environments are flexible in their physical design and arrangement. All furniture is immediately movable with desks on wheels, and the workplaces are mobile. There are plenty of facilities and niches available for those pupils who work best in peaceful, quiet surroundings, and room for those who are not geared to sitting still for a designated period of time. And the premises are even aesthetically beautiful, which has a positive effect on the physical behaviour of the pupils. The premises appeal to well-being and comfort. The pupils can also choose to work in other places in the school, for example in the pedagogical centre, which is defined as a quiet work zone.

The work plans vary and are prepared in accordance with the contents of the work in question. Unlike conventional planning, where the contents must be adjusted to a fixed timetable, the timetable is adjusted to fixed contents. The overall timetable is known half a semester in advance, and the pupils receive the detailed weekly timetable on Fridays, and they then take the timetable home with them together with a weekly letter about the past week and the week to come. This requires that the teachers are organised in autonomous teams, who plan and organise the contents of the teaching jointly. Likewise, special needs teaching and second language teaching form an integral part of the teaching. The teachers form a natural part of the learning environment, and their workplaces are placed here.

7. ALL SCHOOL TIME IS LEARNING TIME

At HGO, the extended learning concept means that all the time that the pupils spend in the school is learning time. This makes great demands on everyone's activities and behaviour in the school. We have formulated an express definition that everyone must treat each other with respect and speak civilly to each other. This applies to both employees and pupils. Learning is not limited to a

specified, defined period of time with contents laid down in advance. The pupils form part of the whole life of the school and participate in everything that goes on right from visits to finances and budgets. Democratic general education cannot be learnt and studied, but takes place through an active participating process. Many of our pupils who are not ethnically Danish must learn to act in this room, and they find it very difficult to do so. In order to break this cultural heritage and pattern, we have initiated various measures. The school has appointed a social counsellor, it has three cultural communicators and offers help with homework every afternoon.

8. THE SOCIAL COUNSELLOR

Part of the social counsellor's working day consists of fieldwork. This may be in relation to pupils who stay away from school or who have personal problems that they find difficult to talk about with the teachers. He acts as a kind of bridge-builder between the teaching staff, the pupils and their families. Part of this fieldwork takes place in the evening and at weekends, when he visits the local youth clubs or pays a visit to the pupils' families. Because the social counsellor is visible in the pupils' leisure time outside school and is a local resident, he is close to their world, and the pupils regard him as a positive role model and a person with whom they can share confidences.

Another important function is that the social counsellor must be visible at the school, both during teaching hours and at events that the parents attend. Many potential conflicts are avoided when a person with whom pupils and parents are familiar is visible when they are at the school. This also has the effect that the teaching staff experience that the teaching and learning time functions better. In cases involving very difficult pupils, we choose to give the youngster a chance. Many of our pupils have experienced being let down and rejected in their lives.

We wish to signal adult credibility and to let them know that they are also needed. In many of these difficult conflict situations, we draw up a school-pupil-parents contract. This contract contains a number of conditions that the school must meet, a number of conditions that the parents must meet and, finally, a number of conditions that the pupil must meet. The contract is signed by all three parties and is evaluated continuously. The social counsellor is often present at difficult conversations between the school and the pupil's parents and participates actively in the school's offers in connection with the conclusion of contracts.

9. THE CULTURAL COMMUNICATORS

The cultural communicators have been entrusted with the task of communicating and disseminating knowledge of the school and creating interest among the parents in participating in the life of the school in other matters than those that specifically concern their own little Hassan. The cultural communicators do active fieldwork in the local environment and at primary schools and arrange debate meetings on topical youth issues. Some meetings are arranged as ethnic evenings. They also become involved in matters concerning the individual pupil if this is required. For example, if parents need to be convinced that we can look after their girls at school camps or that the youngster needs to participate in a leisure activity.

10. HELP WITH HOMEWORK

Help with homework in the afternoon is voluntary, but binding agreements may be entered into with the home that the pupil will participate in this. Part of the learning must be acquired through homework. In a multicultural environment like the Nørrebro district in Copenhagen, it is therefore necessary to offer the pupils facilities and time as well as help with their homework. Some of the school's pupils do not have this possibility at home, and they would be worse off academically and educationally without this offer.

11. CO-DETERMINATION AND RESPONSIBILITY

The pupils should have a say in their own learning and learn that responsibility follows with democracy. The school has laid down some joint guidelines and principles for everyone, but these framework conditions are filled in by teachers and pupils together in each competence environment. The pupils participate in deciding meeting times, projects and themes, the drafting of the timetable and the finances and budget of the large-scale class. The teachers are responsible for ensuring that the goals, targets and contents of the subjects are met.

In the democratic learning process, it is important that the pupils are fully aware of the areas on which they have influence so that they are not used as hostages in the adult world. It is like traffic lights, which we also use as a metaphor for the pupils' co-determination. There is a green area. In the green area, they have full co-determination. This may, for example, be the overall theme of the projects, the dish of the day in the canteen, the funds of the large-scale class and meeting times. There is an amber area. In the amber area, the pupils have an advisory capacity. They cannot take the final decision, but they are consulted. This concerns, for example, work schedule, trips with overnight accommodation and the contents of the subjects. And then there is the red area, where they have no influence. This typically concerns all legislation, statutes and rules laid down at central level.

An attempt is made to strengthen the joint responsibility through, for example, the large-scale class's account and by payment of tax to the pupils' council. The large-scale class has a right to dispose of a certain amount of money that is to cover the expenses for some specifically defined things, including the equipment, fixtures and fittings of the theme area. In short, the better the pupils look after the equipment of the theme area, the more money they will have for something of their own choice. For the same purpose, the large-scale class pays a tax to the pupils' council to cover equipment, fixtures and fittings in the communal areas. And the lower the expenses, the lower the tax. This is pure education of the pupils in what joint responsibility means, which may seem tough on the face of it. But the pupils take it very seriously and use it to educate each other.

As part of the school's democratic profile, the Ministry of Education approved a two-year trial with 5 pupils on the School Board when the school was inaugurated. The Ministry of Education has subsequently approved an extension of the scheme by another two years.

With four parent-elected and two staff-elected members, the pupils represent the largest single group on the School Board. Parents, staff and pupils are all very pleased with this composition of the School Board. It is part of the pupils' democratic education, and the pupil group has contributed some dimensions to the board work that we adults do not have.

This targeted organisation of the school is of great importance to the school's social environment and its learning environment. The pupils like their school, and they are proud of it. They stay in the school a lot both before and after school hours. The outfit and layout of the rooms and premises appeal to joy and inspiration, and we experience very few conflicts on the school premises. The physical spaciousness of the school provides room for individuality, and no one feels boxed in or forced into constricting surroundings. As mentioned above, there is room for both pupils who need peace and quiet in the work process and pupils who need room to act. And the very sharp and safe profile has meant that the school recruits a number of ethnically Danish pupils from other areas in Copenhagen, who have chosen to go to school here.

Seen overall, the five strategies are the school's strength in relation to learning, democratic general education, integration and the breaking of culturally conditioned patterns.

IV. COPENHAGEN SCHOOLS IN A MULTIETHNIC REALITY – DILEMMAS AND CHALLENGES

Inger M. Clausen

In 2000, the Copenhagen City Council adopted a visionary objective for the schools in the City of Copenhagen. 3 goals were drawn up in the multiethnic area (see the above).

In the following, an account will be given of how the Development and Planning Department of the Education and Youth Administration in the City of Copenhagen works specifically with these goals.

“that bilingual children should achieve sufficiently good results from their education to enable them to take part in the life of the community at work as the equals of their Danish fellow pupils.”

Bilingual pupils in primary and lower secondary schools in Copenhagen do **not** achieve as good results in school as their Danish classmates. This was, for example, shown through PISA 2000. The findings also showed that, unlike in other countries, second generation immigrants in Denmark do more or less just as badly as first generation immigrants. This means that the primary and lower secondary school system in Denmark has not succeeded in making bilingual pupils who have gone to the same school as ethnically Danish pupils do just as well as them. An in-depth analysis of the different skills and proficiencies of bilingual pupils and Danish-language pupils, done by Professor Niels Egelund of the Pedagogical University of Denmark, further showed that 49% of the bilingual pupils do not have sufficient functional reading proficiency to follow a youth education programme. Danish educationists were shocked by these findings, and the findings further underline the importance of the above goals in Copenhagen.

The findings were surprising, because there is no system of comparative evaluation or benchmarking in Denmark. OECD sent a delegation to Denmark in November 2003 to study the Danish educational system further. The delegation, headed by Peter Mortimer, then published its conclusions and recommendations in June 2004. One of the main findings in the OECD report was that the schools lack an evaluation culture. Such an evaluation culture could have the effect that the individual teacher,

the class team and the school as a whole work better academically and with greater goal orientation as well as with a more comprehensive view of the pupils' competence development. Added to this is that the State and municipalities lack tools for creating a clear view of the extent to which the schools are goal-oriented in their academic work and the extent to which this produces results that meet national or municipal standards.

1. HOW DO WE CREATE EFFICIENT SCHOOLS IN COPENHAGEN?

OECD's report and its 35 recommendations have made a great impression on school politicians and administrators in Denmark. In Copenhagen, it was of additional importance to the Education & Youth Committee's decision in the autumn of 2003 to implement a Copenhagen version of PISA 2000 in the course of 2004. The result of the Copenhagen PISA 2000 study will not be available until in January 2005. We expect that this study will confirm that bilingual pupils are not doing as well as their Danish classmates. The great challenge will therefore be to examine the learning environments and conditions that are required in order for bilingual pupils to show good results in school. The Copenhagen PISA study is not merely to quantify how the pupils are performing, it is also to be combined with a reading test in the 6th grade, a repetition of PISA 2000 in 2007 and follow-up research. All these measures are to show the correlations and forces that promote learning and good results in school.

The Committee and the Development and Planning Department are currently working on this. In order to understand the change in attitudes to evaluation culture and methods that this requires in Danish society in general and in the school sector in particular, it is necessary to provide a brief outline of the features that characterise the special Danish evaluation culture, which OECD points out is less efficient in relation to subject-related learning.

2. SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE DANISH EVALUATION CULTURE

In Denmark, pupils do not take examinations until at the conclusion of the compulsory 9 years of schooling in the 9th grade. And this examination is, in fact, not even a proper examination, seeing that the pupils cannot fail or be prevented from continuing in the educational system if they receive low marks. The Primary and Lower Secondary School Leaving Examination is therefore more in the nature of a test than an examination. Before they pass this leaving examination, however, the pupils have had an opportunity to find out how they are doing academically in relation to their classmates in the course of both the 8th grade and the 9th grade. They are informed about their proficiency level through quarterly marks in the subjects. At many schools, the teachers base these marks partly on the pupils' daily performances and partly on the so-called end-of-term tests at which the pupils are given an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the type of test that they will do at the end of the 9th grade.

However, Danish schools have a system of conversations between the individual pupil and the teacher ("the pupil performance review") and between teacher, parents and pupils (the "school-home performance review"), which ensures that the pupils and their parents can receive the teachers' evaluation of the pupils' results in school and have an opportunity to enter into a dialogue on this throughout the 9 years of schooling. This pupil and parent dialogue is an important part of the values that are given very high priority in Denmark and that are based on pupils taking responsibility for their

own learning. It is therefore important that an evaluation culture with greater emphasis on tests and examinations continues to take this into consideration.

The advantages of this evaluation culture were also shown in PISA 2000 and repeated in OECD's report. Danish children like going to school, they like learning and they themselves feel that they have a good level of proficiency. This also applies to bilingual pupils. This is not a matter of course when Denmark compares itself to other countries, and it is therefore important to hold on to this when we change our evaluation methods. However, the problem is that the dialogue form does not give either teachers, pupils or parents a definite answer to whether the pupil or the class is performing at a level that corresponds to the age group in question. This is the challenge that we are facing when we wish to change our evaluation culture.

“that the multi-ethnic combination of the pupils is seen by the children, teachers and parents as an enrichment of the Danish culture and as a means of supporting internationalisation in Danish society.”

Primary and lower secondary schools in Copenhagen are characterised by an increasing degree of ethnic segregation. In Copenhagen, 31% of primary and lower secondary school pupils are bilingual. But schools with few bilingual pupils (5-25%) are located close to schools with many bilingual pupils (60-85%). In turn, residential areas in the Copenhagen districts are not as segregated as the school situation shows. Even in areas with schools that have many bilingual pupils, there are also a relatively large share of ethnically Danish pupils. Therefore, the following school policy on pupil distribution has been pursued for the past many years in Copenhagen:

The composition of pupils in the local primary and lower secondary school must reflect the population in the local district.

There is free choice of school in Denmark. This means that pupils are always entitled to a place in their local district school, which is located near their home, but they are also entitled to choose another primary and lower secondary school if there is a vacant place at the school in question. In addition, there is a very liberal policy in Denmark and private schools receive substantial financial subsidies. This means that there are a large number of private schools and that it is relatively easy to establish new private schools.

The problem with segregated schools has therefore arisen as a result of the parents' choice of school. Analyses of the enrolment in the schools show that Danish middle-class parents opt out of the local primary and lower secondary school if there is a relatively high number of bilingual pupils. Instead, they choose a near-by school with a larger number of ethnically Danish pupils or they choose to put their children in a private school. A number of ethnic minority parents also choose to put their children in a private school. Approximately 15% of bilingual pupils choose ethnic private schools. The private school percentage is an average of 25 % in Copenhagen, but it is significantly higher in areas with many bilingual pupils.

Concurrently with the increasing trend towards segregated schools, studies are being published that show that bilingual youngsters have a very high dropout rate in youth education programmes and that they do worse at school than their Danish classmates. In residential areas with many socially and financially disadvantaged families and where the schools have a high share of bilingual pupils, we also find an overrepresentation of crime committed by bilingual youngsters.

This necessitates political and administrative action aimed at ensuring a more balanced composition of pupils in the schools in Copenhagen. In June 2004, the Education & Youth Committee decided to initiate a number of measures aimed at achieving a more even distribution of pupils, but

still based on the parents' voluntary choice of school. It is therefore essential that the administration and the schools can enter into a good dialogue with the parents of children who are starting school on a choice of primary and lower secondary school that ensures that the distribution of pupils in Copenhagen's primary and lower secondary schools becomes more ethnically and socially balanced. But also so that there are actually places available at the existing schools.

In Copenhagen, classes in schools with few bilingual pupils are typically more full than classes in schools with many bilingual pupils. One of the measures for achieving a better distribution consequently consists in advance reservation of places for a group of bilingual pupils in the schools that are full, but have few bilingual pupils.

3. MAGNET SCHOOL MEASURE

Another measure is that the schools develop profiles that especially attract the group of pupils that the school needs to have more of. These profiles may, for example, be developed on the basis of a parent survey.

We operate with 2 types of magnet schools. Type A schools are schools with many bilingual pupils. These schools must become better at attracting Danish pupils and resourceful bilingual pupils who previously opted out of their local district school. Here, special initiatives should be implemented to raise the academic level and to stand out with a special profile (green school, IT, sports, internationalisation, arts-oriented/creative). The work should also focus on conflict resolution and a visible, clear discipline. The schools must be exciting, future-oriented schools that can handle social and cultural challenges so that they are equally safe and attractive for children and parents with Danish and other ethnic backgrounds.

Type B schools are schools with few bilingual pupils. These schools are to offer places to groups of bilingual pupils from neighbouring areas with many bilingual children. The school district's own children will not be moved. They have a statutory right to attend the local school. But the bilingual children will replace other children who would otherwise come from the outside. Type B schools are to focus on integration. The teachers will be offered supplementary training so that they feel equipped to teach this group of pupils.

Added to this is that the schools are to attract and hold on to the parents of pupils in primary and lower secondary schools by special commitment to:

- Security for all pupils
- High academic expectations
- Good companionship possibilities for all pupils

At both types of schools, it must be possible to integrate companionship groups and work for social fellowship across cultural and social barriers.

4. THE SPECIAL DANISH PARENT DEMOCRACY AND SCHOOL-HOME CO-OPERATION

Parents in Denmark have great influence on their children's school. All primary and lower secondary schools have a school board on which the parents have 5-7 seats, the school's employees

have 2 representatives and the pupils also have 2 representatives. The principal of the school is the secretary of the school board, but does not have a voting right. The school board has wide powers in relation to principles on co-operation between school and home, the organisation of the teaching and the school budget. In addition, they are entitled to be heard in municipal school issues of an important nature in relation to administration or school policy.

Bilingual parents are underrepresented on these school boards. At the latest school board elections in Copenhagen schools in 2002, bilingual parents constituted 14% of the parents, which was nearly a doubling compared with the previous school board elections. But bilingual pupils constitute an average of 31% of the pupils in Copenhagen, so there is a need for even higher representation.

The school-home co-operation has great influence on the teachers' way of handling discipline, socialisation and conflicts in the school. Teachers are not allowed to use physical punishment and only make limited use of sanctions that entail exclusion from classes. The school-home co-operation is therefore widely used instead. For example through a contact book between school and home, in which the teacher can write down information, complaints or requests, and the parents can reply. A direct dialogue with the parents through telephone conversations or a meeting at the school is also a common contact form. But it requires that parents and school are in agreement that school discipline is a joint matter on which they must be in a dialogue. The sanction loses its effectiveness if the parents refuse to participate in the dialogue or if the teachers give up on it because of language problems and cultural barriers. Unfortunately, this happens too often in relation to bilingual families.

5. BILINGUAL TEACHERS AND ETHNIC COUNCILS

The schools in Copenhagen have an increasing number of teachers of ethnic background in ordinary positions. But out of a total of 3500 teachers, they still constitute a minority in the staff room. According to the latest statistics, approximately 7% of the teachers had another ethnic background than Danish. They also constitute a minority in executive positions. At the 65 Copenhagen schools, there are only 3 deputy principals with another ethnic background than Danish.

Some of the teachers with another ethnic background than Danish are employed with special functions as bilingual teachers. They constitute an extra resource for bilingual pupils corresponding to 76 full-time positions. They perform a number of functions: they teach, they interpret and they act as mediators. Their value is particularly recognised by the school system in their role as interpreters and builders of bridges between the school and the bilingual parents.

In Copenhagen, bilingual teachers receive a salary according to their multilingual qualifications. This salary corresponds to the qualifications salary that all teachers can achieve through supplementary teacher training at bachelor level.

Many schools with predominantly bilingual pupils have also set up an ethnic council. An ethnic council is typically composed of parents with a non-Danish cultural and ethnic background as well as the school's bilingual teachers and a representative of the school management. The council does not have any formal management rights. But it functions as a spokesman, as an information channel for the school and as a forum for a dialogue between ethnic minority parents and the school. In those schools in which the ethnic council functions most effectively, it also paves the way for actual influence through election to the school board. The goal is that all schools with predominantly bilingual pupils are to establish similar forums for dialogue.

“that the schools should appear as culturally accommodating, with the personal, cultural and language backgrounds of all children as the point of departure for the whole of the work of school.”

The bilingual teachers participate in the teaching as an extra resource, where, especially during the introductory schooling, they can support the bilingual children's learning through the children's mother tongue. The general view is that the teaching language in Danish primary and lower secondary schools must be Danish, which is a view endorsed by, among others, Minister of Education Ulla Tørnæs. The support provided by these bilingual teachers is therefore support in both the mother tongue and in Danish, rather than actual bilingual teaching. The support teaching provided by bilingual teachers most often takes place in the class's mainstream (ordinary) teaching. The teachers experience that the scheme is a success and that the young bilingual school starters benefit from it.

In addition, the pupils receive compensatory teaching in Danish organised as second language teaching. This teaching most often takes place outside the class during school hours in groups or as individual teaching. The second language teaching is organised in a language centre, where a few teachers with special training in Danish as a second language handle this task as a specialist task. This organisation of the second language teaching is similar in structure to special needs teaching.

It was pointed out several times in OECD's report that, in connection with the teaching of bilingual pupils, it is counterproductive to remove them from their class teaching to provide them with extra help in Danish. In many countries, there is an intense debate about second language teaching in or outside the ordinary teaching of the class.

In Copenhagen, we are convinced is that teaching by specialists, and where there are few pupils per teacher, often provides a better learning environment for the pupil than class teaching. But it is important that the pupils do not miss out academically. Therefore, they are only taken out of the class for short periods, and the language centre teachers are responsible for ensuring that the second language teaching is planned in connection with the other teaching goals and targets of the class. This is, for example, done through co-operation between specialist teachers and language centre teachers in connection with the planning of the teaching, through knowledge of each other's annual plans and through exchange of the written pupil action plans and evaluations of pupil performances.

On the other hand, this organisation continues to function as compensatory teaching. A dividing line is maintained between the ordinary teaching in the subjects and the specialist second language teaching.

6. EXTENSIVE SUPPLEMENTARY TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN LANGUAGES AND SUBJECTS

Based on the desire for greater integration of second language teaching in the ordinary subject-related teaching and to strengthen teachers' competence in relation to the teaching of bilingual pupils, the City of Copenhagen has initiated an extensive supplementary training programme with 50 lessons per participating teacher from the 2003/2004 school year. This supplementary training programme is to be seen in the light of the nearly total absence of these subject areas in the teachers' basic training. The programme will run over several years and means that approximately 1000 Copenhagen teachers will upgrade their qualifications in relation to their subjects and the second language angle. This should hopefully lead to that bilingual pupils will benefit more than previously from the ordinary subject-related teaching in the class.

6.1 The school as political arena

There is an ongoing debate about ethnic minorities in Denmark. During the past 10 years, there has been an increasingly rigorous tightening of the rules on immigrants' and refugees' admission to Denmark and their rights regarding marriage and family reunification. At the same time, there is a constant battle between advocates of an enrichment of society through ethnic pluralism and advocates of defining Danishness as a value that is under attack and that must therefore be defended far more strongly.

This battle is also fought in the schools, which are, in many ways, the institutionalised socialisation tool of society.

It is therefore of great value that, through a democratic process in 2000, Copenhagen adopted these visionary goals, which the Education and Youth Administration has as bearings in the development.