A LINGUISTIC EVALUATION OF APPROACHES TO EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANT STUDENTS: CONTRIBUTION OF TRANSLATED CHILDREN'S LITERATURE TO THE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION

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Abstract

Migrations to the developed countries, which started in the wake of WWII and which are still going on increasingly due to the globalization, have brought about not only advantages but disadvantages, as well. The most important issue is education of language minority children. There are two main approaches to the problem; monolingual education which requires education only in the national language due to assimilation or differential exclusion policies and bi-lingual education which tries to teach children both in their first and second languages according to multi-culturalist policies. The former is the most widespread approach, but fails to meet the needs of language minority children. The latter is successful but cannot include all LM students due to the expenses it requires and objections of host people. In this study, a third approach, acculturation through shared reading of translated children's literature, is discussed as a solution to the problem within the frame of linguistic theories of first and second language learning put forward by Vygotsky, Piaget, Bruner, Berstein and Krashen. We also benefited from cross-linguistic transfer theories of Cummins, Clark and Hacqueboard together with translation studies of Even-Zohar, Venuti, Jacobson and Eco to support the hypothesis. It has been concluded that the power of translation to create a cultural identity may help LM children acquire functional literacy (cultural and academic competence) both in L1 and L2. And this may eliminate the academic, cultural and social disadvantages of migrations they suffer.

Keywords: LM (language minority), mono/bi-lingual education, first (L1)/second language (L2) learning theories, poly-system theory, shared-reading, translated literature, societal integration.

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1. Introduction

"Those who know nothing of foreign languages know nothing of their own." French, John.

The most important population movements after the extensive migrations from Europe to America in the 17th century are the ones that took place after WWII, mostly from ex-colonies of European countries (e.g. Indians in the UK, Algerians in France, Angolans in Portugal and Indonesians in the Netherlands). This movement, which originated mostly from socio-political reasons, is now on agenda again due to globalization that has been increasing during the last two decades. Undoubtedly, such great population movements which were started by the developed countries to find cheap labour or by immigrants for the sake of a better life, have also brought about problems such as unemployment, homelessness, crime, social unrest, discrimination and poor education. Especially, many language minority children encounter serious difficulties at school. Today in London schools, there are students from 350 different speech communities other than English (Rampton, *et al*, 2001:4) but they have to attend English-only schools so they fall behind native peers. Similarly, statistics show that in Germany, 60% of the students in the bottom-tier are LM students and only 3.3% of them can continue till the university (Young, 2006). This being the case, European educational authorities and policy makers seem not to be aware of the issue.

The situation is not different on the other side of the Atlantic, either. The fastest growing group in child population in the USA is made up of immigrant children. As in London, there are children from 180 different speech communities whose mother tongue is not English (Crul, 2007). Now, one of every 5 children is not American, but bilingual education is not so common. In California, it was even prohibited by a public opinion poll in 1998 (Thomas &Collier, 2002).

Education statistics show that while their parents have employment and social adoption problems, immigrant children also have difficult times at school as they are almost always supposed to give up their mother tongue and have education in the national language. Most of the time they do not learn how to speak its standard spoken variety fluently let alone they can benefit from its written standard form as the language of instruction. As a result, they fall behind the native students academically. This is the case not only in external but internal migration, as well. In some countries, there are big minority groups who have to get education in the official language instead of their mother tongue. Whether they live in their hometowns or in the big cities they have migrated, they find it difficult to get a proper education. For instance, in Turkey, where similar problems arise due to internal migration, there is almost no special education for LM children except for a few Greek and Armenian schools in the old capital Istanbul.

In some developed countries, attempts are made to solve the problem through bilingual education despite widespread objections and criticism. However, bilingual programs manage to meet the needs of only particular language minority (LM) students such as Spanish speaking children in the USA, French speaking groups in Canada and French, German or English speaking children who live in the countries other than theirs in Europe. They benefit from this type of bi-lingual education but the rest of LM students cannot. Therefore, in this study we put forward a third approach which aims to solve problems of all LM children. It highlights the use of translated children's literature through extensive shared reading to improve communicative and cultural competence of all LM children regardless of their socio-economic or linguistic background first in L1 and then in L2. The evaluation of the problem and suggestions for the solution were made within the frame of linguistic theories on first and second language learning, inter-lingual transfer of linguistic skills and translation studies and the principles of CLIL. The aim of this research is to synthesise the theory and analysis, to discuss the specific arguments and strategies found in the literature and to consider future directions for the solution of the problem.

The research questions we determined through literature analysis are;

- Can monolingual education help LM students?
- Can literacy teaching in L1 and L2 with the help of translated children's literature support socio-cultural adoption of LM children?

2. Literature analysis; Describing the problem

2.1. The source of the problem

The source of the problem is the continuously and increasingly changing world which is, as a result, getting smaller and smaller thanks to the increasing communication either for cultural or economic reasons. Although this change sounds fascinating, it is not an easy process. It requires command of at least one of the popular world languages, so it brings not only advantages but disadvantages, as well, especially for the immigrants and their children. According to Esser (2006), individual and family living conditions, significant linguistic distance between the first language and the language to be acquired, a lower level of global usability of the first language and presumably strong socio-cultural distances (xenophobia) between the immigrant group and the majority society can inhibit the L2 acquisition by immigrants. Similarly, Carpentieri, *et al.* (2011) say "The conclusions of the Council on the education of children with a migrant background (2978th Education, Youth and Culture Council meeting Brussels, 26th November 2009) are clear on the need to improve the educational chances of children from migrant backgrounds, the majority of whom tend to perform significantly lower than their peers. This results in a greater incidence of early school leaving and lower

levels of education. The situation is intensified where there is a linguistic and cultural difference between home and school, combined with poor socio-economic circumstances and low expectations coupled with insufficient family and community support and lack of suitable role models".

2.1.1. Factors related with the immigrants themselves

2.1.1.1. Deficiency in L1 acquisition process

According to behaviourist Skinner (1957), who made the first theoretical explanation of the question how children learn language, children need adults to imitate. They learn how to speak by a stimulus-response-reinforcement process. Nativist Chomsky (1957) points out an inborn language learning capacity, which is at work in this process. Hill (1980) holds that imitation and inborn skills are not enough without interactions that include feedback for the child's performance. According to Vygotsky's Social development theory (1978), Bruner's Constructivist theory (1996) and Piaget's Developmental theory (1978), children make use of interactions that take place in particular contexts to make sense of the content. Initially these interactions serve solely as social functions, ways to communicate their needs. Then they are internalized, which leads to the development of higher order thinking skills and acquisition of language system and its use. In other words, in early childhood period, cognitive, social/cultural and linguistic development takes place together. Since this integrated development process take place within contexts meaningful for them, children gain world knowledge besides linguistic skills. Aksan (1979) says mother tongue comprises all cultural richness of a nation so much that it shapes thought to some extend (Whorf, 1940; Kıran, 1986) while we learn our mother tongue through cultural transfer.

Undoubtedly, depending on language variation within a speech community, levels of cultural development may change, as well. Apart from general cultural background of a country, there are groups of people living restricted by or satisfied with only the local cultural background due to socio-economic, politic and/or ethnic reasons. And since there is direct link between culture and language, there are people/children with limited language skills. Berstein (1971), who studies language acquisition process of children, calls this as "restricted code". This lack of qualified linguistic skills may not be noticed within the family circle during pre-school period as the family live and speak in the same way, but when children start school, which is a much larger social circle than home, they are supposed to learn much more knowledge about the world and therefore they need higher order language skills such as critical thinking, using figurative language, making inferences, predicting outcome, drawing conclusions (Tinkler, 1993). This is the elaborated code. Children with 'restricted code' cannot keep up with their class mates with 'elaborated code'

and this gap does not close in the following years due to increased academic work as Bernstein states. This influences their academic progress greatly. Generally children from families with low socio-economic background suffer from 'restricted-code' problem but who are at a loss most at school are LM children because they are restricted both in L1 and L2 and sometimes have almost no knowledge about the instruction language. This arises from the conditions they are exposed to during language learning process because the adults they have to imitate or interact with during language learning process also speak a restricted code not only in L1 but in L2, as well.

2.1.1.2. Low socio-economic status of LM groups which make them immigrate

As highlighted by evidence from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Progress in International Reading Study (PIRLS), there is a clear link between lower academic achievement originating mostly from poor literacy and factors such as socio-economic background and migrant status (Carpentieri, *et al.* 2011). Most of immigrants leave their own countries due to socio-economic reasons. These poor people are mostly not educated and do not have jobs. Therefore, hoping to find a better life, they migrate. And sometimes, well-educated and well-off people from underdeveloped or developing countries also migrate, but due to political reasons so they may not have so many problems as those who immigrate for economic reasons. Crul (2007) states that children from better-off, educated families from Iran or Iraq tend to do well or very well, as they migrate due to mostly political reasons, while children from rural Somalia and Ethiopia experience great difficulties at school in England as they migrate because of socio-economic reasons.

Since parents play the most crucial role in language development of children as mentioned above, working class or immigrant parents without proper education and income may not be so helpful as the well-educated and well-off parents. They have inefficient literacy skills and communicative competence both in L1 and L2 themselves. Since we learn language through cultural transfer, what they will transfer to their children will be a restricted communicative competence. Immigrant parents' communicative competence in L2 is more restricted then their L1 competence, so they cannot help their children acquire it at home adequately, either. For instance, the 1990 census in the USA determined that 28 percent of language-minority children, aged 5-17 are "linguistically isolated"; that is, they live in households where no one over the age of 14 speaks English "very well" (Crawford, 1997). Therefore, what immigrant children is exposed to as L2 in their home is a language similar to a Creole which does not help them to form a background knowledge they can benefit from while learning the written form of L2 at school. This means that there is not a strong bridge between pre-school

experiences of LM children and the ones they are exposed at school. Therefore, Carter & Wojtkiewicz (2000) points out the correlation between social and academic development of immigrant children and their socio-cultural backgrounds and school context. As Nieto (1999) states, "the differences that students bring to school have a profound effect on what they gain from their educational experiences.". That's, the more restrictedly immigrant children come to school in terms of communicative and cultural competence especially in L2, the less they get from school. This also means that the less competent the adults at home, the less socio-cultural and academic progress LM children will make at school.

2.1.2. Problems originating from the host countries
2.1.2.1. Prejudice towards immigrants

Education policy of a country is determined both according to the official policy and public opinion. In some developed countries, for instance, there is a politically conditioned and elective approach to education which aims to train the most qualified to the highest level (tertiary education) and let the rest, especially the non-native become new members of working class. For instance, in Germany, which has the largest immigrant population in Europe (with 2.5 million Turks) only 3.3% of LM students can attend university. As for the native people, they regard immigrants as a source of socio-economic problems of the country let alone as people who need equal rights of education and living standarts. Therefore, Boeschoeten, Dorleijn and Leezenberg (1993:132) state that native people are not so kind and thoughtful for the special needs of LM students especially for their L1 teaching, which, in turn, influences the politicians to follow a nationalistic policy of education.

The prejudice against foreigners arises from historical, political and economic reasons, so most European countries with large number of immigrants follow a mono-lingual education program instead of bi-lingual one, which is thought to be a waste of money. Kiernan (2011), who studies the case in Canada states that historically, student multilingualism has been viewed as a threat to British national character. This depiction of multilingualism is common; supporters of this ideology stress that a singular national language and culture is necessary to uphold a true nation-state, that the status of English is fixed and not dependent upon geographical space or place, that immigrants only need to know English to function in society, and that a multilingual society is too precarious and costly to maintain (Bhabha 1996; Horner &Trimbur, 2002; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 2002, cited in Kiernan, 2011). As a result, these nationalistic approaches bring about pedagogically, culturally and linguistically insufficient education programs and models. This, in turn, decreases the amount of benefits LM children can get from school and brings about discussions and demands for bilingual education respectively.

Proposition 227, which is a public opinion poll empowering instruction only in English for LM students who did not speak English in 1998, is an example of the impact of public opinion on the education policy. Although only 30 percent of the limited English proficiency (LEP) students in California were enrolled in bilingual education programs at the time (the other 70 percent were in all-English programs), bilingual education was identified as the cause of academic failure on the part of Hispanic students (many of whom were monolingual in English), and the public voted to prohibit bilingual education (Zelasko, 2003).

One of the important consequents of prejudice against immigrants is the lack of funds allotted to teacher training to meet the needs of LM students both in the USA and Europe. Crutchfield (2007) states that German teachers graduate from faculties of education without any knowledge or skills and cross-cultural competence they would require to teach German as a second language. Worse still, teachers treat LM students as if they were the ones who are responsible for the general failure of students in state or international tests. This, in turn, makes way to an approach that further marginalizes them in the classroom, in the school system and in the wider society.

Sometimes immigrants themselves also refrain from maintenance of their mother tongue. For example, while English or German-speaking immigrants in the Netherlands consider their language a valuable asset and make every effort to maintain it and pass it on to their children by means of bi-lingual education, Turkish-speaking immigrants are generally of the opinion that they will decrease their chances for integration and career opportunities if they speak Turkish with their children,. Therefore, they prefer monolingual education in Dutch (Backus, 2004). Such attitudes are in fact, more detrimental to the maintenance of L1 than the prejudice of native people to immigrants or the official mono-lingual approach to education.

2.1.2.2. Lack of opportunities for immigrant children to learn L2

Since politicians, native people and education programs generally ignore the needs of LM students, they lack opportunities to learn and improve L2 skills required to become successful first socially and then academically. However acquiring communicative skills in L2 is a difficult process because it requires a special form of learning and a learning process as natural as that of learning L1. There are two main determinants for this learning process; motivation and exposure to L2. The motivation for language learning is seen as 'driving force' in linguistic and psychological approaches to education and considered as multi-dimensional (Klein & Dimroth, 2003). The exposure to L2 builds the second conceptual variable in the L2 acquisition process. The learner has to get into contact with the speakers of the target language, to get 'input' (Klein & Dimroth, 2003) or be 'exposed' (Chiswick & Miller, 1995) to the target

language respectively in natural settings (cited in Becker, 2007). Similarly, Esser (2006) also points out the importance of exposure to L2 as one of the basic factors in learning of the new language besides motivation, skills and costs. Unfortunately, LM students are not so lucky in either motivation or exposure to L2.

One significant indicator of lack of exposure to L2 is the difference among countries about the age at which education begins. In France and Belgium, LM children, like their native peers, start school at the age of 2 or 3. In Germany and Austria, most of them only start at the age of 6. Thus, the first group has about three to four more years of schooling during a crucial developmental phase in which they begin learning the language of the host nation in a formal educational environment. Similarly, there are differences between countries in terms of number of face-to-face contact hours with teachers during the years of compulsory schooling. For instance, in German and Austrian schools 9 year old Turkish students have a total 661 contact hours with their teachers as compared to 1.019 hours in Netherlands because they attend school on a half-day basis in the former countries. Children start going to school earlier in France, so LM students have more hours of contact and do not undergo educational selection before they overcome their disadvantaged starting point as in Germany and Austria (Crul & Sneider, 2009). Consequently, Turkish second generation in France, for instance, can go to tertiary education at higher rates than elsewhere in Europe.

LM groups mostly live together in particular districts of big cities isolated from people or districts where L2 is spoken. Thus LM children rarely get in touch with native children in their early childhood period. Due to social exclusion in pre-school years, LM students are not exposed to L2 long and extensively enough to acquire it. This lack of opportunities for immigrant children to learn L2 in pre-school years goes on when these children start school, as well. Most of LM groups live in immigrant-intensive parts of towns and so their children go to schools where there are not enough native peers. Such schools (like the low track secondary schools in Germany) are generally for the ones with low academic success. For instance, every fourth student with a migration background in Germany in the age cohort of 10 – 14 years goes to a school in which migrant students are the majority (Heckmann, 2008). This situation prevents them from interacting with native speakers both at school and after school. Since peers play an important part in school achievement and socialization, immigrant students do not have enough opportunities to improve communicative competence in L2 and integrate the society let alone school achievement.

2.2. Negative consequences of the problem

When factors related with immigrants themselves such as deficiency in L1 acquisition process due to socio-economic reasons of migration join with the factors related with those of the host countries such as monolingual education due to the prejudice against immigrants, LM students encounter difficulties first at school, and then in social and professional life as their competence in neither L1 nor L2 is at a level to facilitate their adoption to these new circles. This situation brings about inevitable problems.

2.2.1. Damage on L1 acquisition

Children who cannot learn their first and second languages adequately may suffer from loss of cultural competence and linguistic competence (Konig, 1998). Lambert (1984) also states that this problem arises in bi-lingual circumstances or when the standard language takes the place of minority languages due to socio-economic or political factors as in the case of Kurdish in Turkey, which is an Indo-European language without a standard variety. According to Schmid (2004), linguistic competence and performance which are not developed as much as they need to be may get weaker and weaker under the influence of academic L2 used at school and disappear in time. If L1 is not acquired with all components of communicative competence such as grammatical, textual/discourse, pragmatic, socio-linguistic and strategic competences, performance in L1 may get spoiled in time, which may influence academic success in L2 (Cummins, 2001:3). Concept development in L1 prepares a good base for learning both the content and the language (L2) in which this content is encoded. Therefore, if LM students stop using L1 when they start school in L2, this will lower their performance in L2, too. Hacqueboard's (1989) research on Turkish children in Holland indicated this clearly; those who go on reading in L1 improve L2 skills more than those who do not.

The severity of the damage caused by loss of L1 skills can be understood better when the results of the eight-year (1984-1991) longitudinal study made by Thomas & Collier (2002) on the influence of bilingual education in the USA are analysed. In this study, three types of program which differ depending of duration of instruction in L1 were compared. The study concluded that those students who received more native language instruction for a longer period not only performed better academically, but also acquired English language skills at the same rate as those students who were taught only in English. Furthermore, by sixth grade, the late-exit transitional bilingual education students were the only group catching up academically in all content areas to their English-speaking peers; the other two groups were falling further behind.

In terms of possible drawbacks of learning two languages at the same time, Gibbons (1993:6) states that "where there is no threat to the first language, there appears to be no reason why other languages cannot also be learned at the same time". Such theoretical assertion leads Gibbons to argue in favour of the establishment of bilingual education programs which help children acquire a second language without replacing their mother language. Gibbons points out

that the bilingual children who have little mother tongue support lose it gradually once they start school. In English, German or Turkish-only programs, this is an inevitable consequence for most of the LM students.

2.2.2. Damage on L2 learning

Even if they look and sound quite different, L1 and L2 have lots of common features. As Chomsky states, though their surface structures are different, deep structures, namely meaning in world languages are very similar due to cultural similarities. Besides, cognitive processes used for making sense of utterance are the same. Therefore, well-developed L1 skills set good examples for learning L2 while restricted L1 skills hinder learning of L2.

Immigrant children are exposed to L2 at home during their early childhood period in which they still go on learning their L1 and they try to learn it as well from the adults at home. However, since communicative competence of these adults in L2 is a restricted one, what LM children learn will not be a better one. Temel (1993), who studied the case of Turkish immigrant children in Germany, points out that children face difficulties when they start school due to lack of qualified communicative competence first in L1 and then in L2. This lack of communicative competence required for school will hinder academic performance, social and cultural development of immigrant students inevitably. Similarly, according to Cummins' linguistic interdependence hypothesis (1979), cross-linguistic transfer of L1 reading skills into L2 learning process is possible only if L2 learners have acquired qualified reading skills in L1. LM students, who speak a restricted code as L1, therefore, find it difficult to acquire L2, especially when this is the variety used at school for academic purposes.

Zdorenko & Paradis (2007) also points out cross-linguistic transfer of language skills. They say "L2 learners transfer functional categories and features of their L1 into the L2 as the starting point, and over the course of acquisition, they are able to adapt their interlanguage grammar in order to accommodate the input due to access to Universal Grammar (UG)." Similarly, Schwartz & Sprouse (2002), state that L2 children whose exposure to L2 starts (minimally) no later than age 7 utilize the same acquisition processes as they use in L1 acquisition process because both L1 acquisition and child L2 acquisition are guided by UG. At the beginning of acquiring L1, the L2 child is more mature than the L1 child both biologically and cognitively provided that s/he has grown up in a linguistically rich environment. Therefore, when LM students do not acquire their L1 appropriately, they do not make use of these skills in the process they learn their L2.

2.2.3. Drawback on academic success and in professional life

The PISA study measures the reading, math and science literacies of 15-year olds in the industrialized nations around the world. In the test given in 2000, Germany achieved a score in the bottom third in each area tested. According to Crutchfield, German officials, educators and parents put the blame on the immigrant pupils and their insufficient language proficiencies but the most alarming fact for "the land of poets and thinkers" were the lack literacy skills required for a particular age or grade: one in five eight-grade students (22.6%) demonstrated only elementary-level reading abilities (Crutchfield, 2007).

When LM students start school with a restricted code in spoken L2, they come across with two barriers; formal and written academic L2 and content of the text books. Since language is the only means for them to comprehend the content written in L2, they fall behind native students academically. Cummins (1979) calls the competence of academic language as cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), while he calls daily spoken language competence as basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS). He adds that LM students acquire the latter in 1-2 years, while it takes them 5-7 years to acquire the former. Likewise, in an analysis of data from two California school districts considered to be the most successful in teaching English to limited English proficient student. Hakuta and his colleagues (Hakuta *et al*. 2000) showed that while oral proficiency takes three to five years of LM students to develop, academic English proficiency can take their four to seven years. Similar findings have also been reported for Finnish immigrant children in Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976), for immigrant children in English-speaking Canadian schools (Cummins, 1981) and elsewhere (cited in Spada & Lightbown (2002). Therefore, communicative competence in academic L2 is a sine qua non not only for LM but native students as well. PISA 2009 results show this fact very clearly. The results which the USA and Germany, the strongest single-language dominant economies got from reading comprehension test are simply around the world average. More importantly, when compared with their PISA 2000 results, they are in a worse position like some other poor countries whereas France contributed to reading performance of lowest group, which includes LM students as well. This is partly due to their early start for schooling.

Acquisition of a qualified BICS and CALP in L1 helps both acquisition of similar skills in L2 and cognitive development because, as Piaget, Vygotsky and Bruner say, linguistic, cognitive and social developments realize together. With the help of experience in social interactions and cognitive skills, children can learn an L2 without much difficulty if suitable conditions can be provided. However, this is not the case as seen in Table I above. Gibbons (1993:17), who theoretically rely heavily on the Vygotskian perspective of cognitive and language development, says "if there is a gap in a learner's language resources, then the thinking processes that are dependent on them

will also be restricted". This will, inevitably, ends up with failure at school. Studies on Turkish students in Europe indicate that they are less successful than other immigrant students. Verhallen and Schoonen (1993) hold that the reason of this situation is the fact that conceptual development of Turkish children is weaker than the other LM students, which arises from their inadequate language skills in L1.

Table 1: Change in reading performance from 2000 to 2009 in PISA research

Countries	Mean Score in Reading	All students	Boys	Girls	Share of students below proficiency level 2	Share of students at proficiency level 5 or above	Association of socio-economic background with reading performance
Germany	497***	13*	-10**	-15*	-4,2*	-1,2***	-7,7*
USA	500***	-5***	-2***	-6***	-0,3***	-2,4***	-9,2*
France	496***	-9***	-15**	-4***	-4,6**	1,1***	7,7***
Canada	524*	-10***	-12**	-10,0**	0,7**	-4,0***	-6,4*
Albania	385**	36*	35*	39*	-13,7*	0,1***	-9,9*
Latvia	484**	26*	28*	23*	-12,5*	-1,2***	-11**
Mexico	425*	3***	1***	6***	-4,0*	-0,5***	-7,3*

(*statistically negative, ** statistically positive, *** not statistically significantly different)

Statistics show that in Germany, 60% of the students in the bottom-tier are LM students and an alarming low 3.3% of LM students who are educated in the German school system are able to continue their education process till university (Young, 2006). When immigrant children cannot cope with the requirements of academic program in primary school, they have to carry on their education in vocational secondary schools. However, some of them cannot finish these schools, either or they finish but without getting a diploma. For example, in Holland vocational training start 2-4 years earlier than in Germany but drop-out rates are higher because the number of theoretical classes is higher than the applied ones and theoretical classes require competence in vocational academic L2 or CALP, which LM students generally fail to acquire. Thus, when they cannot get a proper job, they cannot get a place within the society (Crul, 2007). This brings about some other problems such as discrimination, crime, homelessness and even terrorism.

2.2.4. Drawbacks in the social integration

Human is a social creature. S/he becomes social first acquiring communicative competence and then cultural competence at home, and then goes on developing these skills at school and in wider circles of society. Therefore, our desire to measure success at school only in terms of exam results, sometimes make us not to see other learning qualities which can be highly advantageous for any person in social life. For instance, a well-developed communicative competence, which includes cultural competence as well, helps us know the society we live in, because besides some other functions of it, language has a particularly significant role to play in the process of individual and societal integration (Esser, 2006). Inequalities among members of society in terms of access to education, income, central institutions, societal recognition and social contact are significantly a result of the differences of functional literacy and communicative competence in the national language. This means that immigrants who lack functional literacy and communicative competence in L2 will encounter difficulties not only in education and labour market but in the social integration process, as well.

There is a direct relation between language and society. Children learn language through cultural transfer. The more opportunities they find, the more components of communicative competence and world knowledge they acquire. This is the same for learning an L2 as well. Our competence defines the borders of our cultural life/activities as mentioned in Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. In other words, we hesitate to enter new circles of society unless we can speak the language variety spoken there. Thus, most of the time we prefer to stay in 'the safe waters'. Büyükkantarcıoğlu (2005), who compared the differences in the language use of primary school and university graduates, found out that the former group speak with short sentences and on limited number of topics. They prefer to stay within their close family and relative circles. They consider social facts with narrower angles than university graduates. This is the same for immigrant communities (Faltis & Valdes, 2010) as well. For instance, a great number of Turkish people in Germany prefer living together in the same districts of towns not only because rents are low there, but they feel safe as they do not speak German fluently and find it difficult to integrate with the German society.

Fertig (2004), who studied the societal integration of immigrants in Germany, warns that Germany now has a sizeable community of second generation immigrants, whose social and economic characteristics are a matter of growing concern. He adds "The empirical results suggest that conditional on observable characteristics, the activities and attitudes of foreign immigrants from both generations differ much more from those of native Germans than the activities/attitudes of ethnic Germans. The most importantly, the second-generation of immigrants is a deeply unsettled population group which is plagued by self-doubts and a rather fatalistic and pessimistic view on their life and its prospects". Similarly, according to Crutchfield, (2007), Turkish

immigrants find it difficult to integrate into Germany society because of lack of linguistic and cultural skills, so they feel the Turkish culture and Islam are attacked and essentialist ideologies about German versus Turkish, Western versus Oriental traditions and ways of life are brought into play in classes with LM Turkish students. Such attitudes increase prejudice against immigrants, which, in turn, damages the attempts made to solve their problems. For instance, a form of "reverse essentialism" can also take place in which German teachers believe that, for example, by wearing headscarves, not eating pork, or not participating in co-ed gym classes, it's the Turks (other) who don't want to belong to the German (self) culture. Fertig (2004) ends up his paper saying "In any case, by ignoring the rather gloomy orientation of this immigrant generation, we are running the risk of losing a sizeable fraction of young people as content and productive members of our future society".

3. Discussion: Linguistic evaluation of the present approaches to the education of LM children

National education policies are determined according to historical, political, cultural and traditional factors dominant in a country. Similarly, national models of integration of immigrants and of their education are determined according to national ideals, norms and values (Crul & Schneider, 2009). Therefore, these different approaches determine policies about the integration of immigrants and education of their children which differ from one country to another. For instance, quite surprisingly, even neighbouring countries forming EU do not have a common policy in this matter. Similarly, approaches English speaking countries follow for the solution of the problem do not resemble each other, either.

Usually, three models are distinguished: the model of "differential exclusion," the assimilationist model, and the multicultural model (Castles & Miller, 1993,). Germany, the country which has the biggest immigrant population in Europe, has long emphasized avoiding heterogeneity, so it is often associated with the model of differential exclusion. This means that migrants are integrated temporarily into certain societal sub-systems such as the labour market and limited welfare entitlements, but excluded from others such as political participation and national culture.

The second approach is assimilationist model. Many sociologists have viewed assimilation as an inevitable and necessary process for permanent migrants. Assimilation leads logically to incorporation of immigrants and their descendants as new citizens who do not know about their original language and culture. Both assimilation and differential exclusion share an important common principle; immigration should not bring about significant change in the receiving society. Therefore they follow a monolingual approach.

Besides the countries which follow these approaches, there are some others which are aware of the value of mother tongues and cultures of the immigrant groups. Losing one's cultural identity is one of the most influential social anxieties. Being aware of this fact, these countries follow a multi-cultural approach to education of LM children. The Netherlands, for example, is generally identified with the multicultural model and the acceptance or even promotion of multiculturalism (Castles & Miller, 1993, cited in Crul & Schneider, 2009). Similarly, and quite surprisingly when compared with European countries, in Norway, every LM group has the right to ask for education in their mother tongue, as well when they need if there are at least 15 children in need of this education. In short, countries with LM groups provide mono-lingual, bi-lingual or multi-lingual education depending on particular policies.

3.1. Monolingual education

Language is without doubt the most influential factor in the learning process, as the transfer of knowledge and skills is mediated through written and/or spoken words. However educational programs are designed focusing on the curricula and transfer of particular knowledge and skills mostly regardless of a particular policy about the medium through which this transfer is should be realized. This is especially true in multi-lingual countries where only the national language is used in education. Basically, there are two basic approaches to education of LM children. The first one is mono-lingual, English, German or Turkish-only education, which is applied most widely without taking special needs of immigrant children into consideration. The second one is bi-lingual education, which is not common due to lack of community support as it requires additional funds. The former aims to make immigrants give up their languages and cultures and assimilate them claiming that a second language in education will cause separation of the nation state while the latter tries to protect their language and cultural richness using them as a means of integration into the host culture.

There are clear findings which show that mono-lingual approach even in the developed countries is not successful. For example Table I and Table II on PISA 2009 results of reading comprehension show that mono-lingual approach has not been able to solve the problems of LM children. Worse still, they are considered to be responsible for the low scores Germany got in PISA 2006. Another evidence of failure of this approach is the decision England made with the new immigration law put into force on 24th April, 2011, which allows only qualified immigrants with functional literacy and communicative competence in English to enter the country from then on. Failure of Mexican students in American education system and Kurdish students' failure in university entrance exams in Turkey are examples of the inefficiency of mono-lingual approach to education (See, Graphic I). Similarly, the scores of LM

students on state tests began to decline rather than increase despite prohibition of bilingual education in California in 1998, which also clearly shows that monolingual education is not the solution of LM students' problems.

The problem is, first of all, related with the process of L1 learning. Students use language to learn, at first, introspectively and then verbally (Vygotsky, 1962). That is, most students initially think about new ideas and concepts before they talk about them. Connections to relate prior knowledge are made in a student's mind, and inconsistencies are often first identified using inner talk. Students raise questions internally and may even practice those questions before uttering them aloud (cited in Romero and Parrino, 1994). This internal or inner use of language in early childhood period is necessary because students at school are expected to make sense of new information and try to make connections between known content and concepts and those being learned in school. LM students, who have to attend a monolingual program with a restricted code in L1, unfortunately find it difficult to realize this cognitive process. They cannot correlate between their previously learnt knowledge and the new information given by the teacher. This is because; they have limited concept development during acquisition of L1 (Verhallen & Schoonen, 1993) and they have limited contact with their teachers and restricted language skills in L2.

Contact and interaction with the teacher in the classroom is a vital process for both academic and linguistics development. From Vygotsky's point of view, learning the meaning of a new word by a child is not the end but the beginning of the development of a concept that involves a complex internal process "that includes gradually developing from a vague idea of understanding of a new word, then on to his own usage of the word, and only as the final step his true acquisition of it" (Vygotsky, 2005). The more the child has opportunities to use new words whose concepts s/he is about to internalize, the more conceptual development he makes. This is very important especially for any child acquiring scientific knowledge in his/her L2. This requirement increases responsibility of the teacher who works with LM students. Unfortunately, in monolingual programs, as we mentioned above, teachers are not trained to help LM students in concept development. LM students who do not find enough opportunities at home for concept development in L1, experiences the same difficulty at school because they do not participate in classroom activities in L2 to develop even vague ideas about the topic of the conversation take place in class.

As the country where the researcher lives, Turkey can be a good example of disadvantages of monolingual approach to education. Every year approximately 1.5 million children start school there. Although there is not a clear statistic about the number of LM students, there are a lot of Kurdish children in the

Eastern Turkey with limited and sometimes no command of Turkish like Limited English Proficiency (LEP) students in the USA. However, they are taught with the same teachers, books and programs as native Turkish children. Consequently, they get the worst results in state tests. For instance in 2011 university entrance exam, among the least successful 10 city out of 81, there were 7 towns where Kurdish population is in majority (see Graphic I). These cities rely on agriculture-based economy, which is another source of failure of students. Graphic I indicates that there is a one-to-one correlation between socio-economic levels and academic success of 7 regions of Turkey in 2010 university entrance exams. In other words, it provides a clear proof of ignorance of the education of minorities, which prevents their economic development consequently.

Similarly, in SBS, which children sit at the end of secondary education, in Kocaeli province among the 10 worst schools out of 100, there were 9 schools from the region where most of residents (81%) are immigrants from Eastern Turkey. The results Turkish children get in PISA or PIRLS researches are also very low. In such an unsuccessful education system, LM students inevitably get very limited benefits. They can only learn how to speak Turkish till the end of primary education.

Graphic 1: The relation between academic success and socio-economic factors (Savas, 2007)
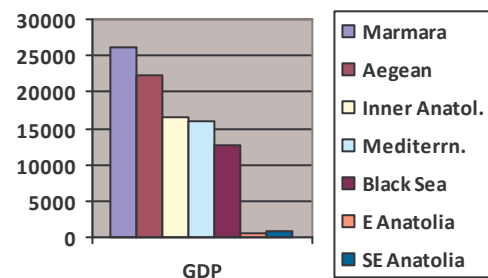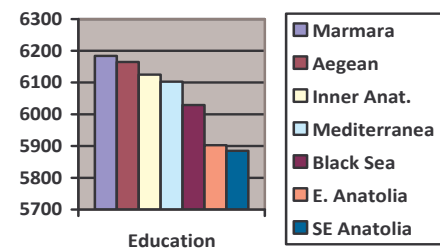
As for the developed western countries which have become immigrant countries where monolingual education is widespread, academic success levels of the LM students are not so bright, either. According to PISA 2009 statistics, United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and France are among the countries which are not statistically significantly different from the OECD average in terms of reading, science and maths with scores around 500. As seen in Table I, in which 2000-2009 results are compared, Germany, The USA and

Canada have not improved the conditions required for developing reading skills for the socio-economically disadvantageous children who possibly include LM students as well, while Canada, for example, has a higher level of performance in PISA 2009 than other countries as seen in Table II below. These figures also mean that there is a direct correlation between reading skills and academic success.

Table 2: Comparison of the developed countries in terms of OECD average in PISA 2009

Countries	Reading	Mathematics	Science
Germany	497***	513*	520*
Canada	524*	527*	529*
USA	500***	487**	502***
UK	494***	492***	514*
France	496***	497***	498***

(*Statistically significantly above the OECD average, ** Statistically significantly below the OECD average, *** Not statistically significantly different from the OECD average)

3.2. Bilingual education

Countries which are aware of the benefits of multi-culturalism handle education issues of their LM children with bi- or multi-lingual education programs. Bilingual education is a form of education in which information is presented to the students in two (or more) languages. The aim of bilingual education is to ensure that once a LM child has become proficient in his/her mother tongue, s/he can acquire the same level of communicative competence in L2. It has been shown that this type of education is useful especially for LM students who speak one of the popular world languages such as English, German, French or Spanish. We say "especially" because, unlike languages with limited number of speakers, those popular languages include most of world culture and are used all over the world in almost all human activities. Despite its success, bilingual education is still a controversial issue wherever it is needed for LM children. The hottest debate in this matter has been the one in the USA because about 12 million Spanish speaking Mexican immigrants live there and most of them are proponents of bilingual education while its opponents claim that the English language and the nation state will be in danger if bilingual education is allowed. Despite such criticism, figures from the 2000 Census show that 96 percent of those over the age of five speak English well or very well (Zelasko, 2003). Most countries feel the need for bilingual education due to adjustment or integration issues faced by minorities and immigrants. Bilingual education is seen necessary since it is supposed to help integrate the children of immigrants and minorities into the wider society. Therefore laws mandating or permitting instruction through languages other than the national/formal language have been passed.

In monolingual system, mostly LM children are in majority in their schools because they are collected in particular schools due to economic or political reasons. However, minority children need majority children to improve their L2 skills (Heckmann, 2008). Bilingual education provides this opportunity. "Key to the success of all two-way programs is the fact that both language groups stay together throughout the school day, serving as peer tutors for each other. Peer models stimulate natural language acquisition as mentioned in the development theories of Vygotsky, Piaget and Bruner for both groups because they keep the level of interaction that would otherwise be cognitively more complex for LM children (Panfil, 1995). Research has consistently demonstrated that academic achievement in bilingual education is very high for all groups of participants regardless of socio-economic factors compared to control groups who receive schooling only through English as a result of interactionist learning processes. What's more interesting, this holds true for students of low socioeconomic status, as well as African-American students and language-minority students, with those in the 90-10 model achieving even higher than those in the 50-50 model (Lindholm & Aclan 1992; Thomas & Collier 2002) with the help of their parents trained for bilingual education.

Besides its advantages, bi-lingual education has also certain drawbacks. As mentioned above, when the L1 of immigrant students is a language popular throughout the world such as English, French, German or Spanish, implementing bilingual programs is practical and can get support from native populations as well as, in this case, these languages will not be considered as a danger for national unity or culture. However, when we consider the great variety of minority languages spoken in the developed countries, bilingual education seem very difficult to be implemented throughout the country. For instance, in the USA 180 languages are spoken and in England 350 languages are spoken, while in Australia there are 200 languages. Therefore, it is difficult to provide above mentioned conditions in these countries. Within so many languages, there may be the ones even without a written form as indigenous languages in The West Africa where education is English or languages without a standard form such as Kurdish in Turkey. For this reason, even one-way bilingual program in which students from the same minority group with different levels of proficiency in L2 take part may be difficult to put into practice. In other words, bilingual education for all LM groups of children is difficult or impossible to provide due to lack of appropriately trained administrative and instructional staff, adequate financial resources and linguistically,

culturally and developmentally appropriate materials which this staff and LM students need. To provide instruction through L1 and L2 in bilingual education for all LM students is, therefore, almost impossible. Even if bi-lingual education sounds very democratic, equalitarian and its advocates believe in gradual integration into society by allowing children to receive education in their native language, it is difficult to apply it to every group of immigrant children due to expenses required and lack of community support, just for the sake of equality especially when their mother tongue does not have a value in the labour market.

3.3. Our model; acculturation through extensive shared reading (ATSR) in L1 and L2

What LM people suffer most is the difficulty they meet during social integration through education and employment. The problem has not been solved through differential exclusionist or assimilationist policies and approaches to education of LM children. Especially racist activities in the spring of 2011 in England and massacre of 77 young people in Sweden by an racist following these events showed this fact very clearly. Such events showed that neither minorities have integrated well-enough into the mainstream nor natives have grown enough empathy and cultural tolerance towards immigrants. Therefore we believe that the solution is possible through acculturation. According to Padilla acculturation is a type of cultural change initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultures. It is a process by which members of one culture adapt to the presence of another culture by means of societal integration (Padilla, 1980). We believe that it will be much more influential than assimilationist or differential exclusionist approaches practised through mono-lingual education.

Both mono-lingual and bi-lingual models have particular drawbacks either in terms of theory or application. The former ignores role of maintenance and sustaining functional literacy and communicative competence in L1 as a means of learning the national (L2) language and cognitive, social and cultural development theoretically. Its aim is differential exclusion or assimilation. The latter considers these facts but it is not easy to implement widely enough to include all LM students. However, the approach we put forward is both theoretically sound and easy to apply. It aims to provide acculturation as in bi-lingual education. Though our approach tries to realize it through mono-lingual education, it would be more useful for LM students attending bilingual schools where a well-developed functional literacy and communicative competence are required to acquire the same and similar skills in L2.

Main aim of our approach is integration. Following Lockwood, sociological theory of social systems has developed the concepts of system integration and social integration (Lockwood, 1964). Social integration refers to the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards the society. It is the result of the conscious and motivated interaction and cooperation of individuals and groups. Esser (2004) proposes four basic forms of social integration: acculturation, placement, interaction and identification. Acculturation or socialisation is the process by which an individual acquires the knowledge, cultural standards and competencies needed to interact successfully in a society. The main purpose of primary schools all over the world is to provide this kind of socialisation. This is vital especially for immigrants groups. Modern multi-cultural schools aim to provide this integration giving students a global perspective and enriching their educational experience. The curriculum includes ideas of integration, internationalization and cross-cultural awareness leading to mutual understanding and respect among students. This is what the LM students and their native peers also need. For someone living in a country other than his/her own, functional and cultural literacy in his/her mother tongue and in the language of instruction is, therefore, a sine qua non.

The first step in ATSR is to provide LM children with well-developed L1 competence. Proficiency in L1 has two advantages for LM children; firstly, it is a means of social interaction with their own speech community living in the host country and then it is a cognitive and linguistic background for learning L2, which is a means of adapting to social, academic and professional life in the host country. For this reason, what we put forward as a solution method is to develop communicative competence or functional literacy first in L1 and then in L2 through extensive shared reading of translated children's literature. This is a kind of early immersion program in which parental support is sought for. According to Hickey (1997), it is now an established fact that an education program for LM students can only be enriched by benefiting from parental support for both L1 and L2 acquisition.

Functional and cultural literacy acquired in L1 especially for LM children through the qualified help of specially trained parents is a very important skill because, as Gibbons (1993:6) points out, many bilingual children who have not undergone a qualified mother tongue learning process lose it once they start school because most of the education is mono-lingual and it does not give enough mother tongue support. Unlike advocates of bi-lingual education, who also focus on the importance of maintenance of mother tongue through schooling, we do not hold that instruction in L1 should also be provided because acquiring CALP (cognitive academic language proficiency, Cummins, 1979) both in L1 and L2 is too difficult unless there are specially trained teachers and specially prepared materials. What we suggest is to eliminate this lack of specially trained teachers supporting the present teachers with specially trained parents who will help to develop literacy both in L1 and L2 at home. Specially trained parents will use

children's literature books translated from L1 into L2 or vice versa during shared reading sessions.

Reading to children at home in pre-school period is very important because learning how to read begins in children's ears. It also helps children make an easy access to the written language. Parents lay a foundation for success in reading by talking to their children and reading books to them. The more books they read, the bigger their vocabulary becomes. This prepares them for school because formal and written language used at school comprises much more low-frequency words and longer sentences when compared with informal daily speech. In a research made in the USA, it was found that among 1000 words in a daily newspaper there are 68 low-frequency words. This number is 30.9 in children's books while there are only 17.3 such words in conversations between university graduate friends and family members (Karacay, 2011). Legendre (2006) points out that if a pupil's knowledge acquisition takes place in L1, which we believe, is possible by shared- reading, it also goes on during instruction with L2 when s/he is sufficiently proficient in L2. The construction of new concepts in conversations between teacher and learners fosters cognitive and linguistic developments simultaneously.

Shared reading first at home and then in the kindergarten both in L1 and L2 provides a strong foundation for bilingual education, as well. Clegg (2005), studied whether L1-medium education in the early years significantly raise school achievement, if children learn through their L1 in the early years and then (usually after three or four years) switch medium to a European language. He found out correlation between these factors. With this type of program, students gain;

- self-confidence, self-assurance, self-respect and identity", which facilitates integration of LM children to L2 culture (Legendre, 2006).

-cognitive and literacy foundations for education as a whole and an essential foundation for education in a L2 (Thomas & Collier 2002) but especially for children with low socio-economic status (SES), for whom it has an important compensatory value.

- essential foundation for second language learning (Cummins, Clarke, inter-lingual transfer of linguistic skills).

Shared-reading of translated stories aims to teach or help LM children acquire both L1 and L2 at early ages seems like an early-immersion bi-lingual teaching. It has also the same principles as Content and language integrated learning (CLIL), which is a study of both language acquisition and subject matter. Snow (1998) says, instead of teaching language in isolation, the target language becomes the medium in which important information can be learned. When the students are studying a content area of interest (i.e. snakes, the Holocaust, immigration, etc), they are more intrinsically motivated to learn both the content and the language simultaneously. The students are actually able to use their new language because they are given opportunities to practice what they learn while they learn and this provides fun, positive attitudes towards learning the content, acquisition of L2 skills and societal integration respectively. Similarly, during shared reading activities through books translated from L1 culture, LM children will easily make use of their knowledge of content so they will be more able to cope with the form of the text. As for their native peers attending shared reading classes in the kindergarten, they will benefit from their pre-knowledge about the form of the texts to understand the content which belongs to LM culture. Therefore translated children's books will become socially, emotionally, culturally, linguistically and cognitively stimulating materials for a multi-cultural school as mentioned by Bradley & Crowyn, (2002), as well. They will provide cultural contact through contact of languages of classmates from different cultures.

This approach and activities may be beneficial even when minority children whose L1 does not have a standard or even written form. Besides books, there is also oral literature in the form of lullabies, riddles, tongue twisters, fairy tales that are used as a means of transferring culture and language to the younger generations. In this matter Weinstein and Quintero state that family literacy practitioners and parents themselves need to know that telling stories and sharing cultural traditions with children in any language help prepare the children to do well in school, even when the language is not English, and even when this is done orally rather than through print (Weinstein & Quintero, 1995). Acculturation through shared reading of translated children's books, therefore, can be very helpful for almost all LM children living in the immigration country if it is practiced as a part of family literacy program. In other words, with the help of community, state, school and parental support, all LM children can acquire emergent literacy skills, which later can more easily turn into functional literacy skills which needed both at school and social and professional life in the future.

3.3.1. Shared reading in L1 and L2 first at home and then in the kindergarten

Aksan (1979) says mother tongue comprises all cultural richness of a nation so much that it shapes thought to some extent. While children learn their mother tongue through cultural transfer, they also make cognitive and social development. While Piaget (1967) focuses on cognitive development factor in the acquisition of language, Vygotsky's (1978) Social development Theory and Bruner's Social Interactionist Theory point out the social and linguistic development in this process (Bruner, 1996). They hold that the development of language comes from the early interactions between infants and caregivers. This is a world-wide process, which is as old as history of mankind. In the past, oral literature in the form of lullabies, riddles, tongue twisters, fairy tales, was the

main means of transfer of both our culture and language through interactions between child and adult members of the family during early childhood period. In modern times, however, together with oral literature, shared reading has also been included in this process. In this matter Bishop (1992) asserts that "books can help us to see the world in a new way". There are a lot of studies indicating the contribution of shared reading to linguistic, social and cognitive development of children. For instance, there is a New Zealand research report pointing out the benefits of story reading aloud (Elley 1989), and this has been reinforced by similar studies in Israel (Feitelson 1986), Fiji (Ricketts1982) and the USA (Morrow, 2001), amongst others. Shared Reading also gives pupils valuable practice at listening to the sounds and rhythms of language, and creates positive feelings about books. It greatly increases "comprehensible input" in the language (cited in Elley, Cutting, Mangubhai &Hugo, 1996).

Similarly, Morrow (2001) states that by means of shared-reading activities children gain 9 linguistic skills such as asking questions and answering, forming dialogues, praising, supporting, informing, summarizing, turn-taking, and directing discussion. These skills are very crucial in the education process. Children also improve their vocabulary and concept knowledge, acquire complicated linguistic structures, improve cognition and imagination, attention span, listening skills and duration, increase their life experiences and gain opportunities to learn about style and structure of the narratives. This, in turn, helps them to gain pre-skills for formal and written language of school. In her book Children's Mind, Donaldson (2004) says that cognitive skills related with thinking about abstract things emerge when children notice notion of language and this skill improves when they begin to read. Consequently, they improve higher order thinking skills (cited in Karacay, 2011).

Shared reading first in L1 and then in L2, first at home and then in the kindergarten is beneficial thanks to cross-linguistic transfer of language skills because acquisition of cultural/functional literacy in home language assists LM children to acquire the same skills in L2, as well. Various studies have been carried out to define the relationship between L1 and L2 reading. For example, Hudson (1982:187) says "the schema-based learning theory indicates that the readers process reading which has been presented through print by using prior world knowledge to produce representations of language anticipated meaning." Once children have developed written proficiency in L1 and communicative proficiency in L2, they will easily transfer the writing techniques and cognitive faculties acquired in the familiar language to L2. This happens through what Cummins (1989) has called the "theory of interdependence" or "common underlying proficiency" which makes such cognitive and linguistic transfers possible. There are also two other hypotheses in this matter; the Linguistic Threshold Hypothesis (LTH) or Short-circuit Hypothesis developed by Clarke (1980:206), and Hacqueboard's (1989:51) transfer hypothesis. According to advocates of these theories, we can successively say that cross-linguistic transfer of reading skills is easier when learners reach a particular level in L2 reading (Clarke, 1980) and when they continue their reading activities in L1 during their L2 study (Hacqueboard,1989).

Likewise, Beykont points out that case studies of exemplary language programs across diverse contexts such as those by Baker, 2001; Clyne, 2005; Cummins, 1989, 2000; Garcia, 2005; Kwong, 2000; Moll, 1992) revealed the cumulative benefits of prolonged and persistent language and literacy support and the importance of providing similar conditions of literacy acquisition in two languages. Provided ongoing exposure beyond school and motivation to learn the target language, students in these programs were able to transfer literacy skills acquired in one language to the other and acquire full proficiency in both (Beykont, 2010).

Referring to some other studies Beykont also states that first language literacy and academic skills are an important support for the development of literacy and academic skills in the second language (Cummins, 1981, 1983, 1986; Krashen, 1982). Children who have to learn literacy skills and academic content in a language they do not speak well are doubly burdened (Cummins, 1981; Wong-Fillmore, 1981). Native language instruction builds upon children's early conceptual and perceptual development, motivates students to come to school and stay in school, and prevents them from falling behind in content matter learning, and thereby helps "to equalize shortcomings of opportunity" for language minority students (Beykont, 1994, 1997 a, b, c; Cummins, 1981; Holm and Holm, 1990; Hornberger, 1987; Krashen, 1982; Medina, Saldate & Mishra, 1985; Navarro, 1985; Paulston, 1978; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983; Willig, 1985; Wong-Fillmore & Valadez, 1986, cited in Beykont, 2010).

3.3.2. Translated children's literature as a means of societal integration

We hold that shared-reading of children's literature translated from L1 into L2 and vice-versa provides acculturation for LM children and cultural competence for both them and their native peers. Theoretical support for this claim comes from eminent scholars. The mutual relation between language and culture has long been a settled issue thanks to the writings of both prominent philosophers such as Von Humboldt (1876), Saussure (1966), Wittgenstein (1980; 1999), Chomsky (1968) and striking linguists dealing with the issue of language and culture such as Sapir (1962) and Whorf (1956), (cited in Bada & Genc, 2005:2). Therefore, we need translations to learn about other cultures and since the best examples of a culture and its language are embedded in literary works, we need to read the literary art works written in that culture. Even Zohar (1990) is one of the first

scholars who pointed out this relation with Poly-system theory. Jakobson (1971) and Eco (2001) also hold that translated works cannot be separated from culture because translation is an activity between two cultures rather than two languages. Therefore important cultural developments in history such as the one realized during the Renaissance period in Europe emerged as a result of translations.

Socio-cultural systems which include language, literature and translation are dynamic, interrelated, multi-faceted poly-systems as put forward by Even-Zohar (1990). For this reason, translation has a potential of forming cultural identity (Venuti, 1998:68). For instance, in 1940s, a translation project was started by the Ministry of Education in Turkey. World classics were translated into Turkish by eminent writers of the time. These works were used in Turkish and literature classes with a student-centred approach in the Rural Institutes, which were founded to train teachers for the rural reconstruction as the last step of reforms started by Ataturk for westernization upon the report of Dewey. Although students came from villages and did have restricted codes, 22 of the teachers who graduated from these schools became eminent writers later. They started post-modern literature in Turkey under the influence of western literature and changed the cultural identity of Turkey in the wake of WWII. Translated literature became the driving force first for native literature, then Turkish poly-system.

One of the greatest aspects of literature is that it not only entertains us, but also broadens our mind and our view of the world by providing us information about other cultures and times, other types of ideas and values than those that prevail in our own society. This applies to both literature for adults and children which is why children too should have the right to enjoy stories where cultural references are translated in a logical, consistent way (Hagfors, 2003). Therefore, issues of culture and ideology are particularly important in translated children's literature because of the dual role such literature plays both in shaping the child's cultural identity and world-view, and in broadening the child's knowledge and understanding of other cultures (Inggs, 2003). Therefore, translated children's literature is a component of literary and cultural poly-system in a country.

Translated children's literature also improves children's communicative and cultural competence opening new doors to different cultures and worlds to children. This is very important especially in multicultural societies which are under the impact of globalization. Bishop holds that multicultural literature enables us to understand, appreciate and celebrate the differences among us, those things that make each cultural group unique (cited in Ugochi, 2010:50). In a multi-cultural country, both natives and non-natives are very sensitive about their cultural identity. Especially minority groups are afraid of losing their cultural identities within the mainstream while the natives refrain from changes in their culture due to external and foreign influences (Beykont, 2010). Therefore translated children's literature helps both LM and native students to acquire multicultural literacy/competence or cross-cultural awareness. Cultural competence comprises four components such as awareness of one's own cultural worldview, attitude towards cultural differences, knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews and cross-cultural skills. Developing cultural competence for LM children, therefore, helps them acquire the ability to understand, communicate with, and effectively interact with people across cultures, which will eliminate the feeling of foreignness and facilitate their societal integration.

3.3.3. Shared reading in L2 as a means of acquiring communicative competence

Learning a language as a second or foreign language is quite different. While we "learn" a foreign language, we "acquire" a second language as we do in learning our mother tongue. Ringbom (1987) notes that during second language 'acquisition' the language is spoken in the immediate environment of the language learner and in this environment the learner has positive opportunities to use the language in natural communicative situations. On the other hand, in the foreign language 'learning' context, the language is not spoken in the learner's immediate environment and although the mass media may provide opportunities for practicing receptive skills of the language, there is little or no opportunity for the learner to use the language in a natural communicative situation. Therefore, as Krashen (2003) points out, language acquisition does not require extensive use of conscious grammatical rules, and does not require tedious drill, as often seen in foreign language teaching. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language - natural communication - in which speakers are concerned not only with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding. The best methods of learning either L1 or L2 are, therefore, those that supply 'comprehensible input' (Krashen, 1994) in low anxiety situations, containing messages that learners really want to hear during conversations with sympathetic native speakers who are willing to help the acquirer understand. Shared reading activities in L2 first at home and then in kindergarten may, therefore, provide linguistic development in L2 similar to those of learning L1.

Shared-reading in L1 improves language skills of children such as asking questions and answering, forming dialogues, praising, supporting, informing, summarizing, turn-taking, and directing discussion, so when it is practiced in L2, too, it provides the same benefits for LM children, as well. The most vital influence of a qualified L1 acquisition emerges in the process of learning the grammar of L2 because children acquire most of the grammatical system of their mother

tongue until they are 4 years old. Shared-reading at home in early childhood period provides proper conditions for them to learn grammar of their L1 implicitly. When they begin to attend kindergarten and are exposed to L2 there with native children, especially during shared reading activities, they begin to acquire grammar of L2 as well, in a natural way (Schwartz&Sprouse, 2002) similar to the one in learning the grammar of their L1. They not only learn grammar implicitly but vocabulary, native-like pronunciation and spelling as well. This process realizes implicitly and effectively as children are still in critical age of language acquisition as put forward by Lenneberg (1967).This means that what LM children benefit from shared reading of translated children's literature is not limited with vocabulary in L2 and world knowledge development. They learn about grammar of L2 implicitly, as well.

All over the world education programs recognize and build upon the knowledge and skills children bring to school. Therefore, for a school program to be successful in a multi cultural society, whether it be a mono-lingual or bi-lingual one, L1 development of LM students in pre-school period is very decisive. When bi-lingual programs are difficult to apply, maintenance of L1 should be provided by means of family literacy programs which include acculturation though shared reading of translated children's literature because maintenance of L1 through shared reading activities improve not only LM children's communicative competence but that of their parents as well (Morrow, 2001; Hockenberger &Goldstein& Haas,1999) .

Shared reading in L2 at home may also provide functional literacy in L2 for the LM parents, which can increase their potential and chances in the labour market and wider society. As Carpentieri, *et al*. (2011:201) state "The family literacy programmes take a holistic view of literacy development as one that must be embedded in everyday situations and practice. Parents are seen as learners in their own right as well as playing a vital role in supporting children's literacy acquisition". Similarly, Workforce Investment Act of 1998 in the USA reflects this dual goal in its encouragement of adults to "become full partners in the educational development of their children." The law also mentions helping adults to "become literate and obtain the knowledge and skills necessary for employment and self-sufficiency."

3.3.4. Family literacy practices

Role of parents in language development is crucial. In Vygotsky's Social development Theory, it is stated that children learn language in "zone of proximal development" with the help of more qualified adults. Therefore, to benefit from shared-reading both in L1 and L2 LM children need the support of a qualified adult. Since most of LM parents suffer from lack of the same L1 and L2 skills s their children they need to be trained for share-reading activities. The aim of family literacy programs is to provide this training, so they improve not

only LM children's communicative competence but that of their parents as well (Morrow, 2001; Hockenberger &Goldstein& Haas, 1999). These programs have been on agenda for about two decades to make a set of interventions related to literacy development of young children, designing a set of programs to enhance the literacy skills of more than one family member (Britto & Brooks-Gunn, 2001). It has been considered in many state or institutional research projects. For example, the key finding of the report prepared by Carpentieri, *et al*. (2011) for UNESCO which included 7 case studies in 7 European countries is that family literacy programmes are effective, both in improving child literacy and in improving parental support skills. Herlot and Young (2005) also carried out a minority language education project in Didenheim, France that entailed parental participation. Parents were invited to schools and asked to join the classroom activities talking about their cultures in their own language. The project proved that collaboration among teachers and parents can be an effective way of putting the languages and cultures of LM students on the same level as the dominant language and culture of the school.

According to Berstein's (1971) restricted-code theory, working class children have restricted language skills when compared with those of middle class. This is not much different for their parents, either. Therefore, they do not know how to cope with the problems their children suffer from. They are not qualified to be models for them, either. However, they still can get proper professional support from education authorities. Parents who have received training and are confident can help improve poor readers' interest in and enthusiasm for reading and their reading competence (Toomey, 1993; Hockenberger, Goldstein and Haas, (1999); Buckley, 2006:29). Even if they are socio-economically disadvantaged, LM parents can be and should be trained for shared-reading, thus they can improve linguistic, social and cognitive skills and cultural competence of their children. Target language limitations may restrict parents' willingness or ability to contribute, but according to Faltis (1995:255) there are 'ways to involve parents in schooling matters that minimise the barriers that language and cultural differences can create. For instance, "among many other studies focusing on different linguistics skills, the one conducted by Whitehurst *et al*. (1994) analysed the effects of specific commenting on a young child's expressive language ability. Parents were taught specific commenting skills such as open-ended questions, function and attribution questions, and expansion, as well as appropriate responses to their child's attempts to answer these types of questions. Post testing revealed that the experimental group was 6 months ahead in language development, after a 9 months training.

Family literacy programs help not only L1 and L2 development of LM children but that of their parents as well. When L1 maintenance is provided by means of

bilingual education where possible or shared-reading model involving parents as well, their functional literacy in both L1 and L2 will improve without negative influence (mother tongue influence). Thus, maintenance of standard form of L1 will be provided in the host country. For instance, Turkish immigrants living in Australia have changed their L1 so much with loan words from English that the Canberra ambassador complained from this situation sending official letters to the government in Turkey. He said he needed a dictionary to understand the Turkish spoken and written in Australia because it is half English, half Turkish as in the following sentences taken from advertisements;

"Taksit bizde *lay-bay* bizde."

"Her çeşit, her marka oto *body* parçaları bulunur.

"Elektronik *tune-up* yapılır."

"Hem fabrikadan hem *shoptan* satış yapılır."

"Acil *hotline*'ımız vardır."

"İki pizza alana bir büyük şişe *drink* bedava." (Savas, 1998)

4. Conclusion

As a result of the theoretical evaluation and analysis of statistics of national and international exams which we made to find the answer of the first research question, we can conclude that neither monolingual education which aims assimilation or differential exclusion nor bilingual education can be a decisive solution of the problems LM children suffer from. Bilingual programs are partly successful because they can be used only the speakers of popular languages. To find funds, qualified teachers, classrooms and materials for all groups of LM children is not possible even in developed countries even if we can diminish the prejudice against foreigners which is an eminent obstacle for bilingual education.

As for the answer of the second research question, acculturation, through bi-lingual literacy provided by shared reading of translated children's literature seems to be the solution for all LM children as it is realized with the support of specially trained parents and teachers when LM children are in a period critical for learning both L1 and L2 and as they are in the natural settings of L2. Successful results in the Early immersion programs, in the first 3 years of which instruction is in L1, successful CLIL practises, and success of early schooling in France, Belgium and Holland when compared with Germany and Austria in the long term are two clear signs of this fact. That's, early home/kindergarten programs in which extensive shared reading first in L1, then in L2 by means of translated children's literature can help LM students acquire a better functional literacy (communicative competence/cultural literacy) and multi-cultural identity. In this method, what is more important than learning languages is social, emotional, cognitive, and academic development of bilingual children, who,

therefore, according to Collier, (1995) even outperform the native ones in school tests.

All in all, to provide LM students with cross-cultural and communicative competence through shared-reading of translated children's literature, the following attempts can be helpful;

- Functional literacy in L1 (Cummins, 2001; Thomas&Collier, 2002), provided by shared reading of children's literature translated from L2 into L1,

- Enough exposure to L2 (Cummins&Swain, 1986), with comprehensible interaction provided by shared reading of children's literature translated from L1 into L2,

- L2 literacy, qualified enough to understand text books written in L2 (Mcdonald, 1990) and supported by shared reading of children's literary books in L2 first at home then in school,

- Teaching of academic L2 at school (Cummins, 2001),

- Preparing and using materials and techniques facilitating comprehension of the content (Clegg, 2001),

- Teaching which crosses cultural, social class, and language boundaries,

- Training teachers for teaching L2 as a second language to LM students (Beykont, 2010).

Last but not least, although there is still legislation prohibiting bilingual education in some countries and some schools forbidding speaking L1 at school, nationalistic approaches to the problem are changing. For example, as Buckley (2006:21) states, there has been a movement to promote and encourage diversity in Germany recently (Table 1). Specifically, in Berlin, more focus is now being paid to the Turkish community and the necessity of instructing children in their mother tongue. Therefore, there is an increase in the number of Turkish classes as second foreign language, which have recently been opened up to all students. Similarly, in Turkey, though teaching in Kurdish is not allowed legally yet, primary school teachers working in towns and suburban areas of big cities where Kurdish minority people live are now allowed to increase the number of Turkish classes from 4 hours up to 20 a week so that Kurdish children can have a better opportunity to learn the instruction language, if at all (Table 2). All these changes mean that language contact in modern times is increasing day by day. Fertig (2004)'s statement explains the reason of these turnings of policy; "In any case, by ignoring the rather gloomy orientation of this immigrant generation, we are running the risk of losing a sizeable fraction of young people as content and productive members of our future society".

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