

# **The Conceptualisation of State Linguistic Policies and Education System Analysing Community Solidarity: A Refugee Protectionism**

By

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In the wake of the Arab uprising and the Syrian civil war, the refugee crisis became apparent in contemporary international politics. Germany's 2015 'Welcome Policy' introduced by Angela Merkel opened up borders for millions of refugees, specifically from Syria, escalating the debate of integration into German society. With the intake of refugees, the host societies regulated their state policies to achieve successful integrations. However, the multicultural identity of the refugees and the host societies made the social, cultural, political and economic integration of refugees complex. Taking the case study of Syrian refugees in Germany, within the multicultural approach, language is the key source of all interactions, communications and integration; and a key indicator of economic, social and educational advancement in the host society. The introduction of compulsory language programmes to adapt to the host society seems to be a way forward in integrating the refugees. Nevertheless, the methods and inculcations of language training created layers of complexities between the refugees and the host society, exploring further the central arguments of this essay.

First, the conceptualisation of language within the state policies and its implications served as a tool for the integration process between the host and the refugees. Second, wake of the systematic language integration process echoes the growing community's alienation due to varied language barriers and the development of an alternative community within the community, influencing the cooperative coexistence between multicultural identities. In counterargument, this growing alienation produces alternative community

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solidarity. For instance, a separated and segregated space was formed for Arabic and Turkish-speaking migrants and refugees in Germany. It further intensified the psychological differentiation between the state, locals and the refugees. Thus, language plays a significant role in integrating, alienating the community, or forming an alternative community based on their language competency, interest and choice. Third, the institutionalisation of language in education has a role in forming a community within a community and/or developing community solidarity. The questions of the school education system induced by state policies shape the personalities, behaviour, attitude and development of the individual within societies. Thus, the school education system became the prime aspect for the systematic application of language training. Despite comprehensive state linguistic policies, how language proficiency impaired refugees' overall development such as language brokering, cultural impositions and socio-economic limitations remain uncertain. Based on the above objectives, the aspect of language sustainability became apparent in all argumentative discourse. The integration process to adapt with the host language and an approach to sustain one's native language can be an alternative to enhance the sense of social solidarity between the refugees and the host societies. Thus, it promotes one's basic cultural rights to develop and form a pluralistic and tolerant society.

### **The Conceptualisation of State Policies on Language Integration**

Language becomes a critical factor in the integration process of multicultural identities for social, cultural, economic and political interaction, integration and assimilation into society. The language phenomenon is defined as the totality of the outcome that can be made in a speech community interacting with each other.<sup>1</sup> In the Bloomsfield analysis, language is a medium of complex communication and symbol activities related to a social activity.<sup>2</sup> Thus, language is a shaping factor in analysing people's conduct and interaction in a diverse and pluralistic society. In the broader context of politics and society, the role of language in speech communities and relationships among and within these communities in social and political environments are usually emphasised.<sup>3</sup> The linguistic state policies shaped, formulated and formed society's structure and dynamic development process. However, the dominance of language, the impact of cultural imperialism, fear, insecurity of losing one's language, and economic, political and social backwardness impact language proficiency and question the linguistic approach in the long-and short-term development process. Thus, the large influx of immigrants, refugees and migrants from diverse linguistic groups, cultures, identities and regions resulted in a complex integration process, challenging state policies and forming an alternative argument on language development in society.

The German state's intention to integrate Syrian refugees entailed initial steps of providing a compulsory 'integration programme'<sup>4</sup> for all the refugees arriving in Germany. The programme featured compulsory German

language lessons and education about German history and culture. The programme was adopted under federal government and state policies to promote productive and substantial integration. Along with integration policies, the German state adopted welfare policies for the refugees by providing them accommodation and welfare expenses for their basic needs such as food, clothes and other essential items. However, despite the comprehensive German state policies, the lack of socio-cultural background of refugees and homogenous institutionalisation of language resulted in a wider gap in the formulation and implementation of these state-induced policies and practices.

German is the single national official language in Germany, accessible in all public spheres, schools, politics, legal system and administrative procedures. Looking at the history of diverse immigration in Germany, seeking asylum and entering as a guest worker, Germany adopted concrete integration policies, making language a key factor, with minor development on introducing a second language within the education system. In 2004, articles 43 and 44a of the Act to control and restrict immigration and regulate the residence and asylum integration of EU citizens and foreigners was adopted in Germany. The article introduces the integration course, introducing German history, language, legal system and culture. The language course consists of introductory and follow-up courses to attain 'sufficient' language skills. Article 44 stipulates 'compulsory attendance' for foreigners who cannot speak the basic German language. Thus, acquisition and good command of the language play a central role in the integration process. The article's introduction was debated on grounds of diversity and migration, which focused on German language proficiency as the significant criteria of integration and "perpetually reproduced the ideological discourse of the monolingual state".<sup>5</sup> Emphasis on the German language was proposed in schools and education, even for non-German speaking children. Thus, Germany is institutionally a monolingual state, with a minor exception of the second language such as English, French, Danish or Arabic at the school level.

In 2008, the Institute for the German language surveyed 'language and language attitudes in Germany', in cooperation with social psychologists from the University of Mannheim. It stated that 90.2% of the respondents responded in 'German' as their mother tongue and used it in all public spheres, although there was a German-language dialectal competency between older and younger; East and West Germany; and locals and the foreigners/immigrants.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the state sustained a strong tendency towards using a single language in public, with limited dialectal variations within the German language.

In 2015, the arrival of Arabic-speaking Syrian refugees with limited German language knowledge formed a linguistic gap between German and native refugees. It is challenging to learn the German language in a short duration since the refugees' educational background varies. Some have skilled qualifications to enhance knowledge of Latin alphabets, while some have secondary and middle school qualifications or no knowledge of Latin

alphabets; and in other instances, there is no knowledge of their native language alphabets whatsoever.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it challenges the common standard of ‘compulsory language integrative programme’ in Germany, where the German language programme is inculcated as being central for state integration. In 2016, the German Federal Statistical Office (*Statistisches Bundesamt, Destatis*) reported that 18.6 million people in Germany with a migrant background came from Southern and East Europe and Turkey until the 1970s and 80s, and from Africa and West Asia (Middle East), especially during 2015–16.

Despite huge cultural and linguistic diversity, there was no substantial work on the diverse language policies of the varied groups, not only by state institutions and administrations but also by experts and scholars, to provide an intellectual space within the public and political discourse.<sup>8</sup> A survey conducted in 2017 reported that 75% of the immigrant and refugee respondents had completed at least one language training programme, while 50% (in 2016, 33%) had participated or completed an integration course, i.e., the most important state-sponsored programme for refugee language training, and 9% of the respondent has participated in or completed an advance language course.<sup>9</sup> Since 2014, the courses included the ESF-BAMF language course and the ‘vocational language course’ since 2016, financed by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, BMAS*). In 2017, 12% respondents completed Federal Employment Agency and introductory programme with occupation-specific language support, Perspective for Refugees (*Komp AS, Perspektiven für Flüchtlinge*), Perspective for Adolescent Refugees (*Perspektiven für Jugendliche Flüchtlinge*), and Perspective for Female Refugees (*Perspektiven für Weibliche Flüchtlinge*). Moreover, additional language programmes escalated by federal states, local authorities, welfare organisations, volunteers, and other private actors offer numerous language promotion programmes regarding quality, scope and objectives. By 2017, the graduate percentage rose by 51%, who had either participated or completed a language course, and had a direct dependent variable on their stay in Germany. The basic knowledge of the German language played a significant role in the refugees’ residence and asylum status.<sup>10</sup> Though the majority of the refugees who arrived in Germany from 2015–17 had no German knowledge, there is a steady increase in language competency in the areas, i.e., speaking, reading and writing based on the in-depth analyses through the survey conducted in 2017.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the intensification of the state policies in promoting the German language to the refugees, migrants and foreigners signifies that the heart of the integration process lies in learning the language and integrating with the German society and polity.

In 2017, questions on the language of the population were raised for the first time in 80 years in the German micro census, resulting in a growing interest in the minority language.<sup>12</sup> The change became evident when most of the Syrian refugees who arrived in Germany in 2015 knew a native Arabic language, along with a substantial percentage of the first-time asylum seeker who knew English. While only a minimal percentage of the asylum applicants knew German post-language acquisition training.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the language barrier

and the question of native language sustainability as the basic right to culture became evident in Germany, challenging the integration at multiple levels.

It impacts refugees from school-aged children to the skilled labour workforce. The elementary and secondary schools manage to teach refugee children the German language. However, many companies were reluctant to recruit skilled refugee labour for a higher position in the workforce due to their lack of knowledge of German language and 70% of the major companies were willing to place these refugees in temporary or internship positions. Learning the regional and local language leads to awareness of the societal values of the host society. Hence, despite possessing the required qualifications, owing to lack of language fluency, the feeling of 'others' deepened among refugees of varied cultural identities. The lack of communication isolates the refugee from any direct interaction and develops a fear of being disconnected from their roots by losing their touch with the native language.

Language barriers also create obstacles in psychotherapy with refugees, as sessions can only be conducted with the help of interpreters or translators. However, funding for such services is generally limited or not guaranteed.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the state-induced policies on language pose severe challenges and complexities in the process of integration, specifically in the cultural context, and the question of language barrier became valid in the due process of integration and adaptation.

The focus is on compulsory integration and orientation courses on German language training and teaching about German history and culture, its legal system with its core values, rights, duties and ways of living together in German society. However, the course imparts education by inculcating integration and understanding of German values without any space for interactive discussions. The integration course is a procedure to attain an integration certificate to 'live in Germany', determining and reforming the identity of the refugees. Moreover, the bureaucratic system is a top-down approach, and an unequal relationship between locals and refugees complicates the integration process within the German context.<sup>15</sup> On the contrary, the term 'Integration' is negatively perceived by the Syrian refugees, as it is seen as one way of assimilating with the German values due to the direct teaching method applied in integration courses. The top-down dynamic between the Germans and the refugees affected the integration values, as they teach the Syrians the basics about the functioning of the German system without any social, political, and cultural consideration of the refugee's groundwork, along with their moral and logical reasoning. In an interview with the Syrian refugees in Potsdam, Germany, the respondent prefers to use the term 'adaptation' over 'integration', as the respondent was persistent in preserving the indigenous values and accommodating the German values as a prerequisite to sustain society.<sup>16</sup> The Syrian refugee interviewed aims to sustain an individual identity, regardless of the terminology, emphasising preserving indigenous culture while interacting and adapting with the host community. To thoroughly scrutinise the compatibility of values and norms

between the host and the refugees, one of the alternate ways is to be flexible in opening up values and norms of the host society, which is not accustomed to them in their country of origin, and to sustain their culture and languages. Thus, the most radical change in perception and belief is a matter of time, space and ethical reasoning. For instance, many refugees in Germany have changed their views on homosexuality, recognise their rights and defend them.<sup>17</sup> Thus, within the integration process, the cultural rights presuppose the existence of difference. It commits to settle this difference peacefully and through reasons. Similarly, the language of rights proclaims a sustaining culture.<sup>18</sup>

### **Language Development in the Integration Process**

Language development enhances the interaction between vibrant linguistic identities, develops a pluralistic mindset, forms a cultural empathy and affiliations and connects diverse societies culturally, socially and politically. Germany, being a monolingual state institutionally, administratively, legally and in all public spheres, has a complex impact on the refugees.

From the socio-cultural integration analysis, the formation of identity based on values, sentiments, and traditions is a continuous process of past and present experiences of both the individual and the society. Identity, as a process, includes individual and collective identities and is the product of the dialectical interaction of processes of internal and external identifications. Thus, it strengthens the sense of uniqueness and inner harmony between society and the refugees by interacting with other people and social groups and their ideas and values,<sup>19</sup> rather than having them imposed through administrative and institutional procedures. It underlines various stereotypes, prejudices, discriminations and identity conflicts and understands how and why people formed groups within groups forming community solidarity, such as the Syrian refugee group. The group has common characteristics (positive or negative) or has a common position of destiny. The identity formation on common characteristics roots the sense of belongingness to one group and influences group members' perceptions, beliefs and behaviour towards each other. Thus, it develops alternative community solidarity, defined by the homogeneity of their language, interest, choice and belief.

As evident in Berlin, the proportion of students speaking 'non-German native languages' is significantly higher in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods such as Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Neukölln, Wedding and Moabit. The neighbourhood has a huge immigrant population who arrived as guest workers in the 1960s and 70s and found affordable and low-standard housing. Among the non-German native language speaker, within the Berlin borough (neighbourhood), 16% are in Mitte, 56% are in Wedding and Moabit, 48% in Friedrichshain Kreuzberg and 47% in Neukölln. In comparison, the East Berlin borough is more socially privileged and has between merely 4%–15% 'non-German speaking natives' without any segregated space.<sup>20</sup> Thus, it stresses the undermined conditions of the language programmes and policy implementation with the poor composition of German language courses in

the education system and administration. Nonetheless, the figure does not emphasise on the capacities and differences of the non-German native speakers. The establishment of a separate space for non-native speakers increases a setting of social segregation.<sup>21</sup> The formation of the comfortable zones, based on language, taste, food and lifestyle, diverse from the German values, creates 'parallel societies' in the state. The alternative space of community solidarity for refugees creates a sense of belonging for them, rather than being tagged as 'others' in the host society. The common language, food, traditions and culture provide the refugees a sense of security and become a platform to sustain their indigenous culture in the host society. For instance, in Berlin, Neukölln Sonnenallee has a sensory and cultural experience of Arab and Turkish traditions. The display of signboards on the shop fronts in Arabic, Turkish and German, and the superfluity of restaurants, shisha bars, bakeries and cafes sustain the cultural and culinary delights of Turkey, Lebanon and Syria, among others. It reflects an essence of familiarity for the newcomers and the locals, who have developed the taste over the years. Thus, the Arab and Turkish sustains their cultural diversity and native identity through food, vibes and cultural essence, forming alternative community solidarity. Places like Neukölln also face serious issues such as unemployment, lack of housing and overcrowding. Nevertheless, the bustling street of Sonnenallee shares the power of living, sharing and eating together by bringing the community together. The homogenisation of communities within alternative communities is challenging, specifically homogenisation of Arab or Turkish culture. The varied languages, dialects, scripts, food habits, culture and traditions within Arab and Turkish cultures confound the question of homogenised community solidarity and open up the space for extensive intercultural discussions. Such segregated spaces are considered the epicenter of multiculturalism and a central place for cultural exchange. However, the space developed on the community's initiative limited state regulations, promoting programmes.

Meanwhile, the German integration policies and programmes focus on German values and norms without discussing intercultural values. Thus, it questions German policies' integration process and develops a sense of fear and insecurity among the refugees, forming a segregated space based on community solidarity. These aspects of identity formation are reflected in the need to preserve one's identity, and the state of continuity structure is reflected in the need to integrate with the member of the society. In group formation, communal and associative social relationships contribute to different forms of integrative bonds. Furthermore, the dialectical and language difference within language competence has resulted in Max Weber's distinction between two types of relationships within the community; first, based on sentiments and traditions, and second, on reasoned values practised in their daily life.<sup>22</sup>

The growing community alienation based on language competency further varies due to age, gender, cultural and social background and psychological development in both public and private spheres. First, the

adaptation gap due to diversified language competency has a differential outcome. The first-generation immigrant parent's participation in primary cultures tended towards integration is complex. The quality and quantity of social interactions are determined by language and dialectical competence.<sup>23</sup> The use of language, language preference and practices varied across the public and private domain, mostly reflected in the personal choices made by acculturating, adaptation towards the receiving culture and maintenance or shedding of heritage culture. Minority cultural maintenance and majority culture acquisitions are associated with the acculturation outcome. Parental attitude regarding language plays an important role in shaping a child's language competence, dialects and ethnic identity. These notable outcomes are experienced in a heavy detrimental impact on the quality of the parent-child relationship, where first language proficiency predicted a larger gap between parent-child. Thus, it causes frequent disagreement due to language brokering, thereby developing a communication gap.<sup>24</sup>

Language brokering is a language practice involving translations and interpretations, undertaken by the children in the family who are more proficient in the language of the host country than the less proficient family members, including parents. In many cases, the eldest child who has gained proficiency in the host society's language takes up the family's responsibility. Thus, language brokering results in disagreement between parents and children, and early maturity of a child increases the child's stress and leads to many psycho-traumatic situations, especially in post-migratory period when children are in a transitional and more vulnerable phase.<sup>25</sup> Thus, it is challenging to design and deliver effective language policies and programmes for successful integration into host societies. The development of the host language skill is a "universal, rudimentary approach to the question of settlement, services promoting integrations".<sup>26</sup> The failure to learn the host language complicates the immigrant integration process, consequently resulting in stress, frustration and psychological problems.<sup>27</sup>

Second, people's love for their native language is as old as their history.<sup>28</sup> The preservation of the Turkish and Arabic languages in Germany is to maintain an individual's cultural integrity and sensitivity in society. In Germany, there are only a few regulations dealing with the heritage languages or some pilot projects on the second language within the school and educational institutions. In assessing German languages, people who favour the accuracy and diligence in writing and orthography of the German language have a positive interest in the perseverance of minority languages. The education and the school system are the major actors in maintaining, preserving and regulating the balance between the state's majority and minority languages.<sup>29</sup> In a similar context, the contradictory argument is to maintain the heritage of the German language in the wake of a consistently rising immigrant population. The emphasis on the second or the foreign language develops a sense of insecurity even among the native Germans. These issues and challenges have actively been raised by the rise of the conservative Right-Alternative Party for Germany, AFD, and questioned the policies in national political debates.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the integration implementation

programme in Germany raised many intricacies due to ethically, linguistically, socially, culturally and politically diverse immigrants/refugees and standardised integration of state policies and regulations. Moreover, the status of the second language of refugees/immigrants in the educational system in Germany became the core value to shape the political, social and cultural process of integration and adaptation.

Third, acquiring language skills promotes admission into the labour market, access to employment, successive earning, and continuous learning of societal norms. It further facilitates the settlements and integration of minority newcomers into mainstream society. However, experts have emphasised that learning German is one of the biggest socio-political challenges among the immigrants and refugees in Germany. Due to the lack of acquisition of language fluency, even the educated and skilled refugees faced an immense 'native-wage gap', as these professional experiences are often not portable to the labour market of the host societies.<sup>31</sup> According to the study, three-fourths of the Syrians surveyed do not have jobs or are not satisfied with the current situation.<sup>32</sup> The lack of language skills is a significant obstacle in the labour market, causing dropouts without a training diploma and undermined capabilities in the labour market.

Language is closely linked with the inclusion dimension, and the inability to acquire language skills lead to the formation of 'parallel societies'.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the persistent inequality creates an experience of isolation, vulnerability and lack of civic engagement among the newcomers, and lack of language proficiency creates serious communication barriers with mainstream society. As a result, the newcomers are socially systematically excluded, and they experience living in the host societies as 'living in an open prison'.<sup>34</sup> Thus, social alienation due to the language barrier led to the formation of an alternative community. However, successful integration does not depend merely upon language proficiency but is interrelated with other factors such as education, race, gender and immigration policies. Immigrants' and refugees' language programmes cannot focus on language training alone, other interrelated factors that influence the integration and settlement process need to be considered. In one of the arguments, the issue of the low percentage of language competency is due to an assumption that the language program is for the participants to enter lower-end jobs, and those who are literate assume they can learn a language in the short term. Thus, undermined language skills facilitate pre and post-migratory occupation, resulting in a significant drop or downward mobility among well-educated immigrants and refugees.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, lower language proficiency in the host language is subjected to racial discrimination, specifically for university graduates and those unemployed.

### **Role of Language in the Education System**

The education system is the key factor in determining the host society's long- and short-term language development. The conduct of any language policies

in a state is influenced by the educational institutions, the teaching of foreign languages and the emphasis on language curriculum. An educational institution is a source of shaping and managing the language among the students and setting up the nation's linguistic discourse. It improves the student's linguistic in-depth skills and develops new ones by balancing possibilities and realities by exploring new theoretical research within the field of education. Thus, the educational institution is the prime aspect for the systematic application of language and to deal with issues of language brokering, cultural imposition and so on.

Refugee children and adults have access to compulsory language courses upon their arrival at the reception centre. Once the asylum status is granted, children are put in regular schools, where quality education is undermined, as the school authorities improvise the curriculum based on cognitive learning and language ability on short notice.<sup>36</sup> Schools lack socially inclined trained staff and the knowledge of the native language of the pupil. When refugee children enter the school, they do not have command over the German language without substantial support for learning through their native language or the second language of the education institution.

IGLU ('PIRLS') Internationale Grundschul-Lese-Untersuchung ('Progress in International Reading Literacy Study') survey has intensified the perception of German language skills, and good school performance became a significant criterion of refugee integration. The German federal government emphasises the German teaching method based on the German medium of all instruction that encompasses all teaching and grades based on its migration history. First, the methods and concepts have not been fully developed despite teaching the German language for over decades. However, the method and the realisation of the testing language skills are under consistent revisions. The responsibility of teaching German language skills lies with the school and institutions. Second, migrant/refugee parents are obliged to send their children to kindergarten with German language instructions, resulting in support of German language skills. Thus, it results in language brokering between/among the migrants/refugees and the host society. Moreover, the undermined language skill proficiency causes discrimination against non-German speakers. Most of the time, migrant children develop learning disabilities due to substandard German language skills, lack of confidence in public speaking and dialectical variations.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the lack of German language skills among the migrants and refugees highlights the failure of the school track system, resulting in a socially disadvantaged and disproportionately high percentage of pupils, especially among migrant backgrounds.<sup>38</sup> It creates a sense of alienation and segregation from mainstream society and develops a parallel society. Thus, since the early stage of schooling, it leaves a benchmark on pupils' attitudes and behaviours based on their language competency.

Further, in the counterargument, implementation of the second language or native tongue additional class reflects the perspective that migrants would return to their home countries. The perception's revision has contributed to the revival of assimilations, understanding that acquisition of German language skills is the only means of integration. In Hesse, the

administration refuses to support the native language and insists that the student and their parents fully adapt the German language and society. However, many federal ministries emphasise supporting the first language of migrant children, while many organisations demand respect and support for their native languages in school. Thus, a small pilot project on bilingual German-Turkish alphabetization commenced between 1983-84 and 1993-94 but has not been implemented on a larger scale. As a result, the state continues to emphasise on feasibility, financing and prioritisation of German language skills.<sup>39</sup> The federal-state programme aims to foster an innovative approach in both German language education and bi-and multilingualism. The approach was not addressed, as the teachers were overwhelmed and debated on improving school performance by providing early learning to teach the second language.<sup>40</sup>

In the multicultural argument, refugees and host societies has the cultural right, as the basic right to speak their respective languages in every sphere. Nevertheless, the practice of native refugees' language both in school and at home has impaired child linguistic development of the German language. It further limits its academic and professional endeavours, as the German language is the prerequisite in every public sphere. For instance, teaching Turkish or Arabic language at the primary level creates an impairment in prospects as the linguistic pre-requirement in all public spheres is German.

Overall, the process of language integration concreted in the education system shapes the non-native German speaker according to German languages, values and norms. First, the immediate language accommodation of the refugee children at the school level impacts the child's personality, attitude, and behaviour. It creates confusion and discrimination due to language competency, especially in their grading and scoring. It reflects in the professional or vocational pursuit of a child. Second, irrespective of intercultural teaching, the rigid pedagogy of specific subjects on German culture, history and society nurtures the individual within German values rather than developing mixed cultural values. Thus, it causes variations in understanding the society between the parents and the children, a communication gap and develops a sense of fear of losing one's culture. Third, the sharp linguistic difference at school and at home affects the child's psychological development and can impact his/her behavior within society per se. Thus, through the inclusion of multiple second languages within the German education system, the non-German native languages earn respect. By establishing language sustainability through the road of the education system can develop a pluralistic and tolerant society in the long-term prospect.

### **Language Sustainability Approach**

In 2015, Germany became a promised land for Syrian refugees, and within three years, more than one million refugees arrived in Germany. Reality began to emerge with the alternative political decision taken up by Germany. With

growing segregation, isolation and hostilities, forming solidarity among the groups and community became prevalent for sustainable linguistic integration of refugees in the host society. In the existing society, we need to determine what kind of solidarity can develop social cohesion. It can be done by comparing social bonds and identifying the species of social solidarity. Social solidarity is a wholly moral phenomenon, which is amendable to exact observations, especially not to the measurement.<sup>41</sup> Through mediation, things are integrated into society. The first condition to form an entity is to be coherent with the nature of the society that develops social cohesion, where one man acknowledges the rights and limitations of another man, not only as a matter of logic but as a matter of daily living and agrees to have its limits. It can reach mutual limitations within the parameter of mutual realisations, understandings and harmony. Sometimes, independent societies reach an agreement over respective rights and approaches in their territories.<sup>42</sup> An individual personality is absorbed in the collective consciousness, uncovering the individual personality in the sphere of action, for instance, evident in the opening up of an Arabic library in Berlin.

The intensity and prospects of social and cultural integration are not apparent in a similar context through the linguistic programme. Meanwhile, the practices of various informal majority and minority groups are increasingly polylingual. However, in German schools, especially at the kindergarten level, the minority pupils internalise the German language with less emphasis on their heritage language. While European policies facilitated linguistic diversity in education to enable labour and educational mobility, empowering the majority over minority groups, the fear of undermining one's heritage language, society and culture creates a sense of insecurity among the refugees and immigrants and causes a detrimental effect on sustainable and productive integration.<sup>43</sup> The inclusive pedagogical method is to recruit teachers from bilingual backgrounds, as they are more empathetically involved in teaching languages than their colleagues. Thus, they make the language learning experience more adaptable. Many Syrian refugees have projected their willingness to learn and significantly impact the acquisitions of German languages and culture, keeping their culture intact.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the traditional pedagogy is opposed to assume deficits and emphasises on different but equal cultural affiliations. The pedagogy of recognition aims at enabling the educator and the children to perceive and respect differences.

In a universalist approach, different cultures are being perceived as being of the same value, and at the same time, universal values provide a common and transnational basis. Pedagogy aims to educate towards autonomy and rationality and maintain individual cultures within collective consciousness.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, language gives a special degree of flexibility and greater possibility of political manipulation and negotiation, especially in a situation of plural groups, where the very nature of segmentation limits the possible dominance of a group.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile, the interaction of such interests has given rise to a developing structure of organisational representations, which has created a new institutional setting that has strengthened the pluralistic decision-making system. Both in respect of building a national

community and further the representative institutions, language politics provided crucial support and proved to be a positive democratic channel for pursuing political integration and development. The democratic system, widely perceived as a post integrated system and not a development system, can initiate and promote integration in a new state. One can assume that democracy can provide a better alternative model of integration based on a pluralistic decision system, as the responsibilities are widely dispersed over the system. The dispersal facilitates the development of the communication equipment and the capability of the unit of the system and thereby increases the chances of political coordination through voluntary representations. It provides the development of the art of making demands for forming a coalition of the demand groups for their interest, for support of aggregating institutions and ultimately for negotiation skills. These interests for the optimum pay off from the interaction of diverse interests. Thus, the idea reflected in the Arabic Library Baynatna, established by the Syrian refugees in Berlin.

*Baynatna* positions itself as a literary oasis or an artistic escape from Germany's growing uncertainty of being a refuge. *Baynatna*, translated as 'between us' in Arabic, arranges a few hundred books from sophisticated political tomes to children's books on the ground floor of the Berlin public library, with open space for visitors and hosts events. Maher Khawis, a Syrian refugee and one of the founders of Baynatna, told in an interview, "it as a small collection of Arabic literary work and a first of its kind cultural centre in Berlin."<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the library is deeply entrenched in politics, inspired discussion on revolutionary politics and freedom of expression, and debates on being a refugee and integration. It has also become an intellectual space to discuss politics in West Asia and North Africa and the contemporary and future refugee crisis.<sup>48</sup> Many educated Syrian refugees volunteer as translators and play a significant role in creating an inclusive space for multi-cultural communities.<sup>49</sup> In the asylum process, Syrian refugees learn the German language; simultaneously, only a few have advanced the German language to read German literature, and it can be difficult to express complex ideas in new languages.

Baynatna has become an academic space that discusses, interacts and develops an alternative hypothesis regarding Syrian politics, the debates on Syrian refugees in exile, and the role of Germany in future political negotiations. German and English events are introduced for Arabic speaking, and Arabic literary ideas, experiences, and expressions are used for non-Arabic speakers. Thus, the dialogue between Arabic and German speakers redefines integration, specifically in the political realm, where refugees learning the language and finding employment are central. Through the inclusive space of Baynatna library it is making integration a two-way process by learning German culture and hosting German authors, artists, and academicians at the library, but at the same time, sharing refugees' own culture and society. Moreover, in respecting and observing Germany's tradition, Syrian refugees are trying to sustain their art, culture and language in Germany. The approach

focuses on combining the two cultures in the solidarity of social cohesion, rather than assimilating with the dominant culture. Similarly, cultural exchange experienced through food, especially at places like *Sonnenalle* or the cooking group like *Über den Tellerrand* in Berlin has become the platform for locals and newcomers with vibrant cultural diversity to interact, learn and connect ultimately within the multicultural shadow. Thus, social and cultural integration through language sustainability became significant for contending discrimination, racism and extremism in the public sphere.

### **Conclusion: Refugees Protectionism**

The situation of refugees' cultural rights has been detrimental in the host societies due to the dominance of the majority over minority identities. The contradictions between nationalism and pluralism with the current immigration policies, the goals and the functions of the existing language programmes and courses impact refugees' development.<sup>50</sup> The immigrants' identities are marginalised in the name of the standard languages and cultural traits. However, the new linguistic and cultural practices should not oppose or substitute the 'old' culture and languages. Assimilating bi or multilingual and multi-cultural integration is a dual process characterised by the connecting economic and socio-cultural factors. Regarding economic integration to help the newcomer enter the job market, immigration policies and programmes should provide specific linguistic skills to join pre-migration occupations as well. Similarly, such policies and programmes should recognise the native language and value it as a resource for socio-cultural integration rather than threats. There is a growing tension of cultural rights between the host and the refugees, as the host society fears losing one's culture with the coming of massive refugees/immigrants. On the other hand, it undermines the cultural rights and sensitivity of the refugees/immigrants.

Pluralistic integration allows refugees to sustain their native languages and their cultural values while also learning the host language and culture. Doing so will be helpful for the refugees to learn the targeted language while keeping their identity alive. Language teachers also need to see their job not merely as language skill instructors but as the provider of the agency through which the newcomer can learn to work against the integration barriers such as racism, gender bias and linguicism. The language programme has failed to reach the target language, therefore, immigrants' language proficiency for successful integrations did not improve. Understanding the missing link in the integration process will help integrate the new members into the host society economically, socially and culturally.

Once the cultural priorities have been settled, the administrative action could be easier to put the plan into practices.<sup>51</sup> It could be done by promoting the social inclusion of refugees by addressing the issue of identity, the definition of varied cultures and how to deal with stereotypes, prejudices, discriminations and racism. It can develop educational programmes, even in the native language of the refugees, to increase the knowledge of German history, the political system and the form of institutional structure. It should

create space and programmes to preserve the country of origin's culture such as supporting religious institutions for learning Arabic and preserving culture. Developing a platform may encourage interactions and discussions, beyond the activities related to food and music and more emphasis on public intellectual discourse. Organising an event in the host countries introducing the heritage and culture of Syria, and the various ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds of Syrian refugees,<sup>52</sup> promotes effective cooperation and communication between refugees and local German. The emphasis is on achieving an equal relationship and expecting to be accepted and treated as an equal human being.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Jyotirindra Das Gupta, *Language Conflict and National Development Group Politics: National Language Policy in India* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1970), 15–35.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, 15; Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Holt, 1933).

<sup>3</sup>Leonard Bloomfield, “A Set of Postulate for the Science of Language,” in *Language* 2, no.3 (1926):153–156. <https://doi.org/10.2307/408741>.

<sup>4</sup>The integration course consists of 600 hours of language courses and 60 hours of orientation course. The purpose of the language course is to convey B1-level language skills that are necessary for everyday life, like work career, and social interaction. The orientation course is German’s legal system, history, and culture; rights and obligations in Germany, and ways of co-existing in society. See Benjamin Bathke, “Integration Courses in Germany: What Are They, and Who Can Take Part?,” InfoMigrants, accessed October, 2019, <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/16814/integration-courses-in-germany-what-are-they-and-who-can-take-part>

<sup>5</sup>Astrid Adler and Rahel Beyer, “Languages and Language Policies in Germany (*Sprachen und Sprachenpolitik in Deutschland*),” in *National Language Institutions and National Languages-Contributions to the EFNIL Conference 2017 in Mannheim*, ed., Gerhard Stickel (Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, 2018), 22,

<http://www.efnil.org/documents/conference-publications/mannheim-2017/EFNIL-Mannheim-27-Adler-Beyer.pdf> ; also see Patrick Stevenson, Kristine Horner, Nils Langer and Gertrud Reershemius, *The German-Speaking World: A Practical Introduction to Socio-Linguistic Issues*, 2nd ed. (London/New York: Routledge Language in Society, 2018); Johanna Laakso, Anneli Sarhimaa, Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark and Reetta Toivanen, *Towards Openly Multilingual Policies and Practices: Assessing Minority Language Maintenance Across Europe Linguistic Diversity and Language Rights* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2016): 65–67.

<sup>6</sup>Adler and Beyer, “Languages and Language Policies,” 221. The study was conducted by the University of Mannheim and was reported extensively in *Aktuelle Spracheinstellungen in Deutschland: Erste Ergebnisse Einer Bundesweiten Repräsentativumfrage*, eds, Ludwig M. Eichinger, et al., (Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache, 2009): 54.

<sup>7</sup>Herbert Brücker, Johannes Croisier, Yuliya Kosyakova, Hannes Kröger, Giuseppe Pietrantuono, Nina Rother and Jürgen Schupp, “Language Skills and Employment Rate of Refugees in Germany Improving with Time,” *Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW) Weekly Report*, 9, no.4 (2019), [https://doi.org/10.18723/diw\\_dwr:2019-4-1](https://doi.org/10.18723/diw_dwr:2019-4-1). Also see Von Jana A. Scheible, “Literacy Training and German-language Acquisition among Refugees: Knowledge of German and the Need for Support among Integration Course Attendees Learning a Second Alphabet and Those with No Literacy Skills,” *The Brief Analyses of the Migration, Integration and Asylum Research Centre of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, BAMF-Bundesamt*

*für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF)*, (1-2018),

[https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Forschung/Kurzanalysen/kurzanalyse10\\_iab-bamf-soep-befragung-gefluechtete-alphabetisierung.html?nn=447268](https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Forschung/Kurzanalysen/kurzanalyse10_iab-bamf-soep-befragung-gefluechtete-alphabetisierung.html?nn=447268)

<sup>8</sup>Adler and Beyer, “Languages and Language Policies,” 228.

<sup>9</sup>For more details see Table 4 on “Refugee Participation in Language Courses and Language Proficiency, by Year of Arrival,” in Brücker et al., “Language Skills and Employment Rate of Refugees,” 54. It also discusses course counts as “completed,” if the respondent reports that they participated in the course and indicated the course’s end date. Integration courses are available for all immigrants regardless of why they came to Germany and comprise 600 (general integration course), 900 (special course), or 400 (intensive course) class hours in their language section, depending on the course. In addition, there is an orientation course with a further 100 class hours, which teaches refugees about the German legal system, culture and history. If the language test is not passed, there is the possibility to repeat 300 class hours and take the test again. Only asylum seekers from countries with good prospects of staying (Syria, Iraq, Iran, Eritrea and Somalia) are eligible to attend an integration course.

<sup>10</sup>Brücker, et al., “Language Skills and Employment Rate of Refugees,”: 53–5.

<sup>11</sup>Table 5 explains the German language skills of refugees through ‘Regression’ analysis in Herbert Brücker et al., 2019: 54; Herbert Brücker et al., “*Geflüchtetemachen Fortschritte bei Sprache und Beschäftigung*,” *DIW Wochenbericht*, no. 4 (2019), [https://www.diw.de/de/diw\\_01.c.612227.de/publikationen/wochenberichte/2019\\_04\\_1/gefluechtete\\_machen\\_fortschritte\\_bei\\_sprache\\_und\\_beschaeftigung.html](https://www.diw.de/de/diw_01.c.612227.de/publikationen/wochenberichte/2019_04_1/gefluechtete_machen_fortschritte_bei_sprache_und_beschaeftigung.html).

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 221.

<sup>13</sup>Stefan Trines, “The State of Refugee Integration in Germany in 2019,” Humanitarian issues- *WENR- World Education News and Reviews*, August 8, 2019, <https://wenr.wes.org/2019/08/the-state-of-refugee-integration-in-germany-in-2019>

<sup>14</sup>Joerg M. Fegert, Birgit Leyendecker, Kurt Halhweg and Valeria Prayom-Blum, “Psychosocial Problems in Traumatized Refugee Families: Overview of Risks and Some Recommendations for Support Services,” *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health* 12, no. 1 (December 2018): 5.

<sup>15</sup>Katib Amir, “*andimaj alaljinii alsuwrinii aaltameiif 'almanya: altabahdiyat wamliqaribat* (The Social Integration of Syrian Refugees in Germany: Challenges and Approaches),” *markaz harmun lildirasat almueasira (Harmon Center for Contemporary Studies)*, November 1, 2020.

<sup>16</sup>Took a personal interview with a Syrian refugee, living in Potsdam, pursuing Masters in Data Science from University of Potsdam, Germany.

<sup>17</sup>Amir, “*andimaj alaljinii?*”

<sup>18</sup>Rajeev Bhargava, “The Right to Culture,” *Social Scientist*, 18, no. 10 (October 1990): 55 and 56.

<sup>19</sup>Amir, “*andimaj alaljinii?*”

<sup>20</sup>Frauke Miera, “German Education Policy and Challenges of Migration”, Paper prepared for the EMILIE project, WP3, Deliverable D4 Final version (December 2007), 8; Ahmad AL Ajlan, “Older Refugees in Germany: What Are the Reasons for the Difficulties in Language-learning,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 34, no. 2 (2019): 38; OECD (April 2016), “Integrating Refugees and Other Migrants into Education and Training,” Germany Policy Brief: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, (April 2016), <http://www.oecd.org/germanyOECD>. 34; Lili Hindy, “Germany’s Syrian Refugee Integration Experiment,” The Century Foundation (September 2018), <https://tcf.org/content/report/germanys-syrian-refugee-integration-experiment/?agreed=1>

<sup>21</sup>Frauke Miera, “German Education Policy”.

<sup>22</sup>Das Gupta, *Language Conflict and National Development Group Politics*, 75.

<sup>23</sup>Katrin Lindner, Kathleen Hipfner-Boucher, Anna Yamashita, Claudia Maria Riehl, Mohcine Ait Ramdan and Xi Chen, “Acculturation through the Lens of Language: Syrian Refugees in Canada and Germany,” *Applied Psycholinguistics* 41, no. 6 (October 26, 2020): 1354–55, doi:10.1017/S0142716420000454.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 1353. Also see, Dina Birman, “Acculturation Gap and Family Adjustment: Findings with Soviet Jewish Refugees in the United States and Implications for Measurement,” *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 37 (2006): 568–89, doi: 10.1177/0022022106290479; Lydia P Buki, Tsung-Chieh Ma, Robert D Strom, Shirley K Strom, “Chinese Immigrant Mothers of Adolescents: Self-perceptions of Acculturation Effects on Parenting,” *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 9 (2003): 127–40.

<sup>25</sup>Rachele Antonini, “The Study of Child Language Brokering: Past, Current and Emerging Research,” *Medi Azioni* 10 (2010), <http://mediazioni.sitlec.unibo.it>; Jessica Shen and Jessica M. Dennis, “The Family Context of Language Brokering among Latino/a young adults,” *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 36 (2019): 131–52, doi: 10.1177/0265407517721379; Lindner et al. “Acculturation through the Lens of Language”, 1353.

<sup>26</sup>Guofang Li and Pramod Kumar Sah, “Immigrants and Refugee Language Policies, Programs, and Practices in an Era of Change: Promises, Contradictions, and Possibilities,” in *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, eds, Steven J. Gold and Stephanie J. Nawyn, (London: Routledge, 2019), 325.

<sup>27</sup>The problems are discussed in Li and Sah, “Immigrant and Refugee Language Policies, Programs, and Practices”, 325.

<sup>28</sup>Das Gupta, “Language Conflict and National Development Group Politics,” 16.

<sup>29</sup>Adler and Beyer, “Languages and Language Policies in Germany”.

<sup>30</sup> Amir, “*andimaj alaljini*.”

<sup>31</sup>Li and Sah, “Immigrants and Refugee Language Policies, Programs, and Practices,” 325–26; Yann Richard, Mathilde Maurel and William Berthomière, “The Integration of Immigrants in France: Economic and Geographical Approach,” in *Global Change and Human Mobility*, ed. Josefina Domínguez-Mujica (New York: Springer, 2016), 116; Monica Boyd and Xingshan Cao, “Immigrants’ Language Proficiency, Earnings, and Language Policies,” *Canadian Studies in Populations* 36, nos 1–2(2019): 63–86; Ken Clark and Joanne Lindley, “Immigrant Assimilation Pre and Post Labour Market Entry: Evidence from the UK Labour Force Survey,” *Journal of Population Economics* 22, no. 1(2009): 175–98; Casey Warman, Arthur Sweetman and Gustave Goldmann, “The Portability of New Immigrants’ Human Capital: Language, Education, and Occupational Skills,” *Canadian Public Policy*, 41(2015): 64–79, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43697451>

<sup>32</sup>Qantara.de, “*allughat miqyas aliandimaj al'aval fi 'almania cavamil gbayr mutawaqaeat aketisab almuhajirin allughat alalmania*” (Language is the First Measure of Integration in Germany. Unexpected Factors for Immigrants to Acquire the German Language), Qantara.de, 2021, [www.qantara.de](https://www.qantara.de/news/germany/2021/09/01-germany-immigrants-acquire-german-language), اللغة مقبسا لاندماج الأول في ألمانيا: عوامل غير متوقعة لاكتساب المهاجرين اللغة الألمانية. Qantara.de, last accessed on September 28, 2021.

<sup>33</sup>The idea of a parallel society was first introduced in the debate about migration and integration in the early 1990s by the German Sociologist. It is described as the belief that ‘ethnic’ or religious minorities develop their own infrastructure and separate themselves from a mainstream society that is considered to be homogenous. The sociological term ‘Parallel Societies’ has entered the public discourse to denote segregated communities of immigrants, that are believed to voluntarily abstain from social and political participation in mainstream society. Also see Christopher Hills, *The National Interest in Question: Foreign Policy in Multicultural Societies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 96-132. Nadezda Gorchakova, “The Concept of Parallel Societies and Its Uses in the Immigration and Multiculturalism Discourse,” MA Paper: University of Helsinki, 2011, Academia.edu, [https://www.academia.edu/1175022/The\\_concept\\_of\\_Parallel\\_Societies\\_and\\_its\\_use\\_in\\_the\\_immigration\\_and\\_multiculturalism\\_discourse](https://www.academia.edu/1175022/The_concept_of_Parallel_Societies_and_its_use_in_the_immigration_and_multiculturalism_discourse)

<sup>34</sup>Li and Sah, “Immigrant and Refugee Language Policies, Programs, and Practices,” 327–28; Janet Taylor, “Refugees and Social Exclusion: What the Literature Says,” *Migration Action* 26 (2004): 16–31; Anastasia Brown and Todd Scribner, “Unfulfilled Promises, Future Possibilities: The Refugee Resettlement System in the United States,” *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 2, no. 2 (2014): 101–20; Louis Henri Seukwa, *Integration of Refugees into the European Education and Labour Market*, (Bern: Peter Lang Publishing, 2013), 12.

<sup>35</sup>See Table 27.1 on the example of employment before and after immigration in Li and Sah, “Immigrant and Refugee Language Policies, Programs, and Practices,” 328. The table has been sourced from Marina Mattheoudakis, “Language Education of Adult Immigrants in Greece: Current Trends and Future Developments,” *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 24, no. 4 (2005): 319–36.

<sup>36</sup>Maurice Crul, Frans Lelie, Özge Biner, Nihad Bunar, Elif Keskiner, Ifigenia Kokkali, Jens Schneider, and Maha Shuayb, “How the Different Policies and School Systems Affect the Inclusion of Syrian Refugee Children in Sweden, Germany, Greece, Lebanon and Turkey,” *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, no. 10 (2019), <https://comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40878-018-0110-6>, last accessed on October 1, 2021; Paloma Bourgonje, *Education for Refugee and Asylum-seeking Children in OECD Countries. Case Studies from Australia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom*, (Brussel: Education International, 2011): 47.

<sup>37</sup>Miera, “German Education Policy and Challenges of Migration,” 3; Reimer Kornmann, “*Die Überrepräsentation ausländischer Kinder und Jugendlicher in Sonderschulen mit dem Schwerpunkt Lernen*,” *Auernheimer: Schief lagen*, (2006): 71–85.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid, 11.

<sup>39</sup>Carol W. Pfaff, “Multilingual Development in Germany in the Crossfire of Ideology and Politics: Monolingual and Multilingual Expectations, Polylingual Practices,” *TRANSIT*, 7(1)-8, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5070/T771009760>

<sup>40</sup>Miera, “German Education Policy and Challenges of Migration,” 20–21.

<sup>41</sup>Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, (New York: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1984), 24.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 73–6.

<sup>43</sup>Pfaff, "Multilingual Development in Germany in the Crossfire of Ideology and Politics," 14–15.

<sup>44</sup>Qantara.de, "alughbat miqyas."

<sup>45</sup>Miera, "German Education Policy and Challenges of Migration," 3.

<sup>46</sup>Das Gupta, "Language Conflict and National Development Group Politics," 262 and 269.

<sup>47</sup>Anna Lekas Miller, "Berlin's First Arabic-language Public Library Aims to Redefine Refugee Integration," *Global Post*, July 21, 2018 (also available in Arabic), <https://www.post-gazette.com/news/world/2018/07/19/Berlin-s-first-Arabic-language-public-library-aims-to-redefine-refugee-integration/stories/2018070%E2%80%A626>. Josie Le Blond and Gordon Welters, "Syrian Student's Library helps Arabic Culture Blossom in Berlin," UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency, (22 June 2017), <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2017/6/5947cef54/syrian-students-library-helps-arabic-culture-blossom-berlin.html>

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Many Syrian novels about the story of refugees, brutality of dictatorship and totalitarian regime reflects from the Nazi regime to an academic conversation about Hezbollah's political economy and its role and impact on West Asia (Middle East) are translated. Many of these novels are Alan Grazts, *Refugee* (New York: Scholastic Corporation, 2017); Saman Yazbek, *Cinnamon* transl. Emily Danby (London: Haus Publishing, 2012); Khaled Khalifa, *In the Praise of Hatred* transl. Leri Price (London: Transworld Publishers, 2012); Nihad Sirees, *The Silence and the Roar* transl. Max Weiss (London: Pushkin Press, 2013).

<sup>50</sup>Adler and Beyer, "Languages and Language Policies in Germany," 234.

<sup>51</sup>Das Gupta, "Language Conflict and National Development Group Politics," 93.

<sup>52</sup>Maram Salem, "tathir makan al'iqamat ealaa aliandimaji.. lajiunwn yatabadathun ean tajaribibim" (The Impact of Place of Residence on Integration: Refugees Talk about their Experiences), *Deutsche Welle*, September 28, 2019. ثقافتو مجتمع | لاجنو نيتحدثون عن تجاربهم.. تأثير مكان الإقامة علينا الاندماج, 2019 | قضايا اجتماعية ممنعاً لمانيا والعالم العربي | DW |