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“INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION”

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Inhaltsverzeichnis

Report “Intercultural Education”	
SUSANNE BINDER AND MIKAEL LUCIAK (VIENNA, AUSTRIA)	4
1. THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES, MIGRANTS AND RETURNED MIGRANTS AS WELL AS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES	6
Ethnographic Research as a Re/Source of Intercultural Education	
FRANCESCA GOBBO (TURIN, ITALY)	6
Die Rückwanderung Türkischer Jugendlicher in die Heimat.....	
LEYLA ESENTÜRK-ERCAN (ANKARA, TÜRKEI)	18
2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND IN ROMANIA	26
Educational Alternatives in Communities with Predominantly Roma Population in Romania	
DANIELA ION (VOLUNTARI, ROMANIA).....	26
A Few Notes on Multicultural Education.....	
VLADISLAVA HERMANOVA AND JAN MATTIOLI (USTI NAD LABEM, CZECH REPUBLIC).....	32
3. INTERCULTURAL LEARNING IN THE AUSTRIAN SCHOOL CONTEXT, REACHING FROM KINDERGARTEN TO SCHOOLS TO ADULT EDUCATION	40
The attitude of employees at kindergartens towards mono/bilingual kindergarten children – a survey in Austrian kindergartens	
GABRIELE KHAN-SVIK (VIENNA, AUSTRIA).....	40
Intercultural Learning – Concept and Implementation.....	
WOLFGANG GRÖPEL (VIENNA, AUSTRIA)	49
A Multicultural Perspective on Integrating non-native Speaking Students into the Community in Vienna, Austria and Texas, USA.....	
EVA LINTON-KUBELKA (VIENNA, AUSTRIA)	55
Antirassistische Pädagogik in Österreich: Später Paradigmenwechsel	
HERBERT LANGTHALER (VIENNA, AUSTRIA).....	59
Intercultural Competence in Public Administration.....	
ANNETTE SPRUNG (GRAZ, AUSTRIA)	67
4. INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN DAILY SCHOOL PRACTICE, INITIATIVES BY INDIVIDUAL TEACHERS AND THE NEED TO WORK ON ONESELF AS A TEACHER	73
Community Service and Teaching in an International School.....	
NIKOLAY PETER HERSEY (VIENNA, AUSTRIA)	73
Face Your Heart: Transpersonal Aspects of Teaching/Working in Multi-Cultural Settings	
DONALD ELLIS ROTHENBERG	78
5. LACK OF COMPARABILITY OF EDUCATIONAL ENROLMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT DATA BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.....	85
The Educational Situation of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in 15 EU Member States in Comparative Perspective	
MIKAEL LUCIAK (VIENNA, AUSTRIA).....	85

6. THE RELEVANCE OF BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR THE AREA OF EDUCATION	92
Migration und Schullaufbahn in Österreich	
ERNA NAIRZ-WIRTH (VIENNA, AUSTRIA).....	92
7. REFLECTIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE	102
The question of otherness and scientific discourse.....	
GIOVANNI LEGHISSA (TRIEST, ITALY)	102

Report “Intercultural Education”

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Procedure

The section on intercultural education had 16 presenters and two virtual contributors from Austria, Italy, the Czech Republic, Turkey, the United States of America, England, and Romania. The contributors have a background in the disciplines of education, anthropology, political science, and philosophy and work as university professors and lecturers, school teachers, in educational administration, as parliamentary advisors, and in non-governmental organisations. Most presentations were attended by 20 to 30 listeners and feedback of the presenters and the participants shows a high satisfaction with the process and content of the discussed topics in the section. The aim to improve networking between researchers and practitioners across different disciplines and work areas and across different countries, has been accomplished.

Contents

The topics addressed in the presentations included:

1. The educational situation of ethnic minorities, migrants and returned migrants as well as of international students in different countries;
2. The situation of Roma children in schools in the Czech Republic and in Romania;
3. Intercultural learning in the Austrian school context, reaching from kindergarten to schools to adult education;
4. Intercultural education in daily school practice, initiatives by individual teachers and the need to work on oneself as a teacher;
5. Lack of comparability of educational enrolment and achievement data between the different European countries;
6. The importance of ethnographic research, which can lead to a better understanding of minority groups' educational experiences;
7. The relevance of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital for the area of education;
8. Furthermore, it was highlighted that a common political agenda rather than cultural interests often interconnects different minority groups;
9. Finally, there were reflections on the concept of culture.

Conclusions

Main concerns and recommendations mentioned in various presentations were the following:

- Intercultural education is a necessity and its concepts and practical applications have to be further developed.
- We all have a partial view on the concept and applicability of intercultural education, which can be seen as strength, rather than weakness.
- To bring about positive change, a dialectical approach is required, which asks on the one hand for “proactivity” and initiative on the part of educators. On the other hand, structural changes are required, because current inadequate means limit the success of teachers and educators.

- Intercultural education initiatives, which are often blind towards power relations, have to be aware of the dangers of “culturalisation” and “ethnisation”.
- The origin of the discourse, which concentrates on issues of cultural difference and “otherness”, has to be examined and better understood.
- In this respect we also have to become more aware of the political dimension of intercultural education, the role of governments, and policy making. The current policies implemented in different countries view intercultural education quite differently and at this point we do not yet agree within and between countries on what intercultural education means to accomplish. While we look at intercultural education from different angles, which is rooted in our different experiences, we agree that we have to go beyond the mere celebrating of multicultural folklore and pseudo-harmonisation or just targeting inequalities as symptoms on the surface. The causes and roots of racism, ethnic discrimination, exclusion, and segregation have to be highlighted and combated. Programs geared to foster diversity and equality need to be evaluated to insure their success.
- To gain a better understanding of different ethnic groups’ educational experiences, research, and in particular qualitative research, has to be widened with the support from national, European, and international organizations.
- Overall, we recognize that if intercultural education is applied appropriately, we learn more about ourselves than others.

1. THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES, MIGRANTS AND RETURNED MIGRANTS AS WELL AS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Ethnographic Research as a Re/Source of Intercultural Education

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Introduction

The title of this paper refers to a way to enact intercultural education that benefits from the contribution the anthropological approach to education and ethnographic research can offer to the understanding of educational problems and practices, to the improvement of the latter and to possible or necessary actions of change in either one. It is a way that characterizes my own involvement in interculture and, though at the beginning it was the result of biographical contingencies¹, it has later been nurtured by my continuing interest for the study of the multiple meanings and identities that unfold, interact, conflict in our multicultural societies and institutions. The educational approach that developed from it (Gobbo 2000, Gobbo a cura di 1996, 2003a, 2003b, Gobbo, Gomes a cura di, 2003) aims to make teachers and educators look at cultural anthropology, and anthropology of education in particular, as sources of, and resources for, intercultural thinking and actions.

Because of the turn impressed by multiculturalism in the interpretation of societies, and because of the Council of Europe's support of a conceptualization of immigrants as enculturated persons rather than as mere manpower, cultural anthropology has had a privileged position in the interdisciplinary dialogue on which interculture is founded. Along the years, Italian educational thought has made room for theories of culture, ethnicity and identity elaborated by anthropologists, and educators followed suit by organizing culture festivals² and by expecting that immigrant pupils had a primary cultural reference whose diversity³ could enrich the minds and the hearts of classmates and citizens, as long as it was known and respected. Unfortunately, *what* was to be known and respected was diversity „imagined“ as a rather fixed, homogeneous (immigrants seem to have an ethnic identity not a class one!) and unchangeable quality⁴, so that the best educational intentions risked, and still do, to support those very stereotypical attitudes and actions that interculture was meant to challenge. Furthermore, educators' and teachers' learning that the immigrant guests are culturally, ethnically, or religiously situated did not (and seldom do) seem to translate into an ability to consider the hosts' own beliefs, behaviors and habits as similarly situated in culture, ethnicity (if any) and religion. Instead, they are taken as givens, and even considered in danger of being changed, or only challenged, by the others.

Personally, I strongly believe that participating to the anthropological tradition by learning its most important theoretical contributions can certainly challenge habitual, stereotypical and prejudiced ideas on other people's culture and identity, as well as widen the intercultural

¹ I happened to be a graduate student at Berkeley at the very end of the sixties, when multiculturalism became the interpretative paradigm of societies such as the United States and the „melting pot“ theory of American identity lost its appeal (cfr. Gobbo 1977).

² In Italy these initiatives are known by the name of „couscous pedagogy“, the equivalent – I think – of the „education of the three s“ (sari, samosa, steeldrums). Widely enacted at the origin of intercultural education, they were already looked upon negatively in the early nineties. Unfortunately, the questionable „folkloristic“ ideas on which they were centered (*the* culture of, *the* music of, *the* food of a group of immigrants), have often been cast away without a thorough critique of them, so that they reappear any time immigrants are defined as „carriers of culture“, for instance.

³ Such diversity is in relation to the receiving country's culture, of course, since diversity is not an absolute quality but rather a contingent, relational one.

⁴ For a critical appraisal of this widely shared belief, see Fabietti 1995, 1997; Gobbo 2000; Soenen 2003.

perspective; however, such propositional learning tends too often to remain at the level of information rather than to change the way intercultural educators and teachers look at classroom situations, at the relationship between them and family culture, or at the strategies the various social actors enact in various social and educational situations. Yet, since the end of the 1960s, anthropologists of education offered us a challenging (and at times controversial) perspective on the enculturation process and on schooling, by focusing on them as objects of anthropological inquiry in their own right. Thus they were able to give a new interpretation of problems of school performance and behavior, in particular by pointing out how *agency* (especially the students') were at work even when lack of positive school results and of better future prospects would lead to think the opposite (Willis 1977, Ogbu 1996a, 1996b, 2003a, 2003b). However, unless the former and the latter disciplinary contributions are put to test in actual contexts, unless they provide educators and teachers with working hypotheses, they may in fact become a sort of intellectual straightjacket for intercultural education.

That such an unsatisfactory result could take place had already been considered a likely possibility by John Dewey, in his classic *The Sources of a Science of Education* (1929), where, after stating what science and scientific results are to be understood, he posited how their relation to education ought to be constructed if it was to be meaningful and effective. Before arguing (as I will do later in this paper) that

- the experience of fieldwork (as ethnographic research is also known) can be a source of intercultural education, and
- that an ethnographic attitude and competence can become a resource for intercultural education, especially when it is practiced by teachers,

I will briefly examine the reflections and indications Dewey addresses to teachers.

By way of introduction, the American philosopher and educator reminds his readers that certain areas of knowledge are defined as scientific because they are characterized by systematic methods of dealing with a subject matter or a problem that *enable* a researcher to better observe, analyze, understand facts, issues or problems she/he is studying, to find and give evidence for her/his interpretation of them and to control them in an intelligent way. Mastery of methods emancipate researchers from the need to follow the traditional beliefs they were born into and raised with, while it gives them the tools to see new problems, new opportunities and alternatives. However, scientific theories not only liberate and illuminate people; for Dewey, they are also „the most practical thing“, even for those people who think they cannot afford them because they feel too pressed by practical and immediate concerns: in fact, scientific theories will widen their range of attention beyond the immediate purpose and need. Being a way of looking at and approaching facts and problems, science affects both the scope of the inquiry and the inquirers' attitude: because the consequences of the latter's actions, beliefs, meanings are no longer hidden from their awareness and research results, they cannot be ignored and must in fact be taken into consideration.

This high regard for science notwithstanding, Dewey repeatedly stresses that scientific laws do not yield rules of practice, on the one hand, and, on the other, that scientific results can be sources of an educational science *only* through the mediation of an educator's mind so that he will be enabled „to see and to think more clearly and deeply about whatever he is doing“ (*idem*: 75). By thus escaping from the rigidity (and the danger) of routines, habits, traditions, such an educator can not only critically appraise existing ends and values, but she/he can also contribute suggestions for new ends, new methods, new means. Though the scientific content of education is not valuable because it provides teachers with objectives, knowledge of social sciences, for instance, „may enable teachers and parents to look further ahead and judge on the basis of consequences in a longer course of developments“ (*idem*: 76). And rightly he concludes that „the sources of educational science are any portions of ascertained knowledge that enter into the heart, head and hands of educators and which, by entering in, render the performance of the educational function more enlightened, more humane, more truly educational than it was before“ (*idem*: 77).

Fieldwork experience as a source of intercultural education

I think we can agree that intercultural education has historically emerged both from the concern of receiving societies for the changes in the areas of demography, production, and consumption that have made migration a global phenomenon, on the one hand, and, on the other, from the awareness that each of us, and not just the immigrants, is culturally, socially and historically situated (as American multiculturalism taught us). Social changes have brought diversity among us, but have also made us notice diversity within us.

Because of this, Jacques Delors (1997) has for instance urged that one of the four pillars of education is to learn to live together⁵ – an apparently humble objective that is instead a real challenge for each of us educator, since it requires that we embark on a course that favors, even promotes, knowing and understanding what I call our *everyday* diversity. But how is one to learn about such diversity? Here, I think, is when the qualifier „intercultural“ can give us the most useful indication since it refers to the concept of culture both as an explanation of human beings' wide range of lifeways and as anthropology's best known invention (Bohannan 1995) and research legacy.

The anthropological tradition and the fieldwork experience have always been represented as an effort to meet other people, to explore, document and interpret widely different lives: ethnographic research, and the fieldwork experience it entails, is first of all an intentional experience of diversity, or an „experiment of experience“, to borrow the words of anthropologist Piasere (1997). Such an effort has certainly been made in order to build a body of knowledge indispensable to erect and to maintain the discipline's boundaries, but another goal has always and consistently been stressed, namely that of freeing one's mind: anthropology, and anthropology of education more recently, are, at the same time, a challenge to cultural prejudices, an invitation to place one's culture into perspective and to gain a critical distance from one's habitual ways.

Dell Hymes says this poignantly when he emphasizes that „the general mission of anthropology in part can be said to be to help overcome the limitations of the categories and understandings of human life that are part of a single civilization's partial view“ (1996: 7); on his part, Bohannan asserts boldly that „ethnography will expand your options. Another word for it is 'education'. (...) [Furthermore, it can be said that] ethnography is what a good education is all about“ (1998: 6, 9). Consequently, ethnographic research has often been dubbed as a learning experience, especially when the „field“ meant a location quite distant from the ethnographer's home and the Other was represented by „natives“ (who often were colonized subjects as well, and therefore were already endowed with at least a double identity and group membership) whose cultural difference the researcher could easily and quickly appreciate. The journey necessary to reach the location literally took the ethnographer into a world where familiar habits, rules, norms, beliefs, values did not obtain. Instead, different ones had to be learned in order not only to survive the first period of adjustment and later to participate in everyday life and/or special events, but also to achieve what was the reason of the journey: „to look out at the world through another people's eyes“, or „to make the strange familiar“. Because of this indispensable objective, ethnographic research has also been interpreted as the process of undergoing „a new socialization“, while doing fieldwork or going into the field was sometime likened to a rite of passage that ethnographers were willing to undergo in order to affirm their professional membership (cfr. Anderson Gallantin 1990: 2; Fabietti and Remotti 1997: 630).

5 Different educators have emphasized different aims of intercultural education, so that such educational discourse and project might address the general need to recognize, to know and to understand diversity, but also that of integration, or they might instead focus on the linguistic problems of immigrant children in the receiving societies' schools. In Italy this second task has of recently become the most popular aspect of intercultural education, ironically at a time when a good number of foreign born students enroll in post-compulsory schooling or even finish it and get their diploma, thus making us aware that if diversity – especially cultural and linguistic diversity - is here to stay, *it will not remain the same*.

But there is more to fieldwork than just membership: as my teacher – the late anthropologist John Ogbu – so often reminded me, the aim of knowing and understanding cultural diversity offers a researcher the opportunity to become aware and appreciate that others are *agents*, namely, that they interpret the world and act in it according to their cultural and personal categories, and whose „voice“ requires to be listened to when they speak. I would like to add that anthropologists of education have paid special attention to such „voice“: they have thus been able to point out to us educators that schools are both educational institutions *and* „environments saturated with culture“ (in the anthropological sense), while pupils are both formally equal to one another *and* „members of cultural, ethnic, linguistic groups“ (not unlike their teachers). These anthropologists have further advised us educators to start considering the likelihood that schooling may not have the same meaning for members of different groups and that their perception of the institutions and of its goals may be influenced (or thwarted) by the group’s history of minority/majority relationship and by their differential social status (Ogbu 1978, 2003a, 2003b).

In time, the learners’ journey into Otherness has taken a different route and has returned to „cultural scenes“ whose symbolic boundaries often were only a few kilometers away from the researcher’s home (Spradley and McCurdy 1972, Hannerz 1992). The task then became that of „making the familiar strange“, so as to bring the cultural dimension of unexamined, taken for granted local „scenes“ under scrutiny and provide them with an interpretation. It is an interpretation not always so easy to come by, especially in contexts characterized by a high degree of familiarity: „one may live nearby, speak the same language, and be of the same ethnic background, [but] a difference in experience may lead to misunderstanding the meaning, the terms and the world of another“ context (Hymes 1996: 8). In any case, school children, the elderly, hitchhikers, drunkards, the homeless and many other different „cultural groups“, took the place of faraway people and stepped in under the ethnographer’s gaze. The former were the „familiar others“ to a researcher who disguised the „nativeness“ she/he shared with them under the „professional cloak of the stranger“ (cfr. Agar 1980). Later on, and for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of this paper, our societies started to be defined as multicultural ones and it was the immigrants’ turn to play the role of the Other. These „natives“ from places that perhaps used to be anthropological locations are now among us, living around the corner or across the street, and they take care of our many wants and needs. The researcher’s indispensable estrangement, traditionally produced by geographical displacement, is now substituted by estrangement within one’s familiar settings.

But societies are today defined as multicultural not only because of the immigrants’ presence but also because we perceive that our culture can no longer be seen as a totally homogeneous one, that „we“ don’t share many cultural aspects with one another, due to the acknowledgement that in societies stratified by social status and knowledge we expect (and are expected) to become differently competent and to enjoy differential access to resources (Goodenough 1976, Hannerz 1992, Ogbu 1978, 2003a, 2003b). Against this background, „the need to understand the Other ... takes on a new immediacy. (...) Modern population densities makes strangers of us all. (...) Aliens are all around us – in perception if not in reality“ (Bohannon 1998: 3). And we need not go too far away: those of us who work with young people know quite well the feeling of being one of those „alien“ to them (mostly because of age and experiences), while their attires, their tastes, their jargons as well as their silence (not to speak of their age and different experiences) often make them „alien“ to us. Yet, it is precisely this situation that can prod us, and them, to know and understand our different views of the world⁶, in an effort to achieve the goal of living together (last but not least, hopefully in peace).

To this end, cultural anthropology provides us with good reasons: tickling our personal *and* collective aspirations, it begins with inviting us to consider how „the less of human behavior

⁶ I wish to take this opportunity to thank collectively the students who, during the past academic years, attended my courses at the University of Padua and then became engaged in looking ethnographically at themselves, their friends and their lives. They are really too many to be mentioned individually (or perhaps the teaching years were too many!), but their commitment will remain an important component of a very rewarding teaching experience.

that is foreign to us, the fuller the life you can live“ (*idem*: 4). Then, it prods us to recognize that what seems at first almost incomprehensible, starts to make sense as soon as „one begins to understand something about what is taken for granted about life, the universe and people within a certain group“ (*ibidem*). Along this experience of sense seeking and making, we come to realize that being an enculturated person implies „unexamined assumptions“ about everything that is of importance to a culture and its members, even though those very members „may totally disagree about what these important things require of society and the individual“ (*idem*: 5).

Here we can perceive the double edged „nature“ of culture: we, and the others, are „cultural creatures“ because both we and they can become full human beings only through culture (or, in operational terms, through the enculturation process already at work even before one is born) that provides us, and them, with tools and ideas on how to interact with other people and to develop different ways of life. Therefore, the understanding of culture, and the understanding of how it works, are central educational aims (and not just disciplinary ones) that ought to be pursued by, and in, our multicultural societies. Yet, and at the same time, culture makes everyone of us provincial (or, in more technical terms, it makes us ethnocentric). *Our way* (or *their way*, for that matter) to become human gives us a culturally specific identity but also „it mentally imprisons“ us (as much as *theirs* does with them). In fact, anthropologist Bohannan continues addressing the readers directly: „whenever you look at the world around you, you reason from the premises – the unquestioned assumptions – which your culture impressed upon you [and from the perspective] your culture provides [you with] ... [and that] works like a distorting mirror“ (*idem*: 7).

In a vein that recalls Dewey’s remarks quoted in the introductory paragraph, this author engages its audience one more time: when there is „only one looking glass, you never discover you are a prisoner of its refraction. The only way to recognize that is to look into a different mirror, one which deforms reality in another way. Only then you can see that you’ve had a point of view all along“ (*idem*: 7). Disciplinary and educational goals come to be tightly intertwined: anthropologists strongly believe that fieldwork research can provide those willing to undergo it with many additional mirrors that will enable them to see how „biased“ their view of things is, and such an aim is very close to efforts of intercultural education to face and overcome prejudices, even racism, and to promote mutual understanding. Thanks to such educational and research experience, the vision of opportunities, options and constraints of a way of life is expanded: it becomes, as it has been aptly defined, a „binocular vision“ (Bohannan 1998). The intentional effort to understand how and what made the others as they are offers an added bonus to the inquirer, namely a vantage point from which to look at how and what made her/him (and us) as we are (and perhaps how and what each group of people can become, once an intercultural conversation begins).

Anthropologists and anthropologists of education further remind us that the others they observe, question and listen to during fieldwork are not just „objects of study“ but, as sources of information, they become *partners* in the inquiry, thus overcoming the division of society into those who know and those who are known (Hymes 1996). The indispensable cooperation between informants and researcher gives way to a kind of intercultural encounter resulting from the mutual efforts to explain, to understand each other and to be understood that the research partners are eagerly involved into. The active role attributed to informants has implications for the research project itself, namely that changes will not only occur in the ethnographer’s awareness and knowledge, but also in that of her/his partners. The so called data collecting process cannot but have an effect on the sources of information as well, because very often „teaching“ an ethnographer about one’s own culture requires that the latter’s questions be clarified⁷ and that both cultural frameworks undergo a critical comparison that reminds of the process of cultural mediation.

⁷ What seems „so and so“ to the researcher is the result of culturally specific meanings that enter and work her/his perceptions.

Changes do not take place exclusively during the partners' interactions, but also as a consequence of the fact that a context, a group, a network of relations had previously been reconfigured and renamed as „field“. In this light, the ethnographer's worry about influencing the people or the environment she/he is studying should be reconsidered, rather than discounted as an anxious remnant of positivistic times: a „field“ is never totally coincident with the group, the context or the institutions from which a question to be asked or a problem to be understood (and hopefully solved) arose. The difference lies – but far from fixed – in the presence-to-become-participation of the ethnographer, in her/his „work“ of observing, asking and listening to what is commonly, but not always, taken for granted, and in the natives' or the locals' acknowledgement (be they immigrants, pupils, young people or old ones, families, and so on) that their everyday situation can no longer be perceived as it usual was.

Ethnographic research as a resource for intercultural education

In what sense can ethnographic research be a resource for intercultural education? First of all, as I already pointed out earlier in this paper, it introduces a dynamic quality in the anthropological concepts educational activities can be based on, that depends on the dialectical character of the method. Thanks to it, „initial questions may change during the course of inquiry“, highlighting another essential character of ethnography, namely „that it is open-ended, subject to self-correction during the process of inquiry itself“ (Hymes 1996:7). This spiral like way to do research, though time consuming⁸, also capitalizes on „the particular characteristics of the ethnographer [that] are themselves an instrument of the inquiry, for both good and bad“ (*idem*: 13). Such a perspective should not be interpreted solely in biographical terms; on the contrary, theories and working hypotheses represent the foundations on which most research designs are drawn, but not tied down to.

A good illustration of this comes from ethnographic research carried out at the European and international level in various educational contexts; while in this occasion it is impossible to make a thorough analysis of its results, I will however seize the opportunity to present and discuss three Italian contributions, my own and that of two graduate students of mine, Francesca Galloni (2002) and Lucia Naclerio (2002).

Toward the end of 1998, I decided to start a research among Italian Travellers (both fairground and circus people) in an area of the Veneto, a region in the North East part of Italy (Gobbo 2001, 2003, 2004). The reasons for choosing this „field“ were manifold: anthropological interpretations of minority education had since the beginning highlighted how diversity meant inequality for the educational history of many groups. This concern had always been central in my intercultural discourse and I was aware how emphasis on diversity *per se* could lessen educators' attention toward differential opportunities and outcomes among some minority groups whose low social status within the whole society often carried a stigma the groups' individual members had little hope to erase. I also believed that in looking at diversity in terms of inequality, studies of immigrant pupils and students had to be complemented by research among so called internal minorities, of which fairground and circus children were part, as they are considered a nomadic occupational minority. From the little I had been able to learn about them, before starting fieldwork, their educational problems appeared to stem both from the group's perceived cultural differences and from the treatment they received from mainstream *sedentary* society and culture.

My aim was to understand how the right to education (that is a constitutional right in Italy) is realized in the case of pupils and students whose life is largely nomadic, whose school attendance is consequently parceled out among different schools, and whose educational experience is but a sequence of regular and predictable interruptions. Was there in Italy any provision for such "interrupted learners", as Scottish educator Betty Jordan (2000) calls

⁸ But can we say this when as ethnographers we are activating the general human capacity of learning meanings, norms, patterns of a way of life, thus setting the research task in continuity with everyday life?

them⁹, so that even though they must "migrate" from one school to another they are still capable of completing the required years of compulsory schooling, and of learning the basics of the national curriculum? Did school pay any attention to these students and to their presumably different educational needs, and how? High school attendance is even more problematic, since if nomadic students want to pursue a high school diploma, they must reside in the vicinity of the school they have chosen¹⁰, and this usually means living away from the family, either with relatives or in boarding schools. The need for such an arrangement is one of the reasons why the majority of fairground and circus children choose to work in the family enterprise as soon as their compulsory education is completed; those I interviewed sounded rather happy for a decision that gives them explicit adult responsibility and rewarding appreciation from the family and the occupational group. However, when continuity with, and a career in, the sector of travelling attractions are systematically „chosen“, educational researchers need to inquire about the meaning of such „choice“: does it express loyalty to the group's cultural tradition? Is it based on the recognition of still satisfactory economic rewards? Is equality of educational opportunities limited so that it is difficult for occupational nomads to see, or to find, alternatives?

At the beginning of my research, I had hypothesized that the families' nomadic style of life made them look at schooling (as it relates to present conditions and future prospects) in a different way from that of sedentary families and individuals, regardless of the latter's socioeconomic status, but what I learned in the „field“, and from teachers' interviews made later, points to a variety of factors influencing the life decisions of these nomadic families and students. In fact, fairground and circus people's narratives indicate that both the enculturation process and the work constraints are powerful reasons to „choose“ to remain in the sector of travelling attractions. Yet the same narratives tell us how such reasons conflate with even more powerful ones, namely the practical arrangements¹¹ allowing these children to attend compulsory schooling that remind of a form of benign neglect (the teachers' good intentions notwithstanding), the lack of educational provisions such as education at distance or e-learning aimed at promoting longer school attendance that will not require leaving the family, the persistence of prejudice and stereotyping and the many changes that have taken place in Italian society since the 1968 law's recognition of this occupational sector's „social function“. Because social changes concern the entertainment sector as well, and that of travelling attractions in particular, fairground and circus people worried, on the one hand, that the attraction handed down to them together with the necessary skills from a previous generation, or the newly bought one meant to secure a young couple's economic independence, would no longer be able to provide a satisfactory future; on the other hand, longer education and possibly a high school diploma that might afford the latter were not within easy reach. Perhaps correctly, these families feared that if they enrolled their children in high school the latter would be cut off from the family cultural and working tradition, while if their sons and daughters helped keeping up such tradition, they could slowly be pushed toward the margins of economic production, civic participation, social intercourse, and (of course) entertainment.

The ethnographic research of Francesca Galloni aimed first of all at exploring how Sikh families and their children related to schooling and to the curricular and social requirements of Italian elementary and junior high schools. Then, it asked what strategies did the families enact in order to ensure positive school performance and maintenance of religious and

⁹ For studies about nomadic occupational minorities see Danaher 1999, 2000, Danaher, Hallinan, Moriarty 1999, Danhaer, Moriarty, Hallinan 2000, European Commission 1994, Freynhofer 2001, Kiddle 999, Jordan 1997, 2000, 2001a, 20001b, Liégeois 1992, School Council Research Studies 1975.

¹⁰ Up to the time of my research, Italian educational system was characterized by different types of schools (classic, scientific and linguistic high school, and high schools that prepare for different professions such as teacher, accountant, and so on). If a student enrolls in one of them, she/he must continue until the completion of the five years course. If she/he decides to change school, he must start all over again.

¹¹ In areas such as Verona (Veneto) and Piacenza (Lombardy) there have been considerable efforts to improve the situation. See AA. VV. 2002, Provveditorato agli Studi di Verona 2001-2002, Donzello (no date) and Canesi 2001.

ethnic identity. The researcher's interest had been spurred by learning of the high number of Sikh male adults employed to tend the renown cows (those from which Parmesan cheese is made) in the province of Cremona (Lombardy region). Enjoying good salaries, they had soon called their families to join them living in farms scattered around the area. In the scientific literature on migration, Sikhs are an immigrant minority group that has a history of migration to the United Kingdom and the United States where they have been able to reach social and educational success, even when, as it happened to the first generation of immigrants, they had to put in a lot of hard work to succeed. Ethnographic research has been carried out among them both in the United States and in the United Kingdom (cfr. Gibson 1987, 1988, Gibson and Ogbu eds. 1991), so that Galloni's research could also aim at finding out to what extent the Italian cultural, educational and work context could make a difference in terms of identity, adaptation to the receiving country's cultural habits and rules, and positive orientation to the future, in comparison to English speaking environments.

Findings indicate that context does not influence the process of social and job integration of male Sikhs, be they adults or young ones. However, because farms are rather isolated, the wives speak little Italian and don't usually drive a car to take their children into town or to events to which they might be invited by their peers, the *family* integration process tends to lag behind. This concurs in maintaining a firm religious identity whose boundaries follow the home's ones closely, and are supported by religious reunions and festivals celebrated by the larger Sikh community living and working in the area of the Po river plain. Farm boundaries and home boundaries being coincident, there is where the children's „additive acculturation“ (to borrow Ogbu's definition) stops. Such acculturation that allows and even promotes a double cultural framework (Ogbu 2003) is welcomed and supported outside the home, to the point that Galloni notices that Sikh fathers spoke of their sons „as Italians“ when she queried them about the children's identity. Not unlike what happens in other countries, Sikh fathers in Italy expect their children to work hard and do their best in school, because being an immigrant cannot be an excuse for poor results. Whenever this happens, the one who is given low grades is rather heavily teased by his Sikh friends; educational problems are seen as related to the new, different language those children must learn rather than to the population's biased attitudes. Not surprisingly, Sikh boys and girls enjoy school because it represents one of the few opportunities they have to meet their peers and share the local „youth culture“; however, gender plays an important role in identity maintenance, because girls (though they find some freedom in school that is not allowed them at home) remain under the strict control of their brothers who expect them to behave as proper Sikh girls should and are ready to chastise them or to report any „bad“ deed to their father.

Lucia Naclerio's fieldwork was aimed at understanding what motherhood meant for immigrant Nigerian mothers living in Padua. Having at last established contact with two different groups of them (married Catholic Ibo mothers often managing small shops and beauty parlors, on the one hand, and, on the other, unmarried young Ibo mothers participating in rehabilitation programs after choosing to leave the streets), Naclerio started to meet with them regularly, in their homes, at work and at a local childcare center where the first group took their children and where the researcher worked for a while. She had hypothesized that these mothers, who were relatively well off, held a respectful position within the Padua Nigerian community, and used a local educational institution (albeit one that described itself as „multicultural“), would be eager to be integrated in Padua society and culture, while she expected that those of the second group who lived in a so called „protected housing“ with their baby and had experienced the violence of street life, would rather make plans to return home as soon as possible and would thus hold on to their Nigerian identity, especially since they had fewer chances than the others to meet local people, aside from the sisters and the volunteers working in the „protected housing“.

However, listening to and asking about their future prospects and projects, Naclerio realized that the mothers' dreams and plans for their children were quite different from what she had expected. The Nigerian mothers and wives in the first group maintained a strong national and ethnic identity that was in turn sustained by the circle of Nigerian friends, relatives and customers; they planned to transmit it to their children and compared it positively with the

Italian and local ways, in particular with regard to religious behavior. On the contrary, the former prostitutes had given Italian names to their babies and told Naclerio they hoped their children could have a future in Italy; in their conversations a job and the Italian citizenship were emphasized as the two goals toward which those mothers would strive for.

The findings are interesting on many accounts: first of all, they open a discussion as to whether pride in diversity can mostly be sustained and promoted by those who enjoy a relatively financially and emotionally stable condition in the receiving country and who are at ease in expressing it¹². The children of the first group are spoken of, and treated, as members of genealogies whose roots are in Nigeria, while the less privileged mothers invest in their children as future Italian citizens. Secondly, the findings indicate that identity responds flexibly to life circumstances – be they good or bad; in other words, it has to do not only (or not so much) with origins but with present and future perceived opportunities that influence the way one looks at her/himself and invite to make plans accordingly¹³. While we don't know if the mothers in the second group will succeed in shaping a new life for themselves and their babies, we should acknowledge that the process they are undergoing asks for a price that, however, they think they can negotiate. It can also be envisaged that in the future they, and their children, could reconstruct an identity that includes ethnicity as what prodded them to make changes in their life. And if this will happen, it will also be because concomitant changes have taken place in Italian society and cultures.

Conclusions

Changes in the ethnographer's awareness about her/himself, and the increase and deepening of knowledge about the others are consequences of the intentional experience of diversity we call fieldwork, and have here been presented as sources of, and resources for intercultural education. Even outside the „field“, though, multicultural societies, and their everyday diversity, invite us, and the others, to reformulate the concept of the „educated person“ and answer the question „how is any of us (and any of the others) changed by the encounter with diversity?“. I would like to conclude these pages as I began, namely with the words of a philosopher of education: Israel Scheffler notices how „the understanding of other cultures than one's own provides multiple instances of culture to reflect on, and so affords the basis for grasping the concept of culture *in general*. Moreover, the significance of understanding other cultures is not simply a matter of expanding one's cultural sophistication. It is also a primary method for deepening the grasp of one's own culture. Going *outside* such culture is a way of understanding what is *inside*. It also enhances the possibility of thinking critically and creatively about alternative ways of doing things in one's own cultural milieu“ (1995: 97-98).

Therefore, today's educated persons are – better yet, should be – those who have achieved the capacity to understand the world rather than to be merely informed about it. The cognitive perspective they have thus achieved, enters the persons' perception, changes it as well as it changes the perception that others have of them; in other words, the way a particular person looks at institutions, relations, modes of communication and so on has been transformed by what one has learnt, *thanks to her or his education*. Scheffler goes further with his reasoning: he points out that learning to question our assumptions (and our implicit, naive ethnocentrism), through philosophical or empirical research, means to become capable of fostering others' capacity to criticize rules, values and beliefs we perhaps expected them to share and respect. The other's actions, reactions and disposition can teach us something new, something unforeseen, that makes us realize how *the learner can also be a teacher*. In a sense, the others will become our facilitators because, by reacting toward our acts, they make us aware that „the meaning of a culture's act includes its perceived effects on those in other cultures and must be acknowledged if this meaning is to be fully comprehended. (...) This sort of reception and interpretation is also part of the *meaning* of the original acts. In

¹² This point could be argued for the Cremona Sikhs as well.

¹³ Again this could also be argued in relation to Galloni's findings.

short, seeing one's actions not only from inside one's own culture, but also from the outside, is essential to getting the full meaning of these actions themselves. (...) Hearing what the other person says about my action, in speech that is common to us both, gives me a sense of the meaning of my action to that person. Once I have this meaning, I am now properly expected to use it in forecasting the potential sense of my future actions, and controlling them accordingly" (*idem*: 98). When this philosophical perspective is translated into educational practice, education can become that „risky business“ it can always be – as Dewey himself stressed a long time ago – and that ethnographic research and anthropological theory pursue in a way which is their own but whose intercultural dimension I tried to argue.

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Die Rückwanderung türischer Jugendlicher in die Heimat

Eine empirische Untersuchung zu Migrationsgründen, der aktuellen Situation und Zukunftsperspektiven der Zweiten Generation

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Im Herkunftsland der Familie leben oder in Deutschland bleiben? – MigrantInnen tun sich schwer mit einer bewussten Entscheidung. Entgegen der weit verbreiteten Auffassung stellt der 1999 erschienene „Migrationsbericht,“ fest: Der größte Teil der auslaendischen Zuwanderer laesst sich nicht auf Dauer in Deutschland nieder (Jugendsozialarbeit News, 2000). Zwischen 1959 und 1998 zogen fast 30 Millionen Menschen nach Deutschland, im gleichen Zeitraum wanderten 21 Millionen aus Deutschland ins Ausland ab. Seit 1997 ist der Saldo der Auslandsmigration negativ; das heißt, die Abwanderungen waren umfangreicher als die Zuwanderungen.

In den achtziger Jahren traten politische neben die ökonomischen Push-Faktoren: Die bundesdeutsche Rückkehrförderung 1983-84 wirkte sich aber nur auf PortugiesInnen und zahlenmaeßig am wichtigsten TürklInnen aus; denn für sie galt das wichtigste Förderinstrument, die vorzeitige Auszahlung der Rentenbeitraege. Viele RückkehrerInnen hatten aber ohnehin ihre Heimfahrt geplant und nahmen die Praemien lediglich mit; um die Lebensplanung tatsaechlich danach auszurichten, waren sie zu gering.

Es gibt wenig bekannte Fakten über die ehemaligen Anwerbestaaten: Jedes Jahr verlassen über 45.000 Personen Deutschland in Richtung Türkei, die Tendenz ist leicht zunehmend (1990: knapp 36.000, 1998: 46.300). Gleichzeitig nimmt die Einwanderung aus der Türkei kontinuierlich ab (1990 waren es noch 85.000, 1998 noch 49.000 Menschen). Eine der verbreitetsten Annahmen geht davon aus, dass die meisten RückkehrerInnen RentnerInnen sind, die den Ruhestand im Herkunftsland der Familie genießen wollen. Dagegen hat die schlechte Aussicht am Arbeitsmarkt die Zahl der auswanderungswilligen jungen TürklInnen fast verdoppelt. In Nordrhein-Westfalen, so eine neue Umfrage des Essener Zentrums für Türkeistudien, gaben 24 % der 18-29jaehrigen TürklInnen an, sie wollten zurück in die Türkei; im letzten Jahr waren es nur rund 14 %. 2002 verließen knapp 37.000 TürklInnen Deutschland, darunter etwa 7.000 zwischen 18 und 25 Jahren (Der Spiegel, 44/2003).

Die türkischen MigrantInnen stammen aus der sozialen Unterschicht und wurden überwiegend wegen wirtschaftlicher Not, Armut und Arbeitslosigkeit zur Wanderung aus ihrer Heimat gezwungen. Die Migration war zunaechst befristet, sie sind mit der Absicht ins Aufnahmeland gekommen, nur einige Jahre dort zu arbeiten, Geld zu sparen und dann in die Türkei zurückzukehren. Sie wollten ihrer materiellen Not für einige Jahre entkommen, um dann spaeter bessere Bedingungen für einen neuen Anfang in der Türkei zu haben. „Zukunftssicherung für die Familie“ gaben besonders die TürklInnen oft als Auswanderungsmotiv in einer anderen Untersuchung an (Mehrlaender, 1986, 39 f.).

So hatten sie es sich vor der Wanderung vorgestellt. Im Aufnahmeland wurden sie aber nicht als Menschen, sondern als bloße Arbeitskraefte nach ökonomischen Gesichtspunkten, als verwertbare industrielle Reservearmee behandelt. Aus verschiedenen Gründen gefaellt es ihnen im Aufnahmeland nicht, sie wollen so bald wie möglich in ihre Heimat zurückkehren. Die feste Orientierung auf die Rückkehr praegte zunaechst auch das Leben in Deutschland. Viele MigrantInnen sahen das Leben in Deutschland für vorübergehend und traueumten von einem „Paradies“ in der Heimat. Sie wurden von der Aufnahmegesellschaft isoliert, sie fühlten sich unverstanden. Für sie war alles in dieser Gesellschaft anders. Sowohl das Klima und die Mentalitaet der Menschen als auch die Sprache und gesellschaftlichen Normen und Werte. Von Tag zu Tag wachsende Auslaenderfeindlichkeit und Rassismus, verunsicherter

Aufenthalt, Entlassungen, Kurzarbeit, unsichere Arbeitsmöglichkeiten, diskriminierende Gesetze und Verordnungen machten ihnen das Leben in der Fremde schwer und unerträglich. Viele kehrten zwar zurück, aber nicht aufgrund ihrer ursprünglichen Rückkehrabsicht, sondern erst dann, wenn äußere Zwänge hinzutraten. Diese Zwänge waren nach Pagenstecher (1996) vor allem familiäre Erfordernisse, Krankheit, sowie die wirtschaftliche Rezession und Ausländerfeindlichkeit in Deutschland.

Nach Sandwuchs (1981, S. 18) sind die Ursachen zur Rückkehr der MigrantInnen:

- das Scheitern, wenn sich die mit der Migration verbundenen Hoffnungen nicht erfüllt haben;
- Konservatismus (manche MigrantInnen kehren zurück, weil sie bei Ehepartnern und Kindern eine Abkehr von den traditionellen Werten feststellen);
- Altersgründe;
- der Wunsch, Neuerungen einzuführen.

Für Eltern ist die Rückkehr in die Türkei eine ganz normale Sache, da sie dort geboren sind; die Remigrationsschwierigkeiten der Kinder, die mit ihren Eltern in die Türkei zurückkehren, sind genauso ernst und groß wie ihre Schwierigkeiten im Aufnahmeland. Die Rückkehr in die „fremde Heimat,“ erwies sich als ein genauso großer Schritt wie die ursprüngliche Migration.

Insbesondere das Verhältnis zu den Kindern und deren Schulbildung wurden zu drängenden Problemen. Muttersprachliche Defizite der Kinder, die Abschlüsse und Zeugnisse, die im Aufnahmeland erworben wurden, werden in der Türkei nicht anerkannt, und sie vergessen ihre deutschen Sprachkenntnisse rasch, weil keine genügenden Praxisgelegenheiten vorhanden sind. Unterschiede der beiden Schulsysteme verursachen oft zusätzliche Probleme, und das erschwert die Anpassung an die neue Schulform. Für die zurückgekehrten Migrantenkinder wurden vom Ministerium für Erziehung, Jugend und Sport „Integrationskurse“ in 67 Provinzen an verschiedenen Schulen mit einer Kursdauer von 4 Wochen eingerichtet. Das Ziel war Anpassung an die Türkei und türkische Erziehung der zurückgekehrten SchülerInnen. In diesen Kursen wurden ferner Grundwissen und praktische Kenntnisse in Türkisch, Mathematik und Sozialkunde vermittelt. Aber es fehlte an Kursen wie Orientierung, türkische Mentalität und landeskundliche Information. Diese Integrationskurse sind insofern eine gute Einrichtung als sie für die in die Türkei zurückgekehrten SchülerInnen notwendig und wichtig waren. Es wurde bei diesen Anpassungskursen beobachtet, dass die Mehrheit der Kinder wegen ihres mangelnden türkischen Wortschatzes große Mängel beim Sprechen, Verstehen und insbesondere beim Schreiben gezeigt haben, und dass sie sich öfter auf Deutsch geäußert haben. Weiterhin hatten die SchülerInnen Probleme mit den unterrichtenden LehrerInnen, da diese die Lebens- und Erziehungsweisen in den Aufnahmeländern nicht kannten (Doyuran, 1990).

Im Folgenden wird auf die Situation der türkischen Jugendlichen, die längere Jahre im Ausland gelebt haben und mit der Familie in die Türkei zurückgekehrt sind, eingegangen. In diesem Aufsatz werden die Lebenssituationen der zweiten Generation in der Türkei, insbesondere ihre Reintegration und Probleme mit der Rückkehr untersucht und analysiert.

Da nur wenige Arbeiten die Rückkehr der Zweiten Generation in die Heimat und die dort entstehenden Probleme und Situation behandeln, versucht dieser Aufsatz die Probleme der MigrantInnen, vor allem der sogenannten „Zweiten Generation“, die in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland geboren bzw. aufgewachsen sind und mit der Familie in die Türkei zurückgekehrt sind, zu untersuchen. Anhand einer qualitativen Studie wurden 80 türkische Jugendliche in hochschulischer Ausbildung in Ankara, Türkei, befragt. Zur Erklärung der Situation und der Reintegration soll vor allem einigen Fragen nachgegangen werden:

1. Warum wollten die MigrantInnen ursprünglich zurückkehren?
2. Welche Schwierigkeiten hatten sie bei der Reintegration?
3. Wie ist die Schulausbildung türkischer Jugendlicher in der Türkei?

4. Wie sind die Arbeitschancen für türkische Jugendliche in der Türkei?
5. Wie sind die Zukunftsabsichten der Zweiten Generation in der Türkei?
6. Hätten sie die Chance, in die Bundesrepublik zurückzukehren, würde die Zweite Generation zurückkehren?

Auswertung des Fragebogens

Für diese Untersuchung wurde ein Fragebogen mit 21 Fragen vorbereitet und die zurückgekehrten Jugendlichen persönlich befragt.

1. An der Untersuchung nahmen 80 Jugendliche freiwillig teil. 60 % der Befragten sind weiblichen Geschlechts und 40 % sind männlich.
2. 81,25 % der Befragten sind ledig, 12,5 % sind verheiratet und 6,25 % sind geschieden.
3. Auf die Frage, in welchem Jahr sie geboren sind, antworteten die Befragten 56,25 % im Jahre 1980; 12,5 % im Jahre 1981; 12,5 % im Jahre 1974; 7,5 % im Jahre 1974; 6,25 % im Jahre 1973 und 5 % im Jahre 1977. Die meisten der Befragten sind zwischen 22-24 Jahre.
4. Auf die Frage, wo sie geboren sind, antworteten 72,5 % der Befragten in Deutschland und 27,5 % der Befragten in der Türkei.
5. Auf die Frage, wie lange sie im Ausland (Deutschland) gelebt haben, antworteten die Befragten:

5 Jahre	3,75 %
6 Jahre	2,5 %
7 Jahre	1,25 %
8 Jahre	2,5 %
10 Jahre	10 %
11 Jahre	2,5 %
12 Jahre	33,75 %
14 Jahre	37,5 %
16 Jahre	6,25 %

Die meisten Befragten haben zwischen 12 und 14 Jahre in Deutschland gelebt.

6. Auf die Frage, in welchem Jahr sie in die Türkei zurückgekehrt sind, antworteten die Befragten

1985	32,5 %
1987	8,75 %
1988	6,25 %
1994	31,25 %
1998	22,5 %.

Eine große Zahl der Befragten ist in den Jahren 1985 und 1994 in die Türkei zurückgekehrt.

7. Auf die Frage, wie oft sie in dieser Zeit ins Ausland (Deutschland) gegangen sind, nannten 21,25 % der Befragten 1x bis jetzt; 6,25 % 2x bis jetzt; 55 % überhaupt nicht, und 17,5 % alle 6 Monate. Die Haelfte der Befragten ist waehrend des Aufenthaltes in der Heimat nicht ins Ausland gegangen.

8. Auf die Frage, welche Schulausbildung sie im Ausland (Deutschland) gemacht haben, nannten 7,5 % Grundschule; 50 % Hauptschule, 27,5 % Berufsschule und 15 % Gymnasium. Die Haelfte der Befragten besuchten laut ihrer Antworten die Hauptschule in Deutschland.

9. Auf die Frage, ob sie waehrend des Aufenthaltes im Ausland (Deutschland) von ihrer Familie getrennt leben mussten, antworteten 85 % der Befragten mit Ja, dagegen 15 % mit Nein. Das bedeutet, dass die größte Zahl der Befragten von der Familie getrennt gelebt hat. Auf die weitere Frage danach, ob sie für laengere oder kürzere Zeit von der Familie getrennt gelebt haben, antworteten 40 % der Befragten für laengere Zeit, 45 % für kürzere Zeit.

10. Auf die Frage, ob sie mit der Familie zusammen in die Türkei zurückgekehrt sind, antworteten 95 % der Befragten mit Ja, dagegen nur 5 % mit Nein. Die autoritaer-patriarchalisch gepraeigte Familie hatte Angst vor Entfremdung der Kinder und fürchtete vor Verlust der elterlichen Autoritaet; die Unsicherheit gegenüber der deutschen Kultur zwang sie, mit der ganzen Familie in die Heimat zurückzukehren, um dort ihre Kinder nach der traditionellen türkischen Erziehung zu erziehen.

11. Auf die Frage, ob sie zur Zeit in der Türkei zusammen mit ihrer Familie leben, antworteten 85 % der Befragten mit Ja; und 15 % mit Nein.

12. Auf die Frage, ob sie noch im Ausland lebende Verwandte haben, antworteten 71,25 % der Befragten mit Ja, 28,75 % dagegen mit Nein.

13. Auf die Frage, ob sie Verwandte haben, die von Deutschland Rente beziehen, antworteten 30 % der Befragten mit Ja und 70 % mit Nein. Über die Haelfte der Befragten hat keine Verwandten, die von Deutschland Rente beziehen.

14. Auf die Frage warum sie in die Türkei zurückkehren wollten und was die ursprünglichen Gründe für die Rückkehr waren, nannten die Befragten folgende Motive:

Warum wollten Sie in die Türkei zurückkehren?

Was waren die ursprünglichen Gründe für die Rückkehr?

Arbeitslosigkeit	72,5 %
Auslaenderfeidlichkeit	95 %
Rassismus	63,75 %
Unsicherer Aufenthalt	71,25 %
Entlassungen	45 %
Unsichere Arbeitsmöglichkeiten	55 %
Diskriminierende Gesetze und Verordnungen	76,25 %

Heimweh	100 %
Altersgründe der Eltern	77,5 %
Situation der Kinder (unser)	100 %
Gesundheitsprobleme	78,75 %
Verwandte in der Türkei (Großeltern)	63,75 %

Diese Ergebnisse können so interpretiert werden, dass je mehr Diskriminierung die MigrantInnen erfahren, desto mehr Rückkehrabsichten äußern sie.

15. Auf die Frage, wer die Rückkehr in die Heimat entschieden hat, nannten 3,75 % der Befragten sie selbst haetten sich für die Rückkehr entschieden. 93,75 % sagten, es war die Entscheidung der ganzen Familie, und nur bei 2,5 % entschied die Mutter alleine für die Rückkehr.

16. Auf die Frage, ob Sie in der Türkei glücklich sind, antworteten 25 % der Befragten sie seien unglücklich, 55 % der Befragten nannten, dass sie glücklich sind und 20 % äußerten, sie seien zufrieden.

17. Auf die Frage, welche Schwierigkeiten sie bei der Reintegration in die Heimat hatten, nannten die Befragten verschiedene Motive:

Welche Schwierigkeiten hatten Sie bei der Reintegration?

Familienprobleme	90 %
Probleme mit Freunden	67,5 %
Schulprobleme	91,25 %
Arbeitslosigkeit	81,25 %
Gesundheitsprobleme	100 %
Probleme mit der Muttersprache	90 %
Mangelnder türkischer Wortschatz	93,75 %
Maengel beim Sprechen, Verstehen und Schreiben	90 %
Kulturschock	87,5 %
Identitaetsprobleme	80 %
Sitten und Braeuche	83,75 %
Desorientiertheit	65 %
Passivitaet	91,25 %
Angst	83,75 %
Vergessen der deutschen Sprache	86,25 %

Die RückkehrerInnen stießen auf erhebliche wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Reintegrationsprobleme.

18. Auf die Frage, wie die Ausbildungschancen zurückgekehrter Jugendlicher in der Türkei sind, gaben die Befragten folgende Antworten:

1. Abschlüsse und Zeugnisse von Deutschland werden nicht anerkannt	80 %
2. Mangel bei den Anpassungskursen	66,25 %
3. Das türkische Schulsystem ist kompliziert	56,25 %
4. Unterschiede der beiden Schulsysteme	92,5 %
5. Die unterrichtenden LehrerInnen kennen die Lebens- und Erziehungsweisen im Aufnahmeland (Deutschland) nicht	97,5 %
6. In Deutschland „Ausländer“, in der Türkei „Almanci“,: „Uns will niemand“	92,5 %

19. Auf die Frage, ob sie, wenn sie die Chance hätten, in die Bundesrepublik zurückzukehren würden, antworteten 92,5 % der Befragten mit Ja; sie würden zurückkehren; dagegen 7,5 % mit Nein, sie würden nicht zurückkehren. Die meisten bevorzugten ein Leben in Deutschland.

20. Auf die Frage, wie Ihre Zukunftsabsichten in der Türkei sind nannten die Befragten folgende Motive:

Eine gute Stelle finden	100 %
Geld verdienen	92,5 %
Heiraten und Familie gründen	81,25 %
Gute, akademische Ausbildung machen	93,75 %
Ins Ausland gehen	95 %

21. Weiterhin war es interessant zu wissen, was die Befragten über die deutsche Sprache denken und fühlen. Im Rahmen dieser Befragung wurde den TeilnehmerInnen zum Schluss diese Frage gestellt: Wie gerne sprechen Sie Deutsch?

80 % der Befragten gaben an, dass sie gerne Deutsch sprechen, 11,25 % der Befragten gaben an, sie sprechen weniger gerne Deutsch und 8,75 % der Befragten gaben an, dass sie Deutsch nur dann sprechen wenn es notwendig ist und sie müssen.

Schlussfolgerungen

1. Für die Entscheidung zur Rückkehr in die Türkei dominierten bei der ersten Generation drei Motivkomplexe: Heimweh, Ausländerfeindlichkeit und Konservatismus. Die Zweite Generation hatte keine Rückkehrmotive, denn die Entscheidung für die Rückkehr traf die Familie (93,75 %). Bei den meisten Familien traf der Vater allein die Entscheidung.
2. Die Zweite Generation hatte Schwierigkeiten bei der Reintegration mit den Familienmitgliedern, dem Schulsystem der Türkei und der Muttersprache. Für die in Deutschland Geborenen ist die Rückkehr eigentlich keine Rückkehr, sie mussten das Land verlassen, in dem sie geboren wurden. Niemand hat sie gefragt, wo sie gerne leben würden.
3. Die Schulausbildung türkischer Jugendlicher in der Türkei ist kompliziert, die Unterschiede der beiden Schulsysteme verursachen oft zusätzliche Probleme. Die Abschlüsse und Zeugnisse, die in Deutschland erworben wurden, werden in der Türkei

nicht anerkannt. Die Anpassungskurse, die von Ministerium für Erziehung, Jugend und Sport an verschiedenen Schulen eingerichtet waren, sind nicht ausreichend. Bei diesen Kursen gibt es keine Fächer wie Orientierung, landeskundliche Informationen und türkische Mentalität.

4. Jugendliche, die eine gute Schulausbildung machen, die deutsche und türkische Sprache gut beherrschen, haben in der Türkei gute Arbeits- und Zukunftschancen. Das Kennenlernen, Verstehen und Anwenden der Grammatik in der türkischen Sprache ermöglicht den Jugendlichen sprachbezogenes Denken zu entwickeln und erleichtert die Beherrschung der Zweitsprache und anderer Fremdsprachen.
5. 74 Befragte von 80 würden (92,5 %) nach Deutschland zurückkehren, wenn sie die Chance hätten. Sie fühlen sich eigentlich in der Türkei wohl, aber sie möchten ab und zu mal das Geburtsland und die Freunde wiedersehen.

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2. THE SITUATION OF ROMA CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND IN ROMANIA

Educational Alternatives in Communities with predominantly Roma Population in Romania

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Introduction

There is a general consensus in recognizing that the social reality today is becoming more and more multicultural. Schools are a reflection of the social reality of which it forms part; that is why we can say that the educational act is an intercultural one.

The cultural diversity has been a part of schools in Romania for some time ever since the incorporation of Roma children. In Romania, there is a small percentage of immigrants, but a considerable number of pupils from the national ethnic minorities. **Ethnic Romanians** make up 89% of the population and **ethnic minorities** stand for about 11% of the total population of Romania:

- *Hungarians*, living mostly in Transylvania, account for 7%;
- *Roma* account for 2,5 %;
- *Other minorities* (1,5%) include Germans, Ukrainians, Serbs, Croats, Russians, and Turks.

Originating in northwestern India before the 5th century, the Roma have lived in Europe for more than 500 years. They tend to live separately from the Romanians and other ethnic groups. Although they have a rich oral tradition and musical culture, and are skilled craftspeople; the Roma are generally poor, undereducated, underemployed and **subject to discrimination**.

According to the latest census (2002), about 535,000 Roma currently live in Romania.

It is a well-known fact that this ethnic minority especially faces discrimination and lives under severe social-economic conditions. The children are particularly vulnerable suffering from poverty, sexual exploitation, high mortality, lack of basic services, including health care and education. (Cherga 2001, p. 67)

They are provided with specific schools and teachers in classes taught in their mother tongue. Teachers consider that the most important problems come from the enrolment of the Roma children in schools because of the high degree of absenteeism and learning difficulties manifested by the majority of them.

I have studied some analyses that various NGOs in Romania have drawn up. No doubt that they have the best intentions to act effectively in the direction of improving Roma children's living conditions, integration, and education. In fact, I believe that the NGOs have an important role to play in providing support for the Roma population. However, an important role has to be played by schools and other educational institutions as well.

That is why I consider that is important to talk about the aspects of Roma children's school education; unfortunately, these aspects are so complex, that an ordinary study can only offer a general view without specifying particular problems.

The current study is based on analyses of the educational alternatives promoted in „Stefanestii de Jos“, a community with a majority Roma population, situated 20 km afar from Bucharest. The main objective of the present study is to evaluate the results of implementing new educational strategies at this school level.

The negative social context of the Roma population in Romania

Today, the educational level of the Roma population in Romania is lower than that of any other social or ethnic group. Despite the numerous social programs that they could benefit from, they continue to be characterized by high illiteracy rates, school failure and early dropout. This situation can be explained by two sets of factors:

- **the school system** characterized by rigid structure, assessment by the dominating culture and teaching staff that is not trained in the field of intercultural education;
- **the Roma culture**, which is very restrictive: the Roma often isolate themselves due to their habits, traditions and customs.

The difficulties of daily living — lack of basic necessities, illiteracy, and child labor exploitation since early ages — dramatically define the existence of Roma children.

With some exceptions, the representations Roma people have about themselves correspond in many ways to the ones that the majority population has about them. Research indicates an increase in the intensity of the negative attitude towards the Roma people, beginning with the 1990. The image that Roma people have about themselves is most of the time a negative one; that is why some of them don't want to accept that they are Roma. (Cherga 2001, p. 68)

There is a general consensus in considering that the Roma are the ones who steal, beat other people, swear and have a mean language. Roma people live in extended families. Generally, they have 2-3 rooms where a higher number of persons live. The poor living conditions are also determined by lack of running water and sometimes lack of electricity. Children don't have good conditions for learning because they lack a special place at home to conduct their studies. Children's nutrition is poor and has negative effects upon the health. They are modestly dressed and the clothes are not clean. The fact that they don't have the necessary clothes and footwear contributes to school abandonment on their opinion.

All these unfavorable conditions in connection with Roma children's daily life have a negative influence upon education, community relations, and also upon their identity.

As a conclusion, the negative social context of Roma people in Romania can be characterized by:

- poverty;
- inequalities in the social status;
- emotional and physical abuse;
- child labor exploitation;
- decrease of school and social opportunities.

The main difficulties of the educational system regarding the Roma population

After 1989, the educational system preserves and amplifies the status inequalities between the Roma and the majority population. A decrease of school and social opportunities for Roma children is recorded. (Iosifescu and Rogojinaru, p. 11) An important element in explaining the weak schooling situation is discrimination that has various aspects according to the context. The direct and the most serious aspects of discrimination go up to school separation and the refusal to admit Roma children at school.

The discrimination we have perceived seems not to be the result of any particular policy, but it is rather the joint effect of some prejudices and ethnical stereotypes. It is surprising that these stereotypes and prejudices are not only held by ordinary people, but also by some teachers and headmasters. Some reasons for this are:

- Roma people usually live in residential segregation, which encourages, in most of the cases school discrimination.

- The long way the children have to walk to the school can sometime influence absenteeism, especially during unfavorable weather conditions.
- Parents' attitudes towards school determines the weak school situation of their children. But this attitude has to be understood within a wider framework; it is a part of a culture of poverty (short-term orientation) that makes investment in education almost impossible, which has a long-term orientation. In the Roma parents' social success strategies, the material capital (money) is more important than the human capital (schooling); they often consider it useless that their children attend school as long as they can have money without it.
- A series of deficiencies in primary socialization determine difficulties in understanding the school rules and objectives and also inadequate behavior. Very few Roma children attend kindergarten. This lack of preschool education is a real limitation to Roma children education later on.
- The time for individual study and for doing homework is very short or it doesn't exist. This is due to the fact that many children participate in some household activities such as laundry washing, cleaning the house or cooking; a negative influence upon education has the fact that in certain communities Roma children have to work for earning their living.

This situation determines the fact that Roma children have to overcome more complicated obstacles than children from other ethnic minorities. These circumstances lead to increasing prejudices from their non-Roma schoolmates and teachers; they are stigmatized as not being able to learn and this leads to their elimination from the regular classrooms.

As a conclusion, this situation of poverty and social exclusion gives rise to difficulties in accessing standardized educational processes; there are some barriers to positive educational experience:

- low standard of living together with high-conflict situations and stress produced by extreme poverty and social marginalisation;
- dangerous and unhealthy climate for living;
- lack of access to relevant pre-school experiences with their peer-group, which fosters inadequate behavior;
- difficulties in comprehending school rules and objectives;
- lack of motivation and low self-esteem;
- low parental educational level;
- prejudice and discrimination from their non-Roma schoolmates and teachers;
- non-recognition of Roma culture in schools;
- general feeling of insecurity inside school;
- lack of job opportunities after school living age.

The results of the failure of the traditional educational system

Several studies have underlined the failure of the educational system regarding the Roma population. The result is a high illiteracy rate of about 50%, which is affecting all the aspects in Roma population life. (Ciolan 1998, p. 127)

Roma families' attitude towards education is generally reticent, based on the fear that their own children would suffer because of the attitude of the colleagues or teachers.

In the field of education it is estimated that about half of the Roma population is school aged and only 30-40% of them go to school regularly.

Research performed in 1992 (Foundation for an Open Society 1998, p.) can provide a general view on Roma children education. It comes out that the weight of the lack of education is very high among Roma children. The following have never attended school:

- 29,9% of the children aged between 7-9 years old;
- 17,2% of the children aged between 10-16 years old;
- 22% of the adult generation.

As a general trend, it is important to notice:

- the growth of illiteracy of Roma students;
- the low course attendance;
- a decrease in accomplished school levels;
- drop out after the first year;
- high depreciation of school results.

The strategies for intercultural education and antiracism

Despite of this situation, in Romania we promote an educational policy meant to encourage interculturalism and antiracism. The basic idea behind intercultural education is to fight stereotypes. It uses a series of concepts such as **solidarity, empathy, creativity, and tolerance.**

In fact, it is very important to establish points in common with the other person, rather than crushing him. In one sense, intercultural learning is a subversive concept. Sometimes one learns more about oneself than about others.

The main concern in intercultural education is that all cultures and groups are treated equitably. This premise necessitates that all groups be treated in a manner that recognizes and respects their dignity and their contributions to society.

Intercultural education tries to promote positive attitudes, both of the students, but also the teachers, communication, and co-operation between pupils who belong to various socio-cultural groups.

It is difficult to define in one sense the intercultural education; but it could be important to mention that it is not:

- a new school subject concerning different cultures;
- a compensatory education for minority groups;
- an extension of the school curricula.

Intercultural education represents a new approach of the teaching and learning process based on democratic values, which try to promote the cultural pluralism in the context of social diversity. This concept means: interaction, exchange, communication, co-operation, solidarity, trust and mutual respect. One of the basic objectives of a intercultural education is to promote positive feelings of unity and tolerance among students and break down stereotypes. It also involves the entire school community with the necessary participation of the student body in a critical analysis of the social reality and in the action projects designed to fight against inequality.

Intercultural education focuses on the systematic education of the entire student body and not only on those children belonging to minority ethnic or cultural groups. Its **pedagogical principles** are based on:

- recognition of each student's personal right to receive the best possible education, meeting personal identity needs;

- positive recognition of different cultures and languages;
- developing a better self-visibility to minority groups and help them to build a positive self-image;
- attention to diversity by accepting, understanding, and respecting differences;
- non-segregation within or outside the classroom environment;
- training of the educational community in the human values of equality, respect, tolerance, pluralism, co-operation, and social co-responsibility;
- active fight against all forms of racism or discrimination;
- prevention of prejudices and stereotypes; it is important to develop the capacity of identifying stereotypes and prejudices in everyday life and to become aware of their impact on interpersonal relations;
- active communication and interrelation among the entire body of students in the classroom and in the school in general;
- active participation of the parents in the school and increased communication and positive relations among the different ethnic groups;
- active participation of the school in the local community.

Various projects propose strategies for intercultural education and antiracism at the national level as well as at the school level. Intercultural education is a new field for our teachers. It needs to implement changes in all school activities and also in the curriculum.

It is a well-known fact that the national curriculum common for all students forms the fundamental framework and definitive element guiding all school activities. Unfortunately, this curriculum doesn't hold the key to school diversity, multicultural reality, and the development of values such as respect and solidarity. The design of such a curriculum makes necessary to implement different strategies that affect education agents, the school's administrative and pedagogical frameworks, the work materials, and their evaluation. It needs to implement changes at three levels of the curriculum:

- The **compulsory curriculum** has to be adapted to the diversity of educational situations. It is important to identify those common contents and objectives, which can promote interculturalism. Intercultural education is a transversal theme and each subject should develop intercultural activities.
- Among other strategies is important to introduce in the **flexible curriculum** some optional subjects focusing on topics as: „traditions and local customs“, „my schoolmates – my friends“, „children's plays“, „traditional dances“. This flexible curriculum represents an official way to introduce intercultural education based on co-operation and communication. There is not a general prescription for the best solution of implementing the intercultural in schools. It depends on the context.
- **The extra-school curriculum** should promote some activities that involve the entire community to foster better co-operation and living together. For instance, „Sunday schools“, „parents' meetings“, „school festivities“, „celebrating birthdays“. These activities offer to the students a more flexible framework and help them:
 - to know traditions and customs different than theirs;
 - to co-operate in common activities;
 - to understand that the cultural diversity represents a resource, not an obstacle;
 - to develop intercultural competencies;

The extra-curriculum plays an important role in teaching students how to live and to learn together, how to know and understand one another better.

As a conclusion, the strategies for intercultural education have to start at the national level and continue at the school level:

- support provided for the access to school for the Roma population;
- making schooling for Roma children flexible;
- ongoing training of the teaching staff and teamwork between said staff and other educational agents on the perspective of intercultural education;
- implementation of intercultural values aiming at the three dimensions of the curriculum; promoting certain elements of Roma culture and life style in the school curriculum;
- development and selection of suitable teaching materials; providing materials in Roma language;
- encouraging the relationship of Roma families with the school;
- developing a positive climate of active communication and interrelation between the Roma pupils and the majority pupils;
- recognition of each pupils' personal rights;
- non-segregation within or outside of the classroom.

Conclusion

Experience shows that no measures taken to improve Roma children's educational situation can be effective as long as the Roma themselves are not included in the work.

Supporting the whole Roma family is the best way of supporting Roma children and to fulfil the intentions of the „Convention on the Rights of the Child“. It is necessary to view the Roma child as a part of a collective. Showing respect for the parents and the cultural background of the Roma children strengthens the child's identity.

The school has to be a place where a Roma child can be safe and where it seriously can undergo education.

The school content has to become more relevant for the Roma population. Different expressions of Roma culture and history should have a prominent place in the curriculum.

Teaching methods should also acknowledge the oral culture of Roma children.

Information for the majority population about the history, culture, and language of the Roma minority is vital and fundamental for achieving a better understanding and respect for the Roma minorities and their children.

We live in a more globalized world. Closing the gap between policy and practice concerning the Roma children in particular remains an enormous challenge.

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A Few Notes on Multicultural Education

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Introduction

This contribution is based on the results of a study carried out by Vladislava Hermanova, Jan Mattioli, Marie Kovarikova, Karel Kamis and Jan Melichar in North Bohemian schools in 1998-1999. The teachers from the Faculty of Education began intensive investigation of the school success of Romany children in 1996.

A long time has passed since the change in the political situation in 1989 and, as it can be seen now, we have not yet succeeded in removing all the damage of the previous periods. Also, in our contemporary school system we have to face a lot of difficulties. One of the most serious problems can be seen in creating a functioning system of multicultural education.

Definition of the term „multiculturalism“ and related notions

In the following characterisation we have drawn from definitions by specialists in that field (Sokol et al. 1996, p.12):

- Multiculturalism is an attitude or movement attributing also to other cultures their values and rights. Cultural diversity then means a substantial enrichment of society.
- Multiracial society is based on racial equality, but it does not always accept the existence of equality among cultures. A unity of culture often becomes a compensation for the diversity of life styles.
- A national group is a cultural community tied together by one language, history, and self-confidence of its members.
- The national state, for instance the Czech Republic, is a social arrangement in which one of its national groups is considered its main.
- "Melting Pot" is a civic arrangement of immigrants, e.g. in the United States.
- Minority means a group of people with cultural features, which is not in power contrary to the majority. National minorities have not got their own form of state organisation. However, they have a strong feeling of ethnic belonging and also tend to exhibit it.
- In the state system consisting of more nationalities the predominating principle is that of citizenship. Citizenship is determined by a person's birthplace or the parents' nationality.

Individual groups try to reach autonomy and legitimacy, in both the cultural and political spheres. The national group is then tied together by identity, both political and individual. In various states we can meet either accultural policy models or even assimilation, when the culture of a group merges with the dominant culture of that state. This is usually an asymmetric process – enrichment of the dominant culture with some elements, e.g. Roma music and songs.

The principles, which were established in the positive ideals of the French bourgeois revolution: equality, fraternity, and liberty, can even now be confirmed by a certain "vision of equality", such as e.g. the affirmative action, which appears in the Canadian constitution. Since the 1960s of last century this standard has facilitated the access of minorities to education, as well as their work in the public sector. It should become a compensation for their social handicap, mainly among different ethnic groups.

The situation in the Czech Republic

In the Czech Republic since 1989 there was a governmental effort to create a democratic system based on equality of all citizens, although one important factor was underestimated – that a large part of the Romany community is not prepared to adapt either to economic or to social conditions. If we turn back again, we find out that since November 1989, the social and political sphere of our country has taken the Romany population as a socially backward group. All measures taken by the state so far have mostly been limited to mere social supports, which on the one side have helped Romany people to survive, but on the other side have taught them to be fully dependent on the state. These numerous forms of state benefits, which in fact have given Romany people certain convenience and more advantages over the remaining population, resulted in their depreciation by the majority society.

A new principle of civil equality was accepted soon after November 1989. It meant, for instance, that in any equal form associated with social policy no such terms as "Romany", either as a noun or adjective, may be used and any efforts to make selective social analyses would be considered illegal. In addition to that, the registration of the Romany population, which used to be performed by national committees (local authorities), was abolished. Thus, at present, we can find support for our work in random demographic data from the census in 1991, when only less than 33.000 inhabitants reported that they belonged to the Romany population. According to the historian, Jana Horvathova the Romany nationality in our country is formed by 80% of Slovak Romany (Romungro), 10% of Walach Romany (Valachrom) and the remaining 10% Czech and Moravian Romany (also Romungro - which was the original name given to this group of population in the Czechoslovak Republic), Hungarian (Ungrikorom) and German (Sinti) Romany population.

As our schools have not significantly changed their attitudes and approaches to minorities, mainly to the Romany ethnic group, the teachers of the Department of Psychology of the Pedagogical Faculty College of Education) in Usti nad Labem also want to contribute to solving these problems. They are convinced that the sphere of Romany people education is extremely important for the improvement of the position of this minority in society, as well as for increasing self-confidence and strengthening identity of Romany people themselves. For that reason it will be necessary to professionally educate the teaching public, including the post-gradual preparation of teacher trainers.

Nowadays, also representatives of various initiative movements and Romany associations agree that the main problem of the Romany minority is lack of education. They even consider education as the main condition for successful socialisation of Romany citizens. Unfortunately, the ordinary population of this ethnic group has never given any importance, and still does not give any importance, to school education. On the ladder of social needs education is placed far below material values. And therefore being successful at school depends on an important condition: a Romany child must find a positive approach to education. To achieve this, it is necessary to create such conditions and incentives for Romany people in our majority society to be able to acquire education and start to realise its importance.

For that reason we at first decided to monitor the successfulness of Romany pupils by means of a research task: Pedagogical and Psychological Issues of School Success of Romany Pupils. This task was completed in 1997. First we asked a question whether there is a link between Romany children education and their successful results. If we do not take into account the existence of kindergartens, which are, according to statistical data of 1998, attended by a small number of these children (the reasons are mostly economic, i.e. fees paid in kindergartens; also the majority of their parents does not feel the necessity of sending their children to this school), the institution of first contact between Roma children and the majority population is Primary School. Here, the majority of Romany children is, from the start considered as unsuccessful and it is only a question of time when such a pupil is sent to a special institution (Primary Schools are attended roughly by 75 % of all Romany children in the Czech republic).

Thus, it is necessary to create conditions for Romany children, which suit their abilities, knowledge and interests. Their teachers should be equipped with special knowledge and skills important for education of Romany children. Some teachers are still using the same methods, i.e. those applied to mentally retarded children, and they often ignore bilingual and cultural interests.

The program „Starting Together“

In that sense, we would like to turn your attention to the alternative programme called "Starting Together", which can be visited also by children who have no chance of being successful in a traditional school. Romany children are often transferred to special schools on the basis of a standard procedure, i.e. after a special psychological examination, which is performed with consent of children's parents. In some cases the decision to transfer Romany children to special schools is not fully grounded. Special schools should accept only children with a light form of mental retardation (i.e. with IQ ranging approx. between 50-69). The placement of each student in a special school should be preceded by a very carefully performed diagnostic of the level of his/her mental/rational capabilities.

It is not exceptional that some parents of Romany children require that their child should be placed in a special school as they often consider this an easy way of undergoing the obligatory school attendance without realising that they even more reduce their child's possibilities in the future. Not always is this procedure adequate. Psychologists in our country, as well as those in ethnically heterogeneous states, such as the USA, are preoccupied with problems of psychological examination of children from diverse ethnic groups. Their studies showed that results of psychological performance, especially intelligence tests, validated and standardised on white, mainly English-speaking children, had been lower with Black English-speaking and/or with Spanish-speaking children. It is evident that while performing diagnostics of children from diverse ethnic groups, i.e. also Romany children, psychologists must observe, besides basic general principles, also numerous specific rules. This is a problem, which is not connected only with intellectual tests and those of children's performance.

In fact, all attempts to penetrate in the structure and characteristic features of these children's personalities deserve their attention. The first step to increasing the validity of examining ethnically diverse children is to use their primary language, in particular in very early periods of their development. However, we are quite sure that neither the mastering of the child's primary language, nor the mere word by word translation of single words and sentences, will be sufficient. More important is translation into meanings ensuing from life and socio-cultural situations typical for the environment in which these children live (Ferjencik 1991).

Nevertheless, there are Romany children who have to be placed to a special school due to their mental retardation. Also, in these cases the process of their education should be adapted to the need of the Romany ethnic group. The team of the Research Institute of Pedagogy in Prague under the leadership of Iva Svarcova (1995) has elaborated the Alternative Educational Programme for Special Schools. Another contribution to these efforts is the mentioned alternative programme "Starting Together", which is now going through its experimental stage. This programme, supported by the Open Society Fund, has been carried out with consent of the Ministry of Education and Physical Training of the Czech Republic.

As stated above, at present the number of children that have no experience with preparation for school education in kindergartens has been increasing. This results in a reduced possibility of these children to adapt better to the environment of primary school. Now we know that special preparatory classes established at primary schools can help to solve this serious problem. These preparatory classes have existed in the Czech Republic in an experimental form since 1993. Although it is doubtless that these classes should, theoretically, become a supportive tool for the successful entering of Romany children in the process of education, the results of our experience show that this is not always the case. In these cases, reasons must be looked for among Romany children's parents, who do not often show proper interest in this form of preparation. The responsibility, however, is also

with schools – as they do not succeed in finding suitable and convincing arguments that could change a traditionally distrustful and lax approach of these parents.

In spite of all reservations to the existence of preparatory classes, it is necessary to consider this experiment as very important in the system of Romany children education, although these classes are established for all children from socially less favoured families. In each school year, there are open preparatory classes with attendance by nearly 400 pupils. The greatest number of these classes was established in the areas with a more significant Romany representation (i.e. the North Bohemian Region or the North Moravian Region). From 1996-1997 a team of teachers from the Department of Psychology of the College of Education UJEP in Usti nad Labem made a survey of Romany children's preparation efficiency in preparatory classes of local schools. All children who participated in this research (mostly of Romany origin) were immature for being educated in traditional schools. The results of examination with some children did not provide any possibility to eliminate later intellect deficit caused by mental retardation, which is, in our opinion, a result of the bilingual environment and related interference. During the research many children were recommended to visit a speech therapist's care. They were offered, as adequate, attendance of classes oriented towards development of graphic and motor skills and language preparation. The results proved that after attending these preparatory classes the children's performance has considerably improved. Some of the children have even achieved better results than the children in the control group. It is necessary, however, to take into account the fact that Romany children have achieved better results, but their age was on an average 6 years and 8 months while the children in the control group were approximately by one year younger. The selected tested sample has not been too wide either. Thus the team could not generalise these conclusions. Furthermore, the survey was made only in one district.

Also, results of the programme funded by the Open Society Fund Praha (Starting Together) show that co-operation between school and a Romany family is a significant "catalyst" of children's successful results at school. A special position of "family co-ordinator" was established within the framework of this programme. He/she takes care of communication between school and families, and provides care for children in a wider community. His/her main task is to build up trust of these families to the school environment and make them be interested in the process of their children's education. In this case it is necessary to realise that a very positive contribution of the Romany family for the child's personality development is a firm family emotional background, which often represents, for Romany children, the only certainty in the surrounding social environment.

In our country this mentioned project serves educational purposes of children from their birth until 10 years of age, as well as their families, and is co-ordinated by OSF in Prague. The elaboration of this educational reform project and its introducing into life was funded by the Soros Foundation (The Open Society). Among foreign countries that participated in this project have been for example: Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, and Moldavia. The most significant idea of the project is a conviction that children can learn effectively during their play. In child-focused classes children learn by playing. It is important that children should experiment with the materials they can take in their hands – they can touch them, built structures from them, lay with them and disassemble them. In spite of the initial disbelief the teachers who work according to this alternative programme discovered that, as the children take part in the classroom game, they gradually develop all spheres of their personality irrespective of the age group. For that reason this programme also tends to be suitable for working with the Romany children placed in special schools.

The parents' participation at school activity according to such alternative programme as Starting Together is also very important. Family members often visit their children in class, take part in its activities and thus get a feeling of belonging to the programme. They learn to look at their own children and see them in their relations to other children. They learn to understand the development of their children much better and learn more about their teachers, which may also help them respect the teacher's work. It will help them support the process of their children's learning by engaging them in domestic activities. They will also

learn about their children's friends and start long-time friendship relations with other parents. The parents' co-operation is also a great contribution for teachers themselves, as they can work with children individually more often. During that process they learn how parents motivate their children and how they help children solve their problems.

At present we have numerous training centres of this programme in our republic. There are in kindergartens, preparatory classes in Primary Schools and Special Schools. Jan Mattioli the last three years, from 1999 to these days, worked very intensive on the project on education of Romany pupils. The results of the Project, concentrated on the topic of psychological phenomena by intercultural learning.

The aim of our research project was to solve the following problems:

- The development of the teaching strategy, which will be relevant to self-efficacy expectations (ego-potentials) of the Romany pupils at school;
- The conceptualisation of the design is a re-construction of conditions for support of the learning process by Romany pupils at the Basic School.
- Clarifying the role of events in learning and interaction control. Verifying the new strategy at learning in various subjects at Basic School.
- Testing the above mentioned design and teaching material for teachers and pupils' skills.

In the first stage, in some cases, pilot activities had already taken place. The major implication for research was, that the reference-system, self-efficacy expectations the self-concept-control of an individual must be found at the group of 260 Romany children at the age of 10 to 12 years. We used the following methods for searching for and clarifying the facts:

1. Interviewing the children,
2. Finishing sentences,
3. The "Pie-method".

In the "Pie-method" the probants are expected to cut the „apple pie“ into portions. Each of the portion represents one of the below mentioned activities. Children should designate the portions according to their preferences:

- a) The children should express their wishes for adult age;
- b) Their own wishes / what they would like to get;
- c) The most favourite activity;
- d) The activity which they could use to realise their wishes;
- e) Hobbies;
- f) Their ideals, models for behaviour;
- g) Results of their work which are important for other people;

(Navratil and Mattioli 2001, p.13).

Based on results of the first stage, the second stage of the project focused on the development of the self-efficacy expectations strategy teaching material in various subjects and lessons. We analysed the significant factors and their influence upon the learning of Romany pupils and their approaches to problem solving. We concentrated on real learning possibilities, individual characteristics and abilities of pupils. We respected the social behavioural rituals, typical for interaction to Romany children. There is lack of students' preparation for lessons, leisure time spent on the streets, etc.

Our research allows us to make the following conclusions:

The results of the research including the theories represent the new educational dimension for developing systematic structure improvement of the educational process. The system will create the conditions for the support of Romany pupils through the design of highly effective learning activities. The self-efficacy expectations strategy should improve the intrinsic motivation within the learning process. This results from our educational experiment, which we carried out at Basic School at Rudolice – a small village near Most, North Bohemia. The educational experiment was realised in "Elementary Learning" at the 5th grade. The results show that the pupils made great progress and they had a positive attitude to the learning process. These pupils achieved higher level than the control group of the pupils.

The results can serve more purposes, above all, they can be used in teacher training as methodical guide textbooks for teachers, to improve their skills and strategies. The content of this project material and educational method can also be useful to specialists which solve similar projects and problems for effective acting at teacher - pupil interaction by intercultural learning.

Conclusions and Results

The survey of preparation efficiency of Romany children in preparatory classes of Basic Schools showed that all children (mostly of Romany origin) had been immature for being educated in traditional classes. The results of examination with some children did not provide any possibility to eliminate later intellect deficit caused by mental retardation, which is the result of the bilingual environment and the related interference.

The results proved that after attending preparatory classes the children's performance has considerably improved. Some of the Romany children have even achieved better results than the children in the control group. The Romany children were on average at the age of 6 years and 8 months while the children in the control group were approximately one year younger.

The experimental study of Jan Mattioli leads to the conclusion that teacher education programs must include intensive experience in order to provide teachers with the knowledge and skills they need to be successful in helping Romany children at active construction of knowledge in school situations. (Thinking, understanding, reflection, and action are the basic skills that are made use of for characterising active Romany pupils by learning).

The results can serve above all as methodological textbooks for teachers: They will contribute to an improvement of their skills and strategies. The philosophy of multiculturalism should be an integral part of teacher training.

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3. INTERCULTURAL LEARNING IN THE AUSTRIAN SCHOOL CONTEXT, REACHING FROM KINDERGARTEN TO SCHOOLS TO ADULT EDUCATION

The attitude of employees at kindergartens towards mono/bilingual kindergarten children – a survey in Austrian kindergartens

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Introduction

The motivation to do a study about the situation in kindergarten was that we couldn't find clear results on the influence of attending a kindergarten to the performances at school of migrants' children in two studies, carried out at Vienna primary schools (Olechowski et al. 2002, 2004). The kindergarten helps to improve the German language, which is very important at the beginning of primary school (6-year old children). One of our hypothesis was that there is an influence of using the mother-tongue in the kindergarten to the use of the mother-tongue afterwards. This hypothesis couldn't be tested, because only a small number of migrant children receives promotion of their first language in kindergarten.

Therefore it was necessary to get an answer to a very simple research question: Is there any promotion of migrants' languages in Austrian kindergartens, or is German the only language, which is used there?

I will explain, what the term "kindergarten" in Austria means: Children from six month till the age of six, when they start school, can attend a kindergarten. Contrary to "Vorschule" a more academically oriented educational program, which is optional in the last year before regular schooling, kindergarten is a pre-school program with very little academic requirements. Kindergartens are most often in separate buildings and are thus not integrated into the school house. Depending on the age of the children the size of the groups is between 12 and 20 children.

In the kindergarten there are four groups of employees:

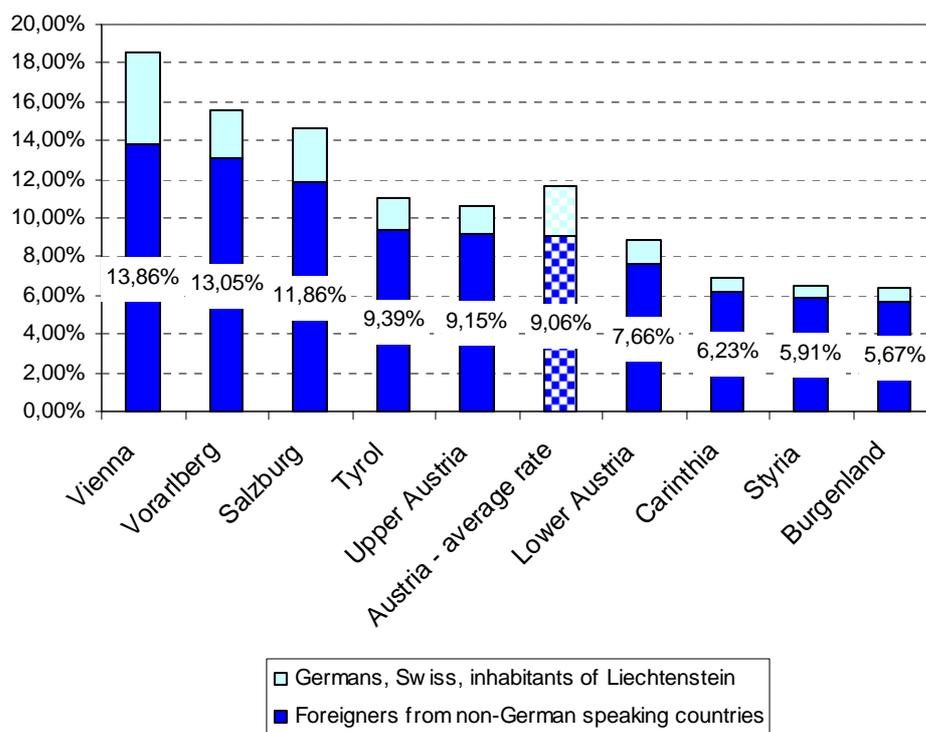
- kindergarten teachers: In Austria they have to attend a higher secondary school, with a duration of 5 years, and they graduate with "Matura" (O-level).
- kindergarten helpers: In theory it is to say that everybody could work as a helper if she or he is interested, in practice the problem is the very low salary. (Besides, this is a general problem in the kindergarten, for all four groups.) There is no education for kindergarten helpers.
- teachers of mother tongues: The term "teachers of mother tongues" means teachers of migrant's languages, mostly Turkish or Serbocroatian, sometimes Polish. The other language is their mother tongue, but it is not necessary to have a special education.
- teachers of foreign languages: In Austrian diction there is a difference between "teachers of foreign languages", which often means English, sometimes French or Italian, and "teachers of mother tongues". Teachers of foreign languages either have done a teacher training in languages or they speak this language in their family.

The situation of migrant children in Austrian kindergartens

The rate of foreigners (people with non-Austrian citizenship) differs in the nine Austrian federal states (*Bundesländer*). The highest percentage is in Vienna – 16.2% – and the lowest in the Burgenland, a small federal state in the South-east of Austria, near Hungary – 4.2% (*Bundesländer-Informationen 1999*).

The first figure shows the percentage of children in the kindergartens. In the school-year 1999/2000 the average rate in whole Austria was approximately 12% foreign children in the kindergarten, 9% with a family background of migration. According to the rate of foreigners the highest percentage of foreign pupils is in Viennese kindergartens (approximately 18% including nearly 14% from families who speak another language than German), the lowest in the Burgenland (approximately 6%, including 5,7% with another family language than German). The rates of the other federal provinces are in between.

Figure 1: Foreign children in Austrian kindergartens (Source: Statistik Österreich 2000)



There is a severe problem with Austrian official statistics. They inquire into citizenship only, and there is no data about the family languages. Therefore, all children with another language than German, whose parents have received the Austrian citizenship, are not included.

The research questions

The aims of the study were

- to get more information about bi/multilingual children in Austrian kindergartens;
- to find out if there is a connection between the general attitude of employees at kindergartens towards mono- or multilingualism and their practice in the daily life at kindergarten;
- to find out if and how the biographical and organisational conditions and the use of specific educational offers have an influence on employees actions or influence each other.

ad 1) Many studies verified a connection has to be assumed between what someone believes and what someone does (for example Aronson, 1992, p.295ff, Markefka 1995, p.61ff or Gogolin 1994, p.112f). This leads directly to hypothesis 1:

Hypothesis 1: There is a connection between the general attitude of employees at kindergartens towards mono- or multilingualism and their actions in the daily life at kindergarten.

ad 2) Only few investigations attend to attitudes towards foreign children in the German speaking area. If there are some, they are more oriented towards cultures than languages. (Unsöld 1978, Feil and Schönhammer 1983, Feil 1988, Diehm and Kodron 1990, Gogolin 1994) As there hardly exist any investigations on teachers' perceptions of bilingual children it is necessary to use a heuristic approach constructing explorative hypotheses.¹⁴

Because monolingual German-speaking employees have different experiences than bi/multilingual employees there was a difference expected in their general attitudes, too. These differences may have an influence on the usage of German or other languages in the daily practice in the kindergarten.

Hypothesis 2: German-speaking employees and bi/multilingual employees are different in their attitude towards languages – in supporting monolingualism on the one hand or multilingualism on the other.

If hypothesis 2 is correct than hypothesis 3 will be tested for each group separately.

Hypothesis 3: There is an intercorrelation between the educational practice in kindergartens – supporting monolingualism versus multilingualism – and some biographical details, the attendance of special trainings and institutional factors.

Design of the study

I used two questionnaires – one for the institution and the other one for the employees. These questionnaires were offered in German, Serbocroatian and Turkish.

Constructing the research instrument I took over some items from the general attitude scale from Gogolin (1994) and created scales to the actions at kindergarten everyday life. Modifying the questionnaires after three pretests and a validation by experts I sent them to the district administrations to pass them in kindergartens, which put the main emphasis on language education. Some of the questionnaires had been brought to selected kindergartens by members of the research group.

Why didn't I choose any kindergartens? Because exclusively persons should be asked who have contact to multilingual pupils or who are interested in the language, in other words, who have experiences in this topic.

From a total number of approximately 1.300 questionnaires I got more than 900 back from the employees and 199 back from the institutions. Because not all were filled in correctly, a total of 845 from the employees and 179 from the institutions could be used for statistical analysis. Unfortunately there were no responses from two federal states (Burgenland, Vorarlberg).

A technical tip: All informations about the statistical procedures, which have been used, are in the endnotes. For the main text it is not necessary to have any statistical knowledge.

Description of the sample

Table 1 shows the number of questionnaires I got back.

Table 1: Sample of kindergartens and employees

¹⁴ Using an explorative design means to have another α -level in the statistical analyses. To minimize the α -error α has been adjusted into $\alpha' = 1 - \sqrt[n]{0,95}$; n=number of statistical procedures) (Bortz 1985, p.321f).

α' of hypothesis 1 (15 configurations) – 1% (very significant): 0,0006698, 5% (significant): 0,00341371

α' of hypothesis 2 and hypothesis 3 (2 configurations) – 1% (very significant): 0,02532057, 5% (significant): 0,00501256.

	Kindergartens	Employees
Vienna	34	177
Lower Austria	11	69
Upper Austria	7	44
Styria	66	282
Carinthia	28	114
Salzburg	12	49
Tyrol	20	82
total	178	817

In the sample the average percentage of children with another language than German was 30%, which is more than twice higher than the Austrian-wide average. That means that the selection of kindergartens with an special emphasis on language has been successful.

The average age of the employees was approximately 37 years and they worked at kindergartens for about 12 years. 91% answered that they are German-speaking, the biggest language groups of the other 9% (n=91) were Serbocroatian, Slovenian and Turkish speaking. 10 people were bilingual, one spoke even three languages.

Grouping of the variables to dimensions

The results of statistical analyses¹⁵ were four dimensions of “general attitudes” and two dimensions of “practices in everyday life”.¹⁶

General attitudes:

- dimension 1: strict preference of German/against any consideration of other languages
- dimension 2: language proficiency and language joy
- dimension 3: disconsertion, if someone uses another language/ascribing lingual deficits to persons, who use another language
- dimension 4: against foreign language or mother tongue support from early on

Practices in everyday life:

- dimension A: support of multilingualism
- dimension B: demand/support of speaking in German

Hypothesis 1:

The following illustration (fig.2) shows the computation of the correlations¹⁷ between all dimensions. In the sense of hypothesis 1 there is a clear positive correlation between the

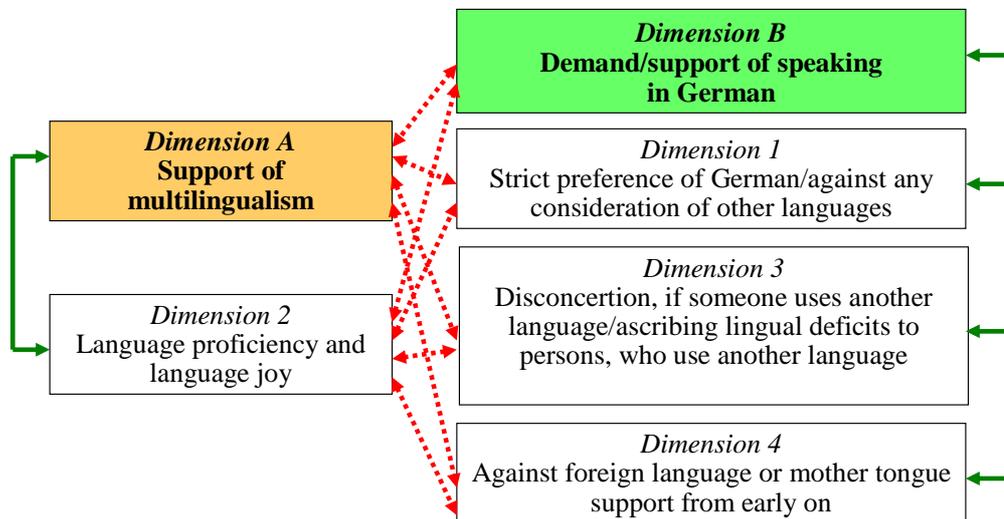
¹⁵ All scales were examined by explorative factor analyses and proved by Rasch-analyses.

¹⁶ General attitudes: dimension 1: 12 items, Cronbach's $\alpha=0,87$; dimension 2: 6 items, Cronbach's $\alpha=0,82$; dimension 3: 6 items, Cronbach's $\alpha=0,71$; dimension 4: 3 items, Cronbach's $\alpha=0,72$; Practice in everyday life: dimension A: 6 items, Cronbach's $\alpha=0,81$; dimension B: 5 items, Cronbach's $\alpha=0,65$.

¹⁷ The connection between the dimensions has been proved by Pearson's correlation coefficient. All correlations are very significant, the highest result is: $p=0,0000000042$. All other results of p are lower.

dimensions 1, 3, 4 and B and between the dimensions 2 and A (green lines). The red lines mean a negative correlation that a high value in one dimension is equivalent to a low value in another dimension.

Figure 2: Correlations between the dimensions



Because all results are very significant hypothesis 1 has to be accepted.

Hypothesis 2:

A comparison between the two groups¹⁸ shows very significant differences, too. While German-speaking employees agree rather to demanding/promoting of German-speaking (near “2”; see fig.3) and reject the support of multilingualism (“1”; see fig.2), the response behaviour of bi/multilingual persons turned around.

Figure 3: Dimension A

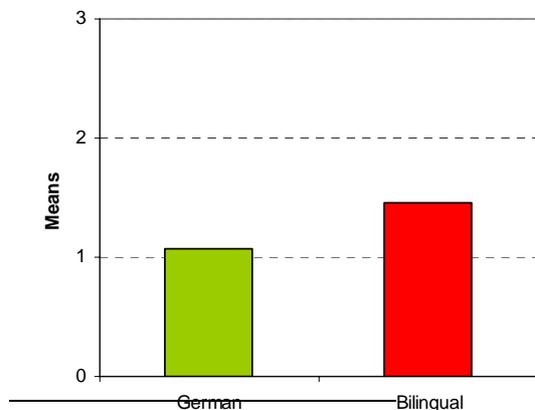
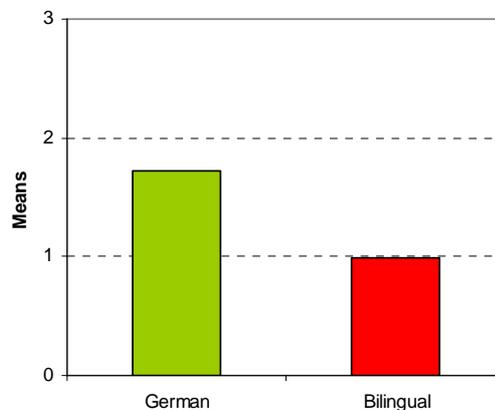


Figure 4: Dimension B



¹⁸ T-test for independent samples: dimension A: p=0,00000063, dimension B: p=0,0000028.

„0“ = I agree to dimension A (or B) completely, „1“ = I agree to dimension A (or B), „2“ = I disagrees with dimension A (or B), „4“ = I disagree with dimension A (or B) completely.

For this reason the computations are accomplished separately into hypothesis 3 for both groups.

Hypothesis 3:

Because of the limited space only a few examples should be presented – the correlation between further education for children with another mother tongue and for foreign language support from early on.¹⁹

Figure 5: Examples of correlations between dimension A and further education – German-speaking employees

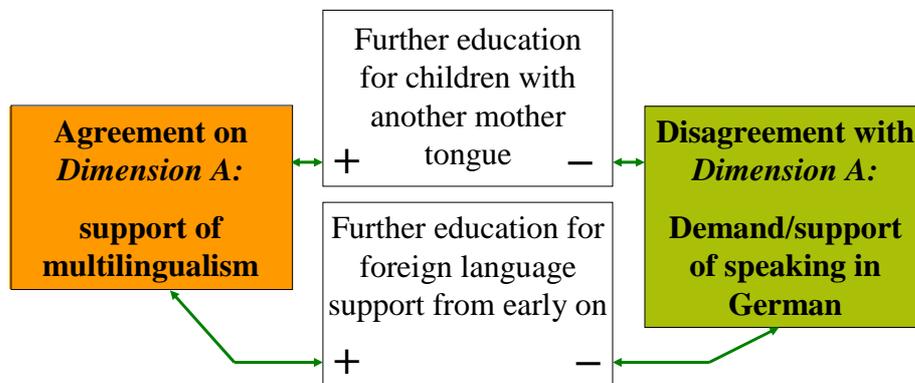
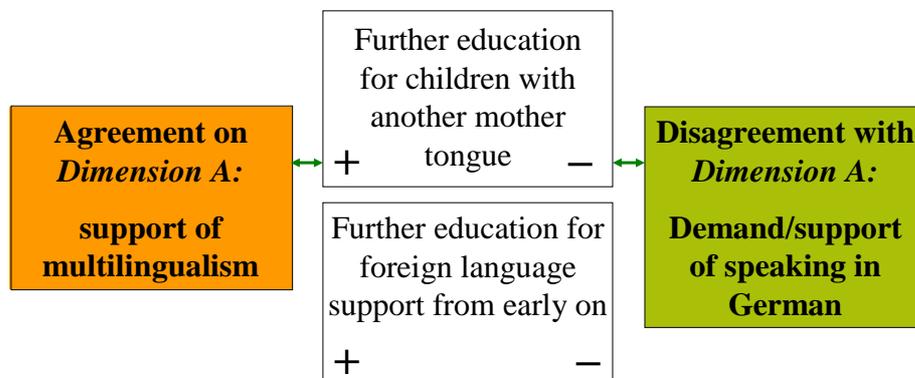


Fig.5 shows the correlations especially for the German-speaking employees. If they have attended further education for both fields (+) than the correlations are positive (green arrows) with dimension A (support of multilingualism), if they don't have any further education (-), than the correlations are negative.

¹⁹ Correlation coefficient Eta: dimension A—further education for children with another mother tongue: $p=0,00003$; dimension A—further education for foreign language support from early on: $p=0,004$.

Figure 6: Examples of correlations between dimension A and further education – bi/multilingual employees



In Fig.6 there are the results of the bi/multilingual employees. Dimension A correlates positive with further education for children with another mother tongue.²⁰ Not any statistical results could be found, if the employees had further education for foreign language support from early on.

Discussion

The represented results of the questionnaire collected in Austrian kindergartens can be summarized as follows:

Hypothesis 1:

A clear connection could be found between the general attitudes towards mono- versus multilingualism (dimensions 1 to 4) and the educational practice in the everyday life in kindergarten (dimensions A and B). Attitudes towards rejecting multilingualism (dimensions 1, 3 and 4) are connected closely with demand/promotion of German-speaking (dimension B), language proficiency and joy in languages (dimension 2) correlated high with supporting measures towards multilingualism (dimension A).

The question is if migrants' children need either promoting German or their mother-tongue? For their successful school career it would be necessary to get both: instruction in German and in the mother-tongue. While German as the school instruction language should be acquired as early as possible the continuous promotion in the first language should not be neglected.

The following two hypotheses must be answered more carefully, because they were formulated in an explorative manner.

Hypothesis 2:

It seems that persons set different educational actions due to their own different language experiences (on the one hand monolingualism versus bi/multilingualism, on the other knowledge of foreign languages: yes or no). Who is used to speak one language only, promotes rather monolingualism than those, who are used to speak more than one language.

Hypothesis 3:

²⁰ Correlation coefficient Eta: dimension A—further education for children with another mother tongue: $p=0,00001$.

In both dimensions of everyday practice (“support of multilingualism” versus “demand/promotion of German-speaking”) as well as in both groups could be found intercorrelations to variables of special training and organizational basic conditions.

The conclusion is that, if the promotion of multilingualism in the kindergarten (and in the educational institutions following on) is seen as an educational and social aim, there are three options to choose:

1. Offering basic and further trainings in language education.
2. Organising smaller groups in the kindergartens.
3. Setting incentives that bi/multilingual children and personnel are integrated into the kindergarten; by that multilingualism could become the everyday experience for everyone.

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Intercultural Learning – Concept and Implementation

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Viennese compulsory schools school statistics

Vienna has always been a haven for migrants. One of the important steps in this development was the Raab-Olah treaty, negotiated between Spain, the former Yugoslavia and Turkey, in an attempt to attract skilled and unskilled workers to Austria.

In 1973, the oil crisis put a stop to these measures. Since then however, Austria, and especially Vienna, has always been one of the main European centres of attraction for migrant labourers.

This fact, of course, has had an effect on the Viennese school system. For the past 20 years, the Vienna Board of Education has been working on remedial measures to support students whose mother tongue is not German.

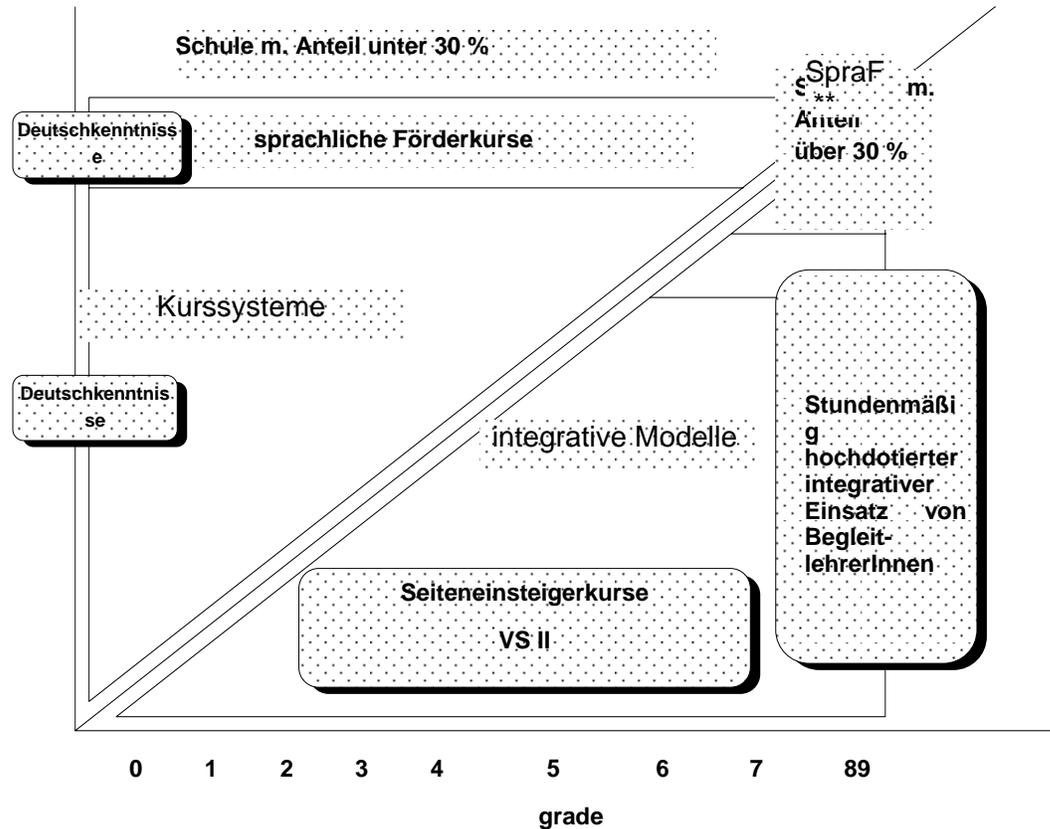
Table 1:

Academic 2003/04	YearNumber of students	of Bilingual	Bilingual %	ex- matricular (AO)	ex- matricular (AO) %	ex-matricular (AO) % of the number of students
VS	64801	27602	42,60%	11065	40,09%	17,08%
HS	34022	16735	49,19%	2370	14,16%	6,97%
SO	3996	1445	36,16%	90	6,23%	2,25%
PTS	3120	1664	53,33%	415	24,94%	13,30%
Total/Average	105939	47446	44,79%	13940	29,38%	13,16%

Table 1 illustrates the situation in Viennese compulsory schools and shows that on average 38% of the students are non-German-speakers in our schools. It is even more impressive when this percentage is expressed in absolute numbers: we are talking about 37 000 children aged between 6 and 15 who perhaps have been born in Austria but who are either bilingual, semi-lingual or who have severe deficits in the German language. Around 10 000 students cannot speak German at all. These students are not graded for up to two years (ex-matricular students /außerordentliche Schüler).

The remedial measures

The remedial measures that have been developed over the past 15-20 years are best shown in the following diagram:



Basically, Vienna has always pursued primarily integrative measures. The main remedial measures, which are not exclusively linguistically-orientated, consisted of partner-teaching in class (immersion programmes) and course systems for those who could not speak German at all (as well as for the school regions where the number of foreign language speakers was too low to justify partner-teaching).

It is important to mention that the Vienna Board Of Education employs 200 native teachers speaking the following languages: Bosnian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Croatian, Hungarian, Polish, Serb, Turkish etc. These teachers are either in partner-teacher functions or hold courses. They guarantee swifter language acquisition in German and also play an important role in supplying cultural background information for all students.

Intercultural learning in the Austrian curricula

Intercultural learning was introduced into the curricula of primary schools (BGBl. 439/1991) and lower secondary schools (Hauptschulen) in 1991. Since then, it has been extended to prevocational schools (Polytechnische Schule) and secondary academic schools (allgemein bildende höhere Schule/Gymnasium).

Generally, "Intercultural Learning" aims at informing about other cultures. It is the process of learning together, of creating mutual understanding, of experiencing together and of modifying cultural values.

Intercultural Learning also has to do with creating interest in cultural diversity in order to prove how enriching and inspiring difference can be (classic multicultural aims).

Intercultural Learning is an important contribution to mutual esteem respectively towards mutual understanding. It builds reflection on commonly shared values and sharpens the mind for prejudice and how to deal with it. Intercultural Learning has genuinely to do with Social Learning and political instruction.

Results Of the field study of the Institute of Ethnology, Cultural and Social Anthropology of the University of Vienna (Binder and Englisch-Stölner 2002)

Social anthropologists of the University of Vienna carried out their research in 1999 in 18 schools in two Austrian federal provinces (Vienna and Lower Austria). They attended lessons in nearly all subjects: Mathematics, German, English, Arts, Science, Geography, History, Music etc.

I will try to summarise some the important facts the research team collected. Aspects of Intercultural Learning are transmitted through the stories and articles that the students read, through etymological reflections (e.g. foreign words like Gymnasium), through learning about different types of music like jazz, blues etc., through history (e.g. the Osmanian Empire), through exhibitions (e.g. exhibition of Iranian art) and so on.

In special cases where there are still strong emotions amongst the ethnic groups in class dealing with topics like the war in Former Yugoslavia is avoided; although there is a number of courageous teachers, who have tackled this topic.

Another important factor is school projects with schools in other countries of the European Union (e.g. school twinning and language trips).

Most teachers do not feel that they have enough cultural competence. There are no in-service training courses. Intercultural Learning is often neglected in the academic studies at the university; whereas Teacher Training Colleges for compulsory school teachers do include it in the curriculum

There is a strong demand for intercultural learning games, as well as pedagogical concepts for handling various situations. Teachers mostly have to develop intercultural orientated worksheets themselves.

The pluri-lingualism that the majority of children have based on their migratory background, is not really recognised. The team also supported measures like partner-teaching or project work. Concrete reflections (apart from fiscal aspects) on how to support the implementation of intercultural projects.

This is not intended as a definition nor is it an approach towards a definition.

This is a list of aspects to bear in mind when implementing an intercultural project. They are based on my personal experience.

- Do not put a certain ethnic or linguistic group in the limelight.
- Allow the theme to be wide enough to allow for differences, common values and ideas for all members of the group.
- Ensure that different interethnic views are represented.
- Ensure the involvement of the authorities from the outset and secure their backing for the project.

- Avoid avoiding stereotypes, prejudice etc. Talk openly about them especially also to the people you carry out a project with (e.g. you do a project with teachers).
- Do not take sides with particular people during the project.
- Try to create a “corporate identity” for all the members involved in the project.
- Try to create a relaxed atmosphere; this is very important.
- Form subgroups with rotating membership; all participants in the project should have the opportunity to talk and work with every one involved.
- Admit to conflicts when they occur; do not try enforce harmony.

What is Intercultural Learning few examples

A definition by Veronika Fischer (1995)

- Intercultural Learning is social learning.
- Intercultural Learning is political education.
- Intercultural Learning is the formation of identity.
- Intercultural Learning is antiracist education.

Mark Taylor’s (1995) approach to a definition is:

"INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE includes

"Technical" skills such as

- Knowledge of the local language and that literal translations of expressions do not necessarily have the same meaning, both emotionally and technically.
- Knowledge of codes of conduct, customs and traditions.
- Personal skills: Reflection on one's role: What is my role as a foreigner, white person, European, German, as a guest who will leave again, as a stranger who attracts certain expectations, as a volunteer?
- Empathy: To feel one's way into foreign norms, rules and priorities, a different attitude to time, space and one's own body.
- Tolerance of ambiguity: Coping with the difference between your own values, feelings, and thinking/behavioural patterns and those of the host culture, coping with the feelings of loneliness and strangeness which result from it.
- Portraying your identity: Being able to show yourself as a stranger with your own background in such a way that it arouses interest, and enriches rather than destroys.
- Auto-reference system: Being aware that your own ideas and values are also culturally determined, and that while they are a part of you, they are not necessarily better (or worse) than those of your host culture.

My own reflections on Intercultural Education (especially at school):

Intercultural Learning in schools

- should include operational cultural manifestations, which allow the individual to merge cultural and heritage elements of his / her background, instead of starting from (supposed) cultural contrasts,

- should create prerequisites where the individual can develop “flexible identities” in the context of an extended pool of identifications and interpretations. Cultural manifestations of norms and values (world view) are a result of the personal socialisation. Intercultural education should encourage personal reflection (without qualification or disqualification or imposition).
- should initiate an objective analysis of the capitalistic means of production as well as to recognise the mechanisms, which form a hierarchical order within the working classes and constantly produce extreme cultural and racist characteristics (cf. WOLF, 1986).
- should encourage the parallel processes of intercultural learning and intracultural learning in the context of becoming familiar with hetero-autonomous ideals of the majority population.
- should not focus in a classroom or teaching context on the diverging cultural manifestations of immigrant children or children from ethnic minorities. This creates an antagonism between “us” and “the others”. The diverging cultural characteristics should be studied in respect to their historical development and compared with heterogeneity of autochthonous cultural characteristics.
- should fundamentally question any attempt to form a hierarchy of cultural manifestation; the question should also be asked what or who is the motivation behind such events.
- Intercultural learning itself is based on constructing a difference or on focussing differences. It is essential, therefore, that this is known and in this context, intercultural learning should be a subject offered to all students.
- Intercultural learning is based on a dynamic personality concept. It points out to developments such as “us-the-group” and “boundaries”. Individuals are not judged exclusively (totally-reduced) as members of ethnic groups, nations etc.
- Intercultural learning is also social learning, because it is constantly conflict-orientated, non-discriminatory and opposes any monopoly of interpretation.
- Intercultural learning takes place in the everyday life of children, young adults and adults.
- As early as possible (i.e. latest at Kindergarten), all learners should have the opportunity, to confront themselves with the divergent cultural manifestations the language of the “others”.

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A Multicultural Perspective on Integrating non-native Speaking Students into the Community in Vienna, Austria and Texas, USA

A preliminary Report

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to give a preliminary report on a research project comparing middle school teachers' perceptions of non-native speaking students in the city of Vienna, Austria, with those of middle school teachers in the state of Texas, USA. The purpose of the project is to determine the effect of integration programs in both school systems in relation to the ways teachers perceive non-native speaking students. In Vienna, the students chosen for this study come from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia (currently the countries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia). In Texas, the students were Mexican immigrants. Research was conducted using narrative interviews to compare the perceptions of teachers in the two different educational systems.

This paper is structured in three parts. First, a short introduction is necessary to explain the reasons why the narrative interview methodology was chosen as the research method in this field. Afterwards, the methods of integrating non-native speaking students into the two separate school systems are described. The last section discusses the importance of multicultural education for all students and the need for improved multicultural training for the teachers.

THE NARRATIVE INTERVIEW: AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO INTERVIEWING

Many research projects that use the more traditional qualitative method are confronted with a large amount of data gathered through interviews, and researchers are often not able to gauge this amount until it is time for the analysis. Then, due to time pressure, the material is often evaluated rather quickly and unsystematically. Another major problem with qualitative interviews is that frequently too much emphasis is placed on the researchers own interpretation, rather than using more objective interpretative methods (Aufenanger 1991).

In contrast, narrative interview gives a possibility to expand the critical character of empirical social sciences. As Spradley says, narrative interviews allow researchers to get „the view of the event out of the event itself“ (Spradley 1979, p.24). In other words, narrative interviews are able to reconstruct a subjective perspective of the occurrence. They underline the perspective of the interviewed rather than the interviewer, and therefore can be seen as a discourse between the speakers instead of a stimulus/response model. As this study seeks to attain an insight into teacher's subjective perceptions of immigrant students, the narrative interview provided the most effective way of capturing teacher's main thoughts and opinions.

The narrative interview shares some features with a friendly conversation, but with some major differences: The interviewer and the informant do not take turns in asking questions, instead the interviewer asks questions and the informant talks about his/her experience. So the main interest lies in certain linguistic symbols that form the belief system of every culture.

These are just some of the issues raised to determine the methodology used in this study. It is now necessary to give a short overview of the Austrian and the US school systems and their approaches to educating non-native speaking students.

EDUCATIONAL MODELS FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKING CHILDREN IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA

The city of Vienna has seen a permanent increase of immigrants from the region now referred to as former Yugoslavia since 1966 and an increase of immigrants from Turkey since 1964. They came to work as labourers or in other blue collar jobs under the status of „guest workers“. The idea was to allow young men to work in Vienna for some years and then to return to their country of origin.

This plan soon fell apart when many of the workers decided to stay and some began relocate their families to Vienna, which created an increase on the non-native speaking population. This caused an increase of demands on the government and the communities primarily to provide health insurance, housing and education for the new immigrants and their children.

The Austrian school system offers nine years of compulsory education, which starts when the children are six years old. After four years of elementary school, students have a choice of two different types of school, either a lower general secondary school (Hauptschule) or a higher one (Gymnasium). After eighth grade, a student has three choices. The first is to attend a vocational school, which is either a school in connection with an apprenticeship (Berufsschule) or a one-year polytechnical school (Polytechnische Schule); the second is a business school (Handelsakademie or Handelsschule); and the third is an upper level academic secondary school (Realgymnasium).

Immigrant children are typically found in lower general secondary school. They make up 32% of the students in elementary schools and 40% in the lower general secondary schools (Weidinger, 2000). Because these schools were the first to be confronted with non-native speaking students, they were also the first to develop a program to deal with this situation. Many multicultural school models can be found in these types of compulsory schools. If the number of non-native speakers in the classroom is less than 30% then a more supportive model will be used depending on the grade level. For instance, in elementary schools, the aim is to integrate all students into the regular time schedule as soon as possible. The pupils remain in their classes and either specialist teachers are brought into the classroom or students are pulled out for a couple of hours. These regulations are used throughout Vienna as well as in other urban areas of Austria.

EDUCATIONAL MODELS FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKING CHILDREN IN TEXAS, USA

Between 1965 and 1994, the percentage of the foreign born population in the USA rose from 5% to 8,5%. In Texas, this segment of the population made up to 12,2% percent of the population in 2000. Additionally, there is a percentage of 17% of 5 to 24 year olds

who speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Department of Commerce, Current Population Survey, December 2002).

Since immigrants constitute more than one fourth of the growth of the national labour force, their preparation for work is very important. Up to the level of middle school, immigrants are nearly as likely to be enrolled in school as natives in the same age group (Vernez and Abrahamse 1996). Immigrant children who enter the country after the age of 15, particularly those of Hispanic origin, are less likely to enter the US school system.

There are two prevalent methods used in the USA for the education of non-native speaking children. The first is an ESL program, which is English as a second language. Children in this program are taught all subjects in English with other non-native speakers, before gradually being moved into mainstream classes. The second prevalent model is the bilingual program, where immigrant children are taught a large proportion of their school subjects, such as Mathematics and Science, in their native language, which in Texas is primarily Spanish.

ROLE OF EDUCATION IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

The middle school age group was chosen for this study because it is at this time that non-native speaking pupils are mostly integrated into mainstream classes. Socialization is one of the primary purposes of school and the educational system of any country. The education system cannot exist in a vacuum and must to some extent reflect the benevolence and malevolence of the society at large.

Despite the need for people from diverse backgrounds to get along, intercultural communication is made difficult by pervasive discrimination, stereotyping, and distrust. For example, in Texas, most immigrant students from Mexico were embarrassed to say where they were from, while in Vienna many immigrant students only feel accepted once they receive the Austrian citizenship as I found out during my interviews.

A multicultural education should emphasize the similarities and differences existing from one culture to the next. Prejudices about certain ethnic groups should be dispelled and pupils should be taught not to judge people based on learned stereotypes. In Vienna, for example, many of the female Muslim students are made fun of for continuing to wear the traditional head scarf. Teachers in Texas told me that many of the immigrant students from Mexico are called „wet backs“ by other pupils, a pejorative term for a recent immigrant who were seen to have just crossed over the Rio Grande, the border separating the US and Mexico.

When students feel respected, they begin to feel better about themselves. Once they feel better about themselves, they are then able to feel better about others. Therefore a great emphasis should be placed on educating teachers about the diversity of their students, and on developing a curriculum that is more relevant for the pupil's cultural background. Teachers should also be helped to develop a cognitive flexibility that allows them to help pupils to find their preferred learning styles. By doing so, the gap between theory and practice in multicultural education will be reduced.

Attention needs to be drawn to the necessity of preparing students from different ethnic groups to live in a culturally pluralistic society. Experts have shown that in a diverse society it is important to accept other life styles and ways of socialization.

However, it is also important that individuals are free to retain their own ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Teachers in both Texas and Vienna told me that if they had a multicultural dance festival or song contest at their school, most of the pupils were

enthusiastic participants, particularly the non-native students, because it provided the opportunity to share their own culture.

Multicultural education can also enhance positive awareness of different ethnic cultures by utilizing diversity to assist changing stereotypes and prejudices. An understanding of the different historical experiences of each cultural group can be of tremendous value. Systems of education between people of different ethnic backgrounds can also be used to facilitate the interactions between teachers and students.

Additionally, more training is needed to give teachers the tools and skills to discuss issues related to human diversity and multiculturalism. Once teachers feel comfortable talking about the different ethnic issues, they can start discussions about the attitude of the dominant culture, which can widen the perceptions of both students and teachers of different cultural, ethnical, and gender issues. For example, when teachers in Vienna were asked if they were bothered by student's wearing head scarfs, they agreed. But during the conversation became clear that a lot of them have not put a lot of thought into the religious or ethnic background of the immigrant students which is important because members of various ethnic groups follow different customs regarding the head scarf. This study points to a need for more sensitive training to help teachers to incorporate multicultural issues in their main topic areas. This can help develop an awareness of biased material.

Multicultural consciousness should be an important part of the curriculum. Teachers need more training to see how multicultural perspectives can fit into existing systems. The simple reflection of different cultural images is not enough. Instead, we must also carefully examine existing stereotypes in order to work more effectively toward an integrated, yet culturally diverse, classroom.

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Antirassistische Pädagogik in Österreich:

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Einleitend:

Rassismus ist ein gesellschaftliches Phänomen, das in verschiedenen Ausformungen entgegnetritt. Maßgebliche Kreise dieser Gesellschaft sind an der Reproduktion dieser Ideologie bewusst oder unbewusst beteiligt. Es stellt sich daher die Frage, ob wie bei vielen anderen gesellschaftlichen Misständen (Drogenmissbrauch, etc.) ausgerechnet die Schule der richtige Ort ist, gegen diese Ideologie vorzugehen, ob dem Problem durch eine Pädagogisierung beizukommen ist oder ob es sich hierbei lediglich um Alibiaktionen handelt. Ich glaube zwar, dass dieser immer wieder erhobene Einwand durchaus seine Berechtigung hat, uns aber nicht davon entbindet, gemeinsam mit Schülerinnen und Schülern an unseren Verstricktheiten im institutionellen und strukturellen Rassismus und an unseren eigenen Vorurteilen zu arbeiten. Das heisst, besser zu verstehen, warum wir gewisse Bilder im Kopf haben, wie und warum sie dorthin gekommen sind und warum wir Verschiedenheit so schwer aushalten, ohne Ungleichheit daraus zu machen.

Ich plädiere daher für eine antirassistische Pädagogik – und zwar als Praktiker, der sich durch die Mühen der Ebene die Sicht auf die Theorie nicht verstellen lassen will. Antirassistische Pädagogik hatte in Österreich noch nicht viele Möglichkeiten, sich zu etablieren, weder in der Praxis noch in der Theorie. Was in einem Land, wo Ungleichheit aufgrund von Herkunft in dutzenden Gesetzen festgeschrieben ist, auch nicht weiter verwunderlich ist.

Von der Ausländerpädagogik zum Interkulturellen Lernen

Ähnlich wie in der BRD liegen die Wurzeln einer antirassistischen Pädagogik in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Bedürfnissen der Kinder von ArbeitsmigrantInnen. Die „Ausländerpädagogik“, der 1970er Jahre, stand einerseits unter dem Gesichtspunkt die sogenannten Defizite der Migrantenkinder und ihre Anpassung an die Regelschule zu gewährleisten. Andererseits wurde sie von der Idee geleitet, dass die SchülerInnen wieder in die Herkunftsländer ihrer Eltern zurückkehren würden. Vom Schulsystem selbst wurde keine Anpassungsleistung verlangt. Interkulturelles Lernen setzte sich als Konzept erst dann durch, als klar war, dass die MigrantInnen, die als temporäre Arbeitskräfte geholt worden waren, mit ihren Familien in Österreich bleiben würden.

Die Überlegung, die dem Konzept des Interkulturellen Lernens zu Grunde liegt, ist die Einsicht, dass es in einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft für alle Gruppen notwendig und gewinnbringend sei, sich mit anderen Kulturen auseinanderzusetzen. Die Konzepte klingen vielversprechend: So soll der Existenz einer sprachlich, kulturell und ethnisch heterogenen Gesellschaft auch in den Schulen Rechnung getragen werden. Adressaten sollen nicht nur die MigrantInnen sondern alle Mitglieder einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft sein.

Im Schuljahr 1991/92 wurde „Interkulturelles Lernen“ schließlich zum Unterrichtsprinzip erhoben. Im derzeit gültigen Lehrplan der Hauptschule heißt es dazu: *„Interkulturelles Lernen beschränkt sich nicht bloß darauf, andere Kulturen kennen zu lernen. Vielmehr geht es um das gemeinsame Lernen und das Begreifen, Erleben und Mitgestalten kultureller Werte. Aber es geht auch darum, Interesse und Neugier an kulturellen Unterschieden zu wecken, um nicht nur kulturelle Einheit, sondern auch Vielfalt als wertvoll erfahrbar zu machen. Durch die identitätsbildende Wirkung des Erfahrens von Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden der Kulturen, insbesondere in ihren alltäglichen Ausdrucksformen (...) sind die SchülerInnen zu Akzeptanz, Respekt und gegenseitiger Achtung zu führen“* (BGBl. II Nr. 134/200)

Die Praxis sieht leider oft anders aus: In einer Besprechung im Rahmen unseres Projekts „Schule ohne Rassismus“, an einer Wiener Hauptschule beschwerten sich SchülerInnen aus dem ehemaligen Jugoslawien, dass die Turnlehrerin eine muslimische Schülerin aufforderte, ihr Kopftuch abzulegen, da „wir ja in einer abendländischen Kultur, leben.

Außerdem stellt sich die Frage, ob die Fokussierung auf *Kultur* beziehungsweise auf „unterschiedliche Kulturen“, nicht zu einer Verstärkung von den aktuellen Rassismen zugrunde liegenden Vorstellungen von Kultur führen.

Der Europarat ging schon 1992 wesentlich weiter. Gefordert wurde ein „Erziehungssystem, das Teil einer zusammenhängenden globalen Politik ist, in der das wirtschaftliche, rechtliche, politische und soziale System die gleiche Zielsetzung haben: die rechtliche Chancengleichheit für die Individuen und die Gemeinschaften,“. Von Chancengleichheit für alle ist die österreichische Gesellschaft weit entfernt und die Schule kann durch „Pädagogisierung“, die aus der gesetzlich festgeschriebenen Ungleichheit ergebenden sozialen Problemen nicht lösen. Solange sich migrantische SchulabgängerInnen auf Jobsuche vor verschlossenen Türen wiederfinden, nutzt ihnen weder „wechselseitiges Verstehen“, noch „Neugier an kulturellen Unterschieden“.

Hier setzt auch die Kritik an dem Modell des Interkulturellen Lernens an. Es kann kaum etwas zu einer grundlegenden Änderung rassistischer Denk- und Handlungsweisen auf struktureller Ebene beitragen. Die Frage der Machtverhältnisse zwischen „Schwarz,“ und „Weiß,“ werden konsequent ausgeklammert. Interkulturelles Lernen kommt in die Gefahr, sich in der Rolle des sozialtechnischen Reparaturbetriebs wiederzufinden, der für die vordergründige Harmonisierung gesellschaftlicher Widersprüche zuständig ist. Darüber hinaus wird (zumindest in der Umsetzung) meist von einem statischen Kulturbegriff ausgegangen. Indem man die Kategorie der Kultur zur Beschreibung sozialer Verhältnisse benutzt, werden die zur Diskriminierung benutzten Unterscheidungen der ethnischen Herkunft bestärkt.

Es soll aber dem IKL keinesfalls sein emanzipatorisches Potential abgesprochen werden. Es wirkt dem Druck zur Homogenisierung entgegen, und stellt durch seinen Blick auf den vorhandenen und notwendigen Pluralismus einen Beitrag gegen den Nationalismus – als Ideologie der Einheitlichkeit – dar.

Noch etwas zu einem Begriff, den ich immer wieder abwehren muss: Toleranzpädagogik. Wir sprechen bewusst nicht von Toleranz, weil Toleranz etwas ist, was die Mehrheit, die Mächtigen, der Minderheit, den Unterlegenen, gewährt. Nach dem Motto: „Sie sollen sich anpassen – dann werden wir sie dulden.“ Es kann also nicht um Toleranz, sondern nur um Respekt gehen. Auch setzt sich erst langsam die Erkenntnis durch, dass Probleme mit Rassismus nicht an das Vorhandensein von MigrantInnen

gebunden sind. Rassismus ist ein Problem der Mehrheitsbevölkerung. Es gibt kein „Ausländerproblem“, sondern ein Rassismus-problem.

Es sei mir an dieser Stelle eine kurze Bemerkung erlaubt, warum wir im Allgemeinen nicht von „Fremdenfeindlichkeit“, sondern von „Rassismus“, sprechen. Es handelt sich erstens nicht nur um Ressentiments gegen „Fremde“, weil ja BritInnen, US-AmerikanerInnen, JapanerInnen oder TouristInnen im Allgemeinen durchaus beliebt sind. Die Feindlichkeit richtet sich vielmehr gegen bestimmte als homogen und minderwertig oder bedrohlich konstruierte Gruppen wie „TürkInnen“, „SchwarzafrikanerInnen“, oder „MuslimInnen“.

Außerdem muss sich Rassismus nicht unbedingt in feindlichen Einstellungen oder Handlungen manifestieren. Es gibt auch durchaus so etwas wie einen zumindest scheinbar „positiven Rassismus“, wenn es zum Beispiel heißt: Afrikaner hätten den Rhythmus „im Blut“, oder wären von „Natur aus“, besonders gute Sportler oder Liebhaber. „Scheinbar positiv“, weil sich hinter der Hervorhebung von positiv bewerteten Eigenschaften (deren „Naturalisierung“, ein Merkmal für Rassismus ist) z.B. die Abwertung des Intellekts dieser Gruppe verbirgt. (Kalpaka/Räthzel 1990)

Rassismus dient der Selbst- als auch der Fremddefinition. Er hilft die eigene Position zu bestimmen und die Welt zu ordnen. Er bietet einfache Antworten auf viele offene Fragen und löst Probleme und Spannungen, die ganz andere Ursachen haben als den Kontakt mit „Fremden“. Rassismus legitimiert Herrschaft und Ungleichbehandlung. Das beginnt mit dem Kolonialismus zu dessen Rechtfertigung die unterworfenen Menschen zu „minderwertigen Rassen“, die Europäer zu „Herrenmenschen“, konstruiert wurden. Zuletzt wurde und wird durch rassistische Konstruktionen die Ausbeutung und Ausschließung von „Gastarbeitern“, und „Illegalen“, legitimiert. Rassismus schafft ein Kriterium, das nicht auf Verdienst und Leistung beruht und so ungerechte Strukturen rechtfertigt. Je stärker in unserer auf Leistung und Nützlichkeit beruhenden Gesellschaft für das Individuum die Kluft zwischen dem gesellschaftlichen Ideal und der Wirklichkeit (persönliches Versagen, oder zumindest die Angst davor) auseinanderklafft, desto größer ist der Bedarf sich über Ausgrenzung selbst in die idealisierte Gemeinschaft hineinzudefinieren. Schließlich werden Privilegien, die man (v.a. als weißer Mann) anderen Menschen gegenüber genießt, abgesichert, indem man sie als „normal“, behauptet.

Antirassistische Pädagogik

„‘Rasse‘ ist ein Ergebnis des Rassismus und nicht dessen Voraussetzung“ (Cohen P. zit. nach „Mit anderen Augen. Neuer Rassismus in Europa“, CD-Rom Wien 1996)

Antirassistische Pädagogik vor dem Hintergrund der konkreten Situation an Österreichischen Schulen und der politischen Situationen in diesem Lande ist heute mehr denn je eine Gratwanderung: Eine Gratwanderung zwischen Empowerment von diskriminierten Gruppen und dem Versuch, die Einteilung in Gruppen entlang ethnischer Zugehörigkeiten zu dekonstruieren, zwischen Kritik an Gesetzen und Behördenpraxis und hierarchischen Schulstrukturen, zwischen den Gefahren multikulturalistischer Folklore und Scheinharmonie und dem Fördern einer verschütteten Neugierde auf das „Fremde“. Es kommt dabei darauf an, ob man am Land oder in der Großstadt, ob man in Schulen mit vielen MigrantInnen oder an rein „weißen/eingeborenen“, Schulen arbeitet, ob LehrerInnen und SchülerInnen für das Thema sensibilisiert sind oder die Strukturen

an der Schule dem gesellschaftlichen Mainstream entsprechen. Sparmaßnahmen im Bildungsbereich und die Gegenwehr der Lehrerschaft erschweren zur Zeit Projekte.

Antiessentialistisch

Entgegen einer weitverbreiteten Meinung, sind Konflikte entlang von Herkunft und ethnischer Zugehörigkeit unter Jugendlichen im Schulalltag eher die Ausnahme als die Regel. Antirassistische Bildungsarbeit muss sich davor hüten, bei den eigenen Bestrebungen Rassismus zu bekämpfen, diesen zu reproduzieren, indem die Einteilung von Menschen entlang von „ethnischen„ Grenzen als gegeben hingenommen wird. Vielmehr muss klar gemacht werden, dass Kultur und Identität nicht als homogen verstanden werden dürfen, sondern flexibel, temporär und vielschichtig in sich gebrochen sind. Antirassistische Arbeit muss, wie der britische Pädagoge Phil Cohen (Cohen 1994) es ausdrückt, auf der „Anerkennung der widersprüchlichen und in sich gebrochenen Aspekte gesellschaftlicher Identität„ beruhen. Es ist daher auch nicht sinnvoll, stets unter dem Motto „Antirassismus„ zu segeln.

Jugendliche befinden sich in einer Phase der Identitätsfindung, in der oft mangelndes Selbstwertgefühl und die Erfahrung von Ohnmacht durch die Abwertung des vermeintlich Anderen kompensiert wird. Es geht andererseits bei antirassistischer Pädagogik auch um die Stabilisierung von Identität, auch darum, den Jugendlichen Mittel an die Hand zu geben, ihr Leben für sich und ihre Bedürfnisse so zu gestalten, dass ein Rückgriff auf „Gewissheiten„ einer Ideologie der Ungleichheit und Ausgrenzung nicht mehr notwendig ist. (Himmelbauer 1996) Wir müssen vermitteln, dass Rassismus nicht Stärke ist, sondern „entmächtigt„. Antirassistische Pädagogik will dazu beitragen, rassistische Ausgrenzung und ihre Ursachen und Strukturen zu erkennen – mit dem Ziel diese Zustände zu ändern.

Strukturelle und institutionelle Rassismen

Wichtig ist es die alltäglichen Formen von Ausgrenzung zu thematisieren, die Verstricktheit jedes Mitglieds unserer Gesellschaft in eine Geschichte von Kolonialismus, Rassismus, Nationalsozialismus und europäischem Überlegenheitsdünkel sichtbar zu machen. Antirassistischer Pädagogik geht es nicht um eine oberflächliche Symptombekämpfung, sondern muss sich mit Ursachen und Wurzeln des Rassismus beschäftigen. Antirassistische Erziehung ist ohne Einsicht in den systembedingten Charakter rassistischer Gewalt nicht möglich. Ziel pädagogischer Bemühungen kann es nicht sein, individuelles Verhalten zu unterdrücken oder zu verbessern, sondern Einblick in Ausgrenzungsmechanismen zu erhalten und diese zu verändern.

Eine solche Vorgabe bringt antirassistische Pädagogik natürlich in Konflikt mit staatlicher Politik, ist doch die staatliche Ausgrenzungspraxis gegen MigrantInnen und Flüchtlinge der wichtigste Kristallisationspunkt, um den ein „fremdenfeindliches Meinungsklima„ erzeugt wird. Es geht nicht darum, „schuldhaftes„ Verhalten Einzelner zu bekämpfen, sondern Strukturen und Funktionen von Rassismus, Vorurteilen und Ausgrenzung erkennbar zu machen. Viele Lehrer konzentrieren sich im Unterricht auf Extremformen des Rassismus wie die NS-Herrschaft, das südafrikanisch Apartheidregime oder die Sklavenhaltergesellschaften des US-amerikanischen Südens. Historisierung und Beschäftigung mit Extremformen schaffen allerdings Distanz. Wichtig ist auf Alltagsrassismus, strukturelle und institutionelle Rassismen und die eigene Verstricktheit darin abzielen.

Methodenvielfalt

Es gibt unter den vielen Ansätzen antirassistischer Praxis sicherlich keinen „einzig richtigen,“. Wir plädieren daher für Methodenvielfalt, solange diese Methoden auf moralische Appelle und Schuldzuweisungen verzichten und bestehende Ungleichheiten nicht verstärken, sondern die willkürliche Einteilung von Menschen entlang von „ethnischen,“ oder „kulturellen,“ Grenzen grundlegend in Frage stellen. Für die Methoden bedeutet das, dass Frontalunterricht, Vorträge u.ä. nur ergänzend zum Einsatz kommen. Wichtig ist es, aus und mit den Erfahrungen der SchülerInnen und Schüler zu arbeiten.

Es ist manchmal schwierig, das Thema Rassismus an die SchülerInnen zu bringen, wenn es von LehrerInnen kommt. Jugendliche passen sich, bedingt durch das Machtgefälle zwischen LehrerInnen und SchülerInnen, manchmal zwar äußerlich an und zeigen sozial gewünschtes Verhalten, ohne demokratische Haltungen und Einsichten zu entwickeln. Die hierarchischen Verhältnisse in der Schule bleiben oft ein schwer zu überwindendes Hindernis und gefährden den Erfolg von antirassistischen Projekten. Dagegen stellen aktive Beteiligungsprojekte gleichberechtigte Reflexionsarbeit an den Verstrickungen in rassistische Diskurse in den Mittelpunkt. Projektunterricht oder zumindest eine kontinuierliche Beschäftigung mit den Themen Identität, Differenz und Diskriminierung ist notwendig, um soziale Kompetenz zu erhöhen, Eigenständigkeit zu fördern und Modelle von Konfliktbearbeitung zu erproben.

Projektunterricht, eigenständige Recherche, die Auseinandersetzung mit den eigenen Lebensräumen, Rollenspiele, Theaterpädagogik und die konkrete Arbeit an Konflikten und diskriminierenden Strukturen sollten unserer Meinung nach im Mittelpunkt antirassistischer Pädagogik stehen. In den USA und auch in etlichen europäischen Ländern gibt es zudem vielversprechende Erfahrungen mit „peer education“.

Die LehrerInnen

Erste Adressaten einer antirassistischen Pädagogik an den Schulen müssen natürlich die LehrerInnen sein. Mir ist keine Untersuchung über rassistische Einstellungen bei dieser Berufsgruppe bekannt, anzunehmen ist aber, dass diese nicht wesentlich von denen der Gesamtbevölkerung abweichen werden (15 Prozent mit klar rassistischer Einstellung, weitere 30 Prozent, die zumindest teilweise – und meist unbewusst – rassistische Vorstellungen reproduzieren). Antirassistische Pädagogik müsste also fester Bestandteil der LehrerInnen Aus- und Fortbildung sein. Wobei schon einiges getan wäre, wenn AHS LehrerInnen überhaupt mehr pädagogisches Rüstzeug vermittelt würde und den Schulen mehr Raum für soziales, Lernen, Projektunterricht, Demokratieerziehung etc. vorhanden wäre.

Nur wenn die LehrerInnen offen mit dem Thema Rassismus umzugehen gelernt haben, eigene Erfahrungen gemacht haben und gewisse theoretische Grundlagen und ein Wissen über die Gesetzeslage in Österreich und Europa besitzen, können sie hier etwas weitergeben. Das heißt nicht, dass diese Prozesse der Aneignung von Wissen und Erfahrungen nicht auch gemeinsam mit SchülerInnen stattfinden können. Ich muss aber ehrlich sagen, dass die real existierende Schule nicht wirklich ein sehr geeigneter Raum für solche Prozesse ist.

Schulen verstehen sich bisweilen immer noch als nationale Institutionen, die ihre Aufgabe darin sieht, patriotisches Bewußtsein und Identifikation mit dem Nationalstaat

zu fördern. Zudem ist die Schule, wie der britische Pädagoge Gus John (1991) bemerkt, ein undemokratisches Machtgefüge, das Lebensumstände und Milieu der SchülerInnen oft nicht ernst nimmt. (Himmelbauer 1996)

Hinderlich für antirassistische Projekte sind nicht nur die verbreitet ablehnende oder ambivalente Haltung von LehrerInnen oder Schulleitung. Auch engagierte LehrerInnen können mit Überbetonung auf rationale Argumente und Verurteilung von Rassismus durch Appelle an Vernunft oder Gewissen bei den SchülerInnen massive Widerstände hervorrufen.

Angstfreies Lernen

Rassismus hat viel mit Ängsten und Unsicherheiten zu tun, Unsicherheiten denen nicht dadurch begegnet werden kann, dass dem „bösen“, Rassismus eindeutig „gute“, Bilder gegenübergestellt werden, sondern dass es möglich wird Indifferenz auszuhalten. Wichtig ist es, in einer angstfreien Atmosphäre möglichst unter freiwillig gewählten Bedingungen zu arbeiten. Nur so können Ängste formuliert und auf die eigenen Bilder und Erfahrungen eingegangen werden. Notwendig ist dazu trotz einer klaren Position prinzipielle Offenheit zu bewahren. Georg Auernheimer schreibt dazu: „Die deutliche Mißsbiligung von rechtsextremen oder speziell rassistischen Äußerungen sollte man nicht mit der Ablehnung der Person verknüpfen, so schwer es manchmal fallen mag. Die Schüler sollen sich nach wie vor akzeptiert fühlen.“ (nach Himmelbauer 1996)

Also ganz wichtig: kein moralischer Zeigefinger, kein Ausspielen der Überlegenheit bei Faktenwissen und Argumentation.

Ein Beispiel aus der Praxis: *Schule ohne Rassismus*

Das Projekt wurde in den 1980er Jahren in Belgien entwickelt und hat sich seither auch in der den Niederlanden, BRD und Spanien etabliert. 1998 wurde *Schule ohne Rassismus* von der ARGE Jugend gegen Gewalt und Rassismus in Graz nach Österreich geholt. Ein Jahr später stieg die *asylkoordination österreich* als Projektträger für Ostösterreich ein.

Im Mittelpunkt des Projektes steht die aktive Beteiligung der SchülerInnen. Es wird kein pädagogischer Zeigefinger erhoben, kein Lehrer diktiert, was zu tun ist, sondern die einzelnen Schulklassen müssen selbst die Verantwortung übernehmen, wie sie das Projekt gestalten wollen.

Zielsetzungen:

- Sensibilisierung von SchülerInnen für alle Formen von Diskriminierung und Rassismus
- Förderung des Engagements von SchülerInnen gegen Diskriminierung und für Integration und Chancengleichheit
- Förderung humaner und demokratischer Denk- und Handlungsmuster bei SchülerInnen
- Qualifizierung von SchülerInnen und LehrerInnen
- Nachhaltiger Abbau von Rassismus, Diskriminierung und Gewalt in unserer Gesellschaft

In einem offenen demokratischen Prozess entscheiden sich die Klassen nach eingehender Information durch die Projektträger ob sie bei **Schule ohne Rassismus** mitmachen wollen.

Als Einstieg wird SchülerInnen, die sich besonders für das Projekt engagieren wollen, ein mehrtägiges kick-off-Seminar angeboten. Dabei geht es einerseits um die Sensibilisierung für Rassismus und Diskriminierung und die Vermittlung grundlegender Kenntnisse aus den Bereichen Rassismus- und Vorurteilsforschung, Migrations- und Asylwesen, andererseits um die konkrete Planung des Projekts an der jeweiligen Schule. Jede Projekt-Klasse kann aus einem breiten Angebot aus Rollenspielen, Workshops, Vorträgen, Projektideen, Ausstellungen – wir bezeichnen diese Elemente als Module – im Ausmaß von acht Unterrichtseinheiten auswählen. Darüber hinaus verpflichten sich die LehrerInnen sechzehn Unterrichtseinheiten pro Klasse dem Thema Diskriminierung/Rassismus zu widmen.

Schule ohne Rassismus bietet Module verschiedener Organisationen, Initiativen und ReferentInnen an und leistet so auch einen Beitrag zur Vernetzung antirassistischer Bildungs- und Jugendarbeit. Eine Steuergruppe bestehend aus SchülerInnen, LehrerInnen und den Projektträgern ARGE bzw. asylkoordination koordiniert das Projekt während des gesamten Schuljahres. Am Jahresende werden im Rahmen einer öffentlichen Präsentation die Projektklassen mit dem Zertifikat Schule ohne Rassismus ausgezeichnet.

ARGE und asylkoordination bieten den LehrerInnen für die Gestaltung ihrer Unterrichtseinheiten umfangreiche Materialien, Beratung und Unterstützung.

Es stellte sich bei der Evaluierung unserer Arbeit heraus, dass der Meinungsbildungsprozess in den Klassen im Projektverlauf eine ganz zentrale Rolle einnimmt. Oft konnten sich die Befürworter des Projekts nur sehr schwer durchsetzen und sie waren gefordert, überzeugende Argumentationslinien zu entwickeln, um ihre Mitschüler/innen zu überzeugen. In sehr intensiv geführten Diskussionen mit den Schüler/innen und Lehrer/innen kamen auch immer wieder die grundlegenden Probleme mit der Projektarbeit in der Institution Schule zur Sprache. So können die beschränkten Mitbestimmungsmöglichkeiten von Schüler/innen und die immer noch starren Hierarchien bei der Projektarbeit nicht einfach ignoriert werden. Es gehört aber zu den demokratiepolitisch wichtigen Zielen von **Schule ohne Rassismus**, dass solche Probleme zumindest offen diskutiert werden können und das Projekt auch zu einem besseren gegenseitigen Verständnis beiträgt. Auch Konflikte, die nicht Rassismus im engeren Sinn betreffen (wie z.B. Sexismus), kamen im Verlauf der Arbeit und der begleitenden Gespräche auf den Tisch und konnten zum Teil durch größere Gesprächsrunden, durch theaterpädagogische Interventionen oder durch den Einsatz von spezialisierten Referent/innen bearbeitet werden.

Wie kann eine Schule eine Schule ohne Rassismus werden?

1. Kontaktaufnahme mit einem der Projektträger
2. Informationsgespräch
3. Entscheidung der Schule, am Projekt teilzunehmen
4. Einrichtung einer Steuergruppe an der Schule bestehend aus Schüler/innen, LehrerInnen und einem/r Vertreter/in des Projektträgers

5. Umsetzung: Mindestens 16 Unterrichtseinheiten und 8 zusätzliche Module pro Klasse und Schuljahr zum Thema Rassismus/Ausgrenzung
6. Präsentation und Verleihung des Zertifikats **Schule ohne Rassismus**

Schluss

Macht antirassistische Arbeit an Schulen überhaupt Sinn? Was bleibt hängen, wenn nach einem Projekt die Normalität des Schulalltages wieder einsetzt? Um das herauszufinden wäre eine begleitende Evaluation antirassistischer Projekte wünschenswert. Dies ist allerdings bei den zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln illusorisch.

Inzwischen kann nur eines gesagt werden: Punktuell ist es sicher möglich, Jugendliche zu konkretem Handeln zu motivieren oder zumindest eine Immunisierung gegen rassistische Propaganda zu erreichen. Wenn sich allerdings herrschende Politik und Gesetze nicht ändern, bleiben antirassistische Schulprojekte der sprichwörtliche Tropfen auf dem heißen Stein.

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Intercultural Competence in Public Administration

Challenges in Politics and Education in Multicultural Environments

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Introduction

Intercultural competence has become an often used term, be it in the spheres of politics, economy, culture, social work or in education – more and more employees are confronted with acquiring this key qualification. As education should always be considered in the social context it takes place in, I will include some comments on the social and political impact of the integration discourse in my paper.

From the view of Continuing Education, which has to meet the needs for new skills, I would like to reflect on a specific field of professional practice by discussing the contact between members of public administration and of ethnic minorities in multicultural cities. I will try to point out the complex conditions, which influence the success of non-discriminatory action and a so-called intercultural opening of institutions.

Education can be seen as one factor in opening processes, depending on diverse (mainly political) aspects. I will focus on some details of integration strategies in multicultural cities by referring to my recent studies that analysed the situation in Graz, the second largest city in Austria. In this, I will refer to international studies and practical examples of intercultural re-orientation, and to my own experiences as a trainer for intercultural topics with different target groups.

Challenges in Urban Environments

The majority of immigrants settle down in urban and highly populated areas. There are several reasons for this phenomenon, such as more chances for employment or the presence of ethnic community networks that have been developed over decades. These networks especially may be an important source of support for newcomers. 35% of all non-Austrian citizens live in the capital city of Vienna. In the other federal states we find a similar situation, most immigrants live in cities (i.e. 10% of the population in Graz are non-Austrian citizens) while only about 5% of the inhabitants in rural environments are non-Austrians (cf. Münz/ Zuser/ Kytir 2003, p. 44ff.).

Consequently, many of the measures dealing with integration in terms of structures and social and cultural aspects are centred within a communal context. Multiculturalism, with its diverse problems but also exciting aspects of plurality, is experienced in everyday life. However at the same time, cities are environments where immigrants are confronted with discrimination and racism.

Nevertheless, I would like to make clear at this point that the political responsibility for managing migration and integration, and for guaranteeing equal rights and participation in society is, to a great extent, the responsibility of the Austrian government and the legislative system. Many of the discriminatory structures that produce inequality in

society do not originate in local politics, and therefore can not be solved in these contexts. The opportunities of political participation, the access to the labour market, the question of citizenship, etc., are just a few examples.

As mentioned before, we can identify several challenges for urban environments: A classic task in the social policy of local authorities consists of an equitable distribution of its resources to all its citizens. That implies that special attention should be paid to groups or social spheres who are affected or threatened by social exclusion (cf. Krummacker 2000, p. 37).

Immigrants can be seen as such minorities. The challenge to encourage their participation is mostly discussed by using the slogan „integration“, which at the same time is an often criticized term. It suggests that there is a homogenous entirety where the “newcomer“ has to fit in, ignoring that societies with an immigrant population are responsible for changing their structures to guarantee equal rights. Even though there is no unique definition of integration, I will use it in this paper as a comprehensive term for all activities that aim to build a society of equal chances and social justice.

In urban environments, we can identify different fields of integrative activities, which are connected to each other. To name a few (cf. Sprung/ Holzer 2002):

- Political participation can be seen as a fundamental principle of democracy. Non-Austrians living in Austria are excluded from political participation (except for EU-citizens). The so-called MigrantInnenbeirat (Foreigners Council), which is present in a few Austrian cities, is the only instrument of participation, but it has very few possibilities to influence political decisions. The communal right to vote (and the eligibility to do so), as in other European Countries (e.g. Denmark, Sweden, Netherlands, Ireland) has been claimed without success for years.
- The development of equality strategies concerning housing, education and job opportunities represent central challenges in local politics.
- Many immigrants need legal advice, and psycho-social and medical support, which has to be offered by specialised institutions (this is common practice in Austria) on the one hand, on the other hand all organisations should generally be open to all citizens and their various needs.
- Support of self-organization of immigrant or ethnic groups, and cultural self-determination are topics that have more or less been ignored in the past.
- Efficient programs for antidiscrimination should be developed.
- Antiracist measures have to reach the majority of Austrians, and can be developed as campaigns, educational programs, etc.
- An “intercultural opening“ of public administration is a necessary tool and will be focused on in the following paragraphs.

Access to and Limitations in Service

Beginning in the 1990s, experts in the German speaking world have been discussing concepts for the so called intercultural opening of organisations. Intercultural opening

would not only involve administrative institutions but also educational and medical services in the field of social welfare.

A unit of public administration which wants to offer consumer-friendly services, has to review regularly whether its services meet the needs of all citizens, and allows everybody access to these services. Moreover, it has to determine if there are special problems concerning the communication between its employees and ethnic minorities. The aim of intercultural opening processes is to guarantee a just and equal access to all services and areas – for members of ethnic minorities as well as for all social groups belonging to the majority.

Results of research show that it is not sufficient, just to „not-exclude“ immigrants. The viewpoint that „anybody who wants to, can come“ does not make sure that everybody really feels free to do so. In fact, minorities are not reached by public administrative services to the same extent as members of the majority are, especially in the field of preventive measures (cf. Gaitanides 2001, p. 181).

It is probably not the question of needs – why should immigrants not have psychological, social or health problems or why should they not need qualification programs? Immigrants are even more burdened due to legal discrimination, poorly paid jobs, poverty, etc. International studies and my own research in Austria show some reasons why immigrants seldom take advantage of public services. Some of the hindrances to immigrant citizens profiting from public services are:

- Language barrier (immigrants who do not speak German well, lack of interpreters and of officials with a knowledge of foreign languages);
- Cultural barrier (cultural taboos in counselling, cultural misunderstandings, etc.);
- Lack of trust in institutions (e.g. one reason being that there are no employees of ethnic origin other than Austrian in these institutions);
- Lack of knowledge of the structures and services offered by public administration;
- Negative experiences (in the country of origin, or with Austrian authorities);
- Middle-class-oriented concepts of counselling (e.g. non-directive talking);
- Fear of consequences concerning the residence permit (be it realistic or not).

Many of these aspects seem to be individual adaptation deficits on the side of the immigrants, but we should not forget the institution's duty to inspire confidence, guarantee transparency and information, and to provide interpreters to ease communication.

An important step in intercultural opening processes is to identify the (sometimes hidden) barriers and to reduce them.

Conflicts in Communication with Authorities

Furthermore, there are points of contact with administrative units that cannot be avoided, like lodging diverse applications. Then the relevant question is not how to offer access to

all citizens, but to think about how to guarantee consumer-friendly, non-discriminative communication.

The results of international studies (cf. Riehle 2001, Seifert 1996) and my own regional research in Austria on the communication process, show that there are conflict generating aspects on several levels: on the staff level (attitudes, prejudices of employees), on an institutional level (e.g. lack of communicational support), and on the level of basic legal and political conditions, that influence communication as well.

Communication in a bureaucratic context is very different to communication in everyday life. It is characterized for example, by „involuntary“ contact, asymmetric relationship, definition by structure and tasks of the authorities, the bureaucratic norm of impersonality, time pressure, etc. (cf. Seifert 1996). Therefore, not all of the problems arising have an intercultural origin, but conflicts often result from the bureaucratic context, and are additionally mixed with intercultural misunderstandings or racist aspects in a specific way.

Employment of Immigrants

The third point concerning intercultural opening seems very important to me. It is high time to make special efforts to change the fact that people with immigrant background have more or less been excluded from jobs in Austrian public administration up to now. The reality of our multicultural society has to manifest itself in all its institutions. This would not only help to remove the barriers mentioned above, but is also of great importance on the level of representation and identities.

Aspects of Intercultural Opening in Public Administration

After having described some of the central problems, I would next like to specify some ideas for solutions to problems in multicultural environments.

Wolfgang Hinz-Rommel (1998, p. 38ff.) mentions the following elements for opening processes:

- Intercultural orientation in concept and guiding principles;
- Removal of hidden mechanisms of exclusion;
- Variety of methods, flexibility, knowledge;
- Knowledge of foreign languages, provision of interpreters;
- Networks with specialized services for immigrants;
- Intercultural education;
- Public relations, signals to indicate the opening, translation of information material;
- Acquiring knowledge of the needs of immigrants.

In discussions about intercultural opening, the primary goal is often seen as educating employees specifically (“intercultural competence”). From my point of view, education can only be part of an overall strategy that covers the dimensions of exclusion and inclusion in modern society.

If opening processes are to be implemented in a sustainable way, several measures have to be linked to each other, one of them is the sensitisation of employees to the

problems involved. It is important that the organisational level is engaged in intercultural opening, but at the same time the opening has to be accepted on the administrative level. The identity, the self-image of an institution must be reflected, and reforms have to concern structures as well as guiding principles. Another aspect of review has to be the so-called culture of the organisation, which expresses itself in rules, values and its structures (cf. Handschuck/ Schröder 2001).

For the implementation, it is important to find acceptance in the institution. For that reason a sensitising of the management in the beginning, is of high relevance. A further step would be the embedding of intercultural innovations in quality management strategies. The Social Welfare Office in the city of Munich has implemented such a model successfully (cf. Handschuck/ Schröder 2001). It is not sufficient to come up with a good slogan in the guiding principles. The crucial point is to work out concrete goals and standards to make an evaluation possible.

Intercultural orientated staff development has to emphasise the acquirement of intercultural competence and the building up of multicultural teams. The training and recruitment of persons with immigrant background should be a priority. Such persons should be present on all levels of hierarchy. At present there are several programs to sensitise the members of the majority group, but very few efforts are made to integrate immigrants as professionals in all the organisations!

Intercultural Education

Intercultural education is sometimes seen as “learning about foreign cultures“. My experience in public administration training courses showed that the participants’ expectations are mainly to acquire knowledge of certain ethnic groups and their behaviour. This fact is not surprising, because we have to deal with the effects of a public discourse that is characterised by permanent construction of ethnic and racist stereotypes. The present discourse exaggerates the role of culture in the modern world, while social exclusion and other differences are frequently ignored as constitutive aspects for asymmetries in society.

Another problem is that there is usually a strong demand for “behavioural codes“ in vocational training, participants want to gain “useful“ knowledge in a short time. We can identify a certain inconsistency in the goals of intercultural education, since continuing education is defined as a reflexive, open process that needs time and is a permanent, never-ending task. In this aspect, intercultural training cannot be compared to something like a computer course, where a package of clearly defined skills can be acquired by the end.

The participants may be confused at the beginning, when they are not offered what they had expected. Being thrown off balance can be a creative moment in the intercultural learning process – if it is professionally managed so that it does not lead to strong psychological resistance. That, on the other hand, would block the open mind necessary for reflexive learning and recognising new perspectives (cf. Sprung 2002).

Intercultural skills, are first of all, social competences. Employees should be helped to understand their own patterns of perception and interpretation, influenced by their cultural backgrounds. The awareness of “differences“ has to be accompanied by an understanding for the dimension of power distance and inequality between individuals in multicultural societies.

Therefore, relevant knowledge has to cover information about the actual living conditions of immigrants and aspects of intercultural communication, and not ethnological subjects or aspects that support the construction of cultural and ethnic stereotypes.

Summary

Intercultural competence in the field of administration and public services has to be created on several levels:

Competence depends not only on the individual professional qualification and on other skills of employees, but also on changing processes according to an overall concept and structures, as well as the respective "culture" of an organisation. Intercultural opening has to be both a top-down and bottom-up strategy.

Education can support the process, but it can not compensate for a lack of strategies to eliminate discriminative structures.

The training and employment of persons with immigrant background in public administration should be a priority goal.

To meet the challenges in a modern society, it is necessary for public administration to find strategies for dealing with heterogeneity in many aspects. Measures have to concern various minorities, not only ethnic, so that dealing with diversity becomes a high-quality-feature.

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4. INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN DAILY SCHOOL PRACTICE, INITIATIVES BY INDIVIDUAL TEACHERS AND THE NEED TO WORK ON ONESELF AS A TEACHER

Community Service and Teaching in an International School

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Moliere said: „*We are responsible not only for what we do, but also for what we neglect to do*”

The Setting

School is many things to many people. In school, children learn the important things offered by our accumulated historical and scientific experience. In school, children acquire critical thinking skills that are supposed to serve them and their community throughout their lives. Their own achievements in their lifetime will – to a large extent – be based upon the lessons they learned from their teachers and from their peers in a school setting. After all, we spend at least ten of our most formative years learning to read, to write, to reckon and to think in ways, which are supposed to allow us to build a future for ourselves and for others. Consider the following Mission Statement for the American International School here in Vienna:

„The American International School in Vienna offers a university preparatory education in the American day-school style for children of all nationalities from pre-kindergarten through high school. We provide a culture of educational excellence, a nurturing environment, and an atmosphere of open communication. We inspire our youth to discover their highest potential in diverse areas of endeavor. We foster personal integrity and democratic values and aim to prepare our students to become responsible, globally-conscious citizens.”²¹

AIS, as we call it, has a population of about 800 kids, 30% of them are North Americans, another 20% are Austrian citizens and the remaining 50% come from more than twenty-five nations. This is clearly a multicultural setting, according to most people’s definition of the word. What are my responsibilities as a teacher in this setting? In Teaching about Ethnic Diversity, 1984, Cohen and Bernstein wrote: „Educators who recognize and respect their students’ ethnic identities should also *prepare them to assume common obligations and responsibilities* of citizenship which involve shared civic values...” And further, according to William Sanchez in 1995, „[Education] professionals are also challenged by *the need to consider the impact of complex social/environmental problems*, which in many contexts have negative consequences for children from various racial/ethnic and social class backgrounds.”²²

²¹ AIS Mission Statement: <http://www.ais.at/>

²² William Sanchez: <http://www.ncrel.org/sdrs/areas/issues/educatrs/presrvce/pe3lk1.htm>

Neither Moliere nor Cohen and Bernstein nor Sanchez were involved directly in the formulation of the AIS mission statement, but they might have been!

A teacher's responsibility

It took the better part of three months in committee to create that AIS mission statement. The committee offered several drafts to the school community and enlisted feedback from parents, faculty and students. I'd like to focus on that last sentence, especially the part about becoming globally conscious.

What does it mean to become „globally conscious„? In earlier times, I guess philosophers would have used the term „enlightened„, which has been characterized as a belief in the power of reason. Is it reasonable to expect children at the tender age of 12 years to become globally conscious? Or should teachers wait until their students complete their 16th birthday before presenting them with globally-relevant issues? Discounting the often profound influence of the various media on our collective psyche, school is potentially a significant part of the matrix of local and global communication and therefore of *value transmission* for children through their 18th year. The teacher still plays a central role in the interpretation, analysis, and transmission of information from various sources to children's conscious experiences. By combining academic preparation with social awareness, a teacher is in a unique position to motivate and inspire children to accept responsibility for more than just their own, personal success. It can be risky sharing one's values with other people's children, but if my privileged students are going to be expected to accept personal and collective responsibility for their actions someday, it seems reasonable to seek out socially-relevant topics, within the context of whichever subject I am teaching, to present to them. The topics I choose to present will quite naturally reflect my own, personal system of values. By becoming socially active in the community myself, I gain access to relevant issues that can be adapted to my instructional program inside the sheltered environs of my school.

Involving younger students in community service projects

Here are three examples of how community service can be integrated into a Middle School curriculum, in these cases, Science and Health:

1. In 1989, I read a report about the „Gold Diggers„ in Brazil. This was a story about an eco-social disaster in the Amazon jungle, which involved reputable European businesses, unemployed and desperate urban Brazilian men and women, native Indios, called Yanomami, and gold. I visited the office of a small organization in Vienna, which was running a public awareness campaign about the fate of indigenous peoples. They lent me a film about the gold diggers and I purchased a book on the topic. After reviewing the film and reading the book, I decided that my students would be interested in the topic from several points of view. First of all, we were studying metals in my science class, and gold is considered a valuable, attractive substance. Secondly, we had also been learning about the importance of rainforests to the global ecological balance, and had learned that these huge, wild, green areas were endangered due to a lack of understanding and a preponderance for being greedy. It was fairly easy to arrange for a guest speaker from the indigenous people's organization (an Indio himself), to view the documentary film and to draft a letter to the Brazilian ambassador in Austria. In the process of this unit, my students learned that there was gold dust mixed in with many other minerals in the topsoil of the Brazilian jungle, that liquid mercury can be used to bond with the gold and that these two metals can be separated easily by

applying heat energy. At the same time they learned that Brazil is a country, which, though rich in natural resources, has a large population of under-educated, jobless people. They also learned that parts of Brazil are home to indigenous people who live outside the mainstream society with which we are familiar. People from Europe and the USA, having secured permission from the Brazilian government, were willing to cut down many thousands of acres of trees in the pristine jungle, to dig hundreds of holes in the ground and fill them with water and then mercury, to pay very low wages to illiterate men and expect them to stand waist-deep in the polluted water for hours at a time in order to mix the mercury with the topsoil, then send the ensuing clumps through a pump into a storage tank for processing. When you heat a clump of mercury and gold dust over an open flame, the mercury quickly turns into a gas, leaving pure, solid gold behind. They learned that the men who breathed this gas developed fatal illnesses. Finally, they learned about the wealth that accrues to the clever businessmen along the way. The Brazilian ambassador's response to our letter was also enlightening: issues about preserving the rain forest, providing education and jobs for Brazil's poor and preserving the way of life of indigenous populations were global concerns, he wrote. Brazil, by itself, did not have enough influence to fix all of these problems. The ambassador appealed to my students to continue their education and to remember what they had learned in 6th grade later in life, when they became influential adults. It was a good letter; the ambassador also assumed some responsibility for the licenses granted by his government to allow foreign companies to strip the skin from the jungle's belly, citing the very real need for revenue. Inspired by this, we organized a bake sale and generated enough donations to purchase a piece of the rainforest. The children proudly told their parents that their science class was helping to save the rainforest. My science unit on chemical reactions was complete.

2. On September 11, 2001, three commercial airplanes were hijacked and sent crashing into a couple of very important icons of a very powerful and influential global force. The United States of America had been attacked just one year into the new millennium! The whole planet was in awe. Like everyone else I know, I was confused about my own thoughts and emotions regarding this very upsetting world event. Like everyone else, I was wondering how this attack and the certain reactions to it would affect my life, the life of my own family and that of my students and their families. For several days at the American International School in Vienna, children and adults were in a state of shock and disbelief. My sixth grade health class was in its third week. On September 14th, I gave my students the following homework assignment: „Talk to members of your family and find out if anyone was affected directly or indirectly by the events of 9/11.,, In the ensuing days, the children brought their stories into the classroom and we read them out loud to each other. I assigned a few children the task of rendering drawings that illustrated what had happened during and after the airplanes crashed into the Twin Towers in New York City and into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

As children, they were just beginning to grasp the significance of these attacks and of the resulting confusion of the adults around them. They didn't quite know how to respond. If you're a 12-year-old Italian or Egyptian or Israeli or Chinese citizen, how should you feel about a couple of airplanes crashing into buildings in the USA? Who planned these attacks and what were they planning to do next? Is this the beginning of War? Lise, a Japanese-American girl, wrote: „ I really hope it doesn't start World War 3. I don't want it to affect Austria or many other peaceful countries.,,

The children typed up their stories, researched facts about the Muslim faith, completed their drawings and I compiled them into a booklet. A copy of the booklet was given to each contributor and we offered further copies of our booklet to the community of teachers, parents and students at AIS in exchange for a small donation, which we then sent to the Red Cross and to a local refugee organization. Some families bought several copies of our booklet to send to friends and relatives in the States. Some of the stories were even published in *The International Educator* (*TIE is the official publication of The International Educator's Institute, a division of the Overseas Schools Assistance Corporation, a private nonprofit corporation founded in 1986*). A copy of the booklet was displayed in the reception area of my school for several weeks afterwards, parents wrote letters to me and to the class, expressing their gratitude and appreciation for these stories and the AIS Director asked to speak personally to the kids in my Health class, thanking them for sharing the stories, saying their stories had contributed greatly to the community's efforts to deal with the grief and shock that violence leaves in its wake. It seemed that we had done the right thing by casting aside the planned Health curriculum for a few days in 2001.²³

3. In September of 1999, about 20 heavily armed policemen stormed a building in Vienna's 10th district, breaking down doors with their boots and pointing automatic weapons at the heads of sleeping teenagers. They arrested more than a dozen young asylum seekers – refugees from countries like Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Gambia – who had been given shelter in the Zohmannngasse by Ute Bock²⁴, a city social worker. The building contains 88 beds in small rooms and is part of a network of shelters that serve troubled youth in the city. Frau Bock ran this shelter for three decades and has witnessed a lot of disturbing and even tragic circumstances involving institutionalized young people who come from dysfunctional families. All the young men who were arrested that morning were being accused openly in the media of being drug dealers and thieves. Anonymous witnesses gave spurious testimony in the weeks following „Operation Spring,, as the police roundup of September, 1999 was called, which led to the incarceration of several of those arrested in the raids. The rest were released into no-one's custody, literally put out into the streets. The City of Vienna ordered Frau Bock to refuse shelter to African youth in the future. She began renting apartments, organizing language classes, finding jobs and assisting the refugees as they tried to sort out the convoluted bureaucracy of the Austrian immigration system. She became known as „Mama Africa“. She received prizes and recognition from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the Austrian Jewish Community and SOS-Mitmensch, to name a few.

A short time later, I learned that this rather slight, aging yet energetic woman had literally spent her life savings, risked her position and committed her pension fund in order to alleviate the suffering of a few dozen African youth trying to survive in a xenophobic environment. She had been harassed by the police, insulted by lawyers, judges and politicians and even arrested for having dared to provide shelter for and extended hope to young homeless African men and women. How could we, as teachers and students in a privileged international school, provide support and perhaps even direct assistance to Frau Bock and her refugees? As a start, we organized fundraising events, raising more than € 1.000,- throughout the school year. When the Cameroon national soccer team

²³ Readers interested in the booklet can contact n.hersey@ais.at

²⁴ Ute Bock Wohn- und Integrationsprojekt: <http://www.fraubock.at>

came to Vienna, we were able to organize tickets for the game for more than twenty young Africans. My students had collected the money for the tickets and we made an in-school display of photographs of the event afterwards. In addition, appeals were made to the community for used furniture, clothing, linens and personal hygiene items. Another colleague suggested we ask individual students to each purchase about € 10,- worth of personal items which would fit into a shoebox (toothpaste, a pair of socks, a bag of rice, some playing cards and an apple were among the items), so we could present the refugees with a small gift at Christmas time. More than 60 such shoeboxes have been collected and distributed each year for the past two years. The school agreed to donate several used computers, which were set up in the shelters and in a local community center. Two of the refugee men were invited to my Health class to answer questions about the history of their flight from home and about their experiences in Vienna. In the summer of 2001, „Mama,, Bock founded her own human-rights organization and in 2002 she joined forces with a larger organization to more efficiently deliver services to asylum seekers. Some of my students, along with others in my school community, have become sensitized to some of the complex issues involving acutely disadvantaged immigrants who experience life in this lovely city of music and culture in a very different way than the rest of us do.

In conclusion, it is my conviction that teachers and their schools should receive generous support from both governmental and private institutions to develop and expand their curricular offerings to include active community service projects. Most importantly, though, school administrators need to continue to be tolerant and supportive of their community service oriented teachers.

Face Your Heart:

Transpersonal Aspects of Teaching/Working in Multi-Cultural Settings

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Abstract

The Mission Statement of Vienna Bilingual Schooling (European School Network), a special educational program in which I have been teaching for nine years, states: *„There will be a commitment to a holistic view of bilingual education with the special emphasis on the personal development of life skills for an effective meaningful participation in and contribution to a modern multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society.“*

The necessity to inculcate a cross cultural acceptance of one another in educational settings has to be approached with a certain broad frame of reference and life experience on the part of the educator. It should be steeped in proactivity, creativity and innovation, flexibility and humility. Nationalism, fundamentalist religions, weapons of mass destruction and global capitalism, which are often centered around greed and ethnocentrism, at the expense of the poor and underdeveloped, and the environmental havoc they help create, are what we are all facing in this world.

What can an educator model for his/her students that contains practices and experiences of a transpersonal and holistic nature? The direct teaching of and about cultures and their differences as well as inclusion, is what should be happening in educational settings. What are the transpersonal and holistic realms beyond only words, the intellect? What constitutes an integrative approach to living, which the educator can pass on to students? There is a need for hands-on activities and experiences for self actualizing ones own life and thus, in turn, for ones students. The inclusion of the teaching of self esteem, conflict resolution, stress reduction and meditation, leading to real tolerance, are among those areas needed to be both taught and demonstrated.

Transpersonal Experience

I would first like to describe what are transpersonal experiences, sometimes spoken about including peak as well as plateau experiences, and its suggested three main components, from my perspective. Transpersonal experience might be regarded as consequent to a state of personal development connected to self actualization (Maslow, 1967). It involves the development of self beyond the narrow confines of a social personality that is highly connected to a particular social niche and constrained by the weight of internalized conventions. Such internalized conventions include, in particular, some of the ways in which we view ourselves and how we view others and the world about us that are determined particularly by processes of socialization. The growth of self, connected to transpersonal experience, involves a movement outside of these conventional orientations and involves what has been called a „transformation of consciousness“ (Wilber et al., 1986) so that we learn to construct our notions of, and relate to the world and ourselves in a distinctively different manner. A consequence of this transformation of consciousness might be a transpersonal experience: witness

consciousness, or the ability to perceive oneself as if from some detached exteriorized perspective; an altered sense of time and space; and a holistic orientation (Walsh and Vaughan, 1980b; Boucaouvalas, 1980).

Holistic Orientation

The transformation of consciousness supportive of transpersonal experience involves an extension of cognitive awareness outside of its typical mode of operation, which we might characterize as being verbal, rational, differentiating, and interpretive (e.g. Ornstein, 1977; Tart, 1975). In its place is developed a preference for cognition to be effected within an alternate mode, which is connected with the visual and the senses of the body. This alternate mode of consciousness is described as connected with intuition, that is, awareness is connected directly through the senses to the world about us, which is then experienced more directly and integratively, as opposed to indirectly relating to the world through analytic interpretation, rationalistically (Ornstein, 1977).

This holistic orientation we might connect with an attempt to extend consciousness, both internally, in an exploration of the normally unconscious and the operations of the body, and externally, into a more sensitive awareness of the world about us, including the world of nature, the social world, and the spiritual realms. Connected with this expansion of what it is that we are conscious of, is the desire to become one with those things that are around us, without which the self would feel somehow incomplete. It is the motivation to become complete or whole, what has alternately been referred to as moving „beyond ego“ (Vaughan and Walsh, 1980a): this ego, or what I am referring to as the social personality, is now viewed as restrictive and limiting, if not actually distorted by our conceptions of self and reality.

Walsh and Vaughan (1980a), for example, describe an altered state of consciousness as a state in which there is a heightened sense of clarity and understanding, a state in which a person has an appreciation of a holistic, or unitive and integrated view of the universe, and a state where a positive and intense sense of the perfection of the universe is experienced. The holistic perspective is connected to a movement towards an extended interaction and appreciation for one's unconscious and the functioning and use of the body as a tool of experience. Externally, the targets of this expansion move from the material object world and can be referred to as „ecological consciousness“ (Ferguson, 1980; Spretnak and Capra, 1986), to the social where there is frequently the rediscovery of a sense of community with others which is referred to as „planetary consciousness“ (Russell, 1983), to the psychic and then the spiritual, and the desire for mystical transcendence, to the cosmic order, which we might here describe as a „cosmic consciousness“ (Bucke, 1923). Each of these terms, ecological, planetary and cosmic consciousness, is evident in the common language shared by people in the transpersonal field. They all denote an expansion of awareness, combined with an effort at a reintegration of the self into some larger order or system: an effort that also most frequently necessitates an alteration in the nature of the construction of self. Consequent to this expansion of awareness, the self then needs to be redefined in a way that allows it to have a place in these larger realms. This requires an act of creativeness, in this case, in educational settings.

I am working on the premise that there is a strong connection between the development of this holistic orientation and the phenomenon of witness consciousness, and also to alterations in the perception of time and space. Together these seem to me to be descriptive of some of the main components of the transformation of consciousness associated with transpersonal experiences.

In considering planetary consciousness, we see that the holistic perspective has a strong manifestation in an orientation to others and the well being of society generally. A person living on such a plateau typically has a sense of social responsibility and desire to contribute to society and to serve others (Walsh and Vaughan, 1980a). Harman (1980) calls this the principle of „ecological ethics“.

Witness Consciousness

As awareness is extended and the form of cognition shifts from analytical modes of cognition, into modes that are characterized as being more holistic and allow the processing of greater amounts of information at greater speeds (Tart, 1975; Freides, 1974), new complexities in the perception of self are then possible. In part, these complexities develop from new elements that are added to the notions of self, and in part due to the developing ability to construct an alternative awareness that allows the individual to imagine and explore himself as if he were viewing from some exteriorized perspective. To describe this phenomenon, I choose to borrow the „witness consciousness“ from Fadiman (1980). The term „witness consciousness“ is used by Fadiman to describe the ability of an individual to examine their own self processes as if they were observing themselves from the outside; noting their personal idiosyncrasies of thought, emotion, habit and self presentation somewhat as others might observe them. Wilber (1977) alludes to this phenomenon when he discusses the „transpersonal witness“, and elsewhere, within traditional fields of psychology, this ability is probably evident in the writings of George Herbert Mead (1934), in his discussion of „taking the role of the other“ and in Cohen and Farley’s notion of „decentering“ (1973). Witness consciousness enables one to move beyond habitual behavior patterns and belief systems, which are limiting, so that these can be changed, and new possibilities for the self and one’s perception of and interaction with the larger environment is allowed.

In the process of personal development, we reach a stage where we can begin to move away from a limited ego-centric or self-centered point of view in our characterization of ourselves, the world and our place within it, and begin to regard ourselves from an alternative point of view. This other point of view has been described in terms of looking at ourselves as if from the outside, as some other „witness“ of ourselves. From such a perspective we can reexamine our feelings and emotions, the state of our ordinary awareness, our beliefs and sentiments, and such a reexamination may lead to their reconsideration or transformation. This process of witness consciousness would seem to be, from my perspective, an integral part of the holistic orientation: critical in the transformation of consciousness connected to transpersonal experience.

Altered Sense of Time and Space

The transformation of consciousness touches more than simply the way that we view ourselves and the environment about us. It also affects our orientation to that of time and space. An altered sense of time and space occurs when consciousness is freed from the limitations imposed by the normal sense of time (Goldstein, 1976; Bentov, 1977). In this normal sense of time, memories are called the past, and planning and imagining are called the future. As a consequence, all there is, is in the present, because the past and the future are happening now (Ram Dass, 1971; Sartre 1968). There are varying degrees to which one’s perception of time and space might be altered. I am working on the premise that our construction of self and environment, our image of reality, tend to be tied into a fairly rigid and linear sense of time and space which is, nonetheless, a very localised sense bound by our experience (Sarte 1968; Casteneda, 1971; Ornstein,

1977). Time and space, I am speculating, are taken for granted, as being the basic foundation of our sense of what is materially real and of that world within which we have defined ourselves as a part. As the sense of time and space are manipulated or even shattered, through various experiences, I propose that the construction of self and the environment are destabilized: a state which I believe is conducive to the construction of alternative perceptions of that which is real, and the development of transpersonal experience.

The Electronic Media

Throughout his writing, Marshall Mc Luhan described the electronic media as extensions of the human central nervous system, simulating consciousness and creating new environments. Electricity itself, he asserted (1964) is information that illuminates all it touches, and the new electronic environments affect our senses and create new perceptions beyond our immediate space (Mc Luhan and Fiore, 1968). In this electronic age, we are able to translate ourselves (ibid.). In other words, electronic media are capable of altering our sense of time and space and of transforming and elevating our consciousness both of ourselves and of the universe at large (Schramm, 1972; Toffler, 1980; Schwartz, 1981).

Relevant Ideas for Teaching/Working in Multi-Cultural Settings

In actualizing and bringing this awareness of the transpersonal realm, as just explained, into educational settings, for instance, there are several areas that can now be briefly described and integrated into this discussion. This perspective can be brought into the normal framework of what are often traditional educational institutions stuck in the framework of the status quo, often conservative oriented, and in the fast lane to so-called 'success'. Much of the world is preoccupied with and thereby connected to consumerism. This is a result of geopolitics and the availability of the world's limited resources. The economics of these resources are often based on the ego-centric needs of the corporate world, globalisation and the privileged class and at the expense of the environment.

In educational settings, we must learn we are really living in a 'global village', that must encourage cross cultural/multi-cultural and multi-ethnic acceptance, and open-mindedness. The teaching and learning about cultures includes getting along with others and accepting differences as well as uniqueness, and thereby hopefully facilitates real tolerance. Discussions, literature, research, films and plays, can be included to bring in a wide spectrum of topics. Role playing, using the arts with language, music, video, and dance can be integrated to include the body-mind-spirit integration in order to raise awareness. The holidays, experiential learning and practicing of customs with cross disciplinary learning can be explored. The therapeutic exploration of the teacher's or facilitator's own deficiencies and self improvement can be modeled into being a more aware and conscious educator and can then lead to more authentic teaching and learning. The aspect of 'unconditional positive regard', widely practiced in psychotherapeutic settings, should be transferred into these multi-cultural spaces to create a climate of acceptance as modeled by teachers and students alike.

Proactivity, creativity, innovation, flexibility and humility are some of the current aptitudes, characteristics and skills in educational work settings that are needed. Conflict management, working especially with media arts-video, film, photography, computers, and including environmental education, can be used to channel learning into excitement and thus help create positive motivation, which leads to successful experiences. This

can pay off in the immediate present and help in focusing on the explorations of future careers for those involved. Social action, social service, and community work can be included as part of the curriculum. Examples of peacemakers (Gandhi, King, Mother Teresa, etc.) and their lives can be studied for positive examples of social action and positive values that can be extrapolated. Conflict managing and conflict resolution, getting along with one another, can be directly learned by techniques that are available and that are seldom taught in today's modern curriculum. Studying history and its lessons of the past for today's many faceted and stressful world, should lead to critical evaluation and new ways of evaluating the present. This can lead to encourage a paradigm shift, which leads to real positive change in the world and not necessarily a continuation of the status quo.

Global realities of, for instance, the fundamentalist religions, terrorism, wars, weapons of mass destruction, global capitalism, imperialism, diseases (e.g. Aids), hunger, xenophobia, racism, anti-semitism or issues such as immigration and refugee rights, women's rights, and homosexuality, among others, are all topics to be directly studied and met head on without limits due to aspects of controversy, misunderstanding, prejudice and stereotyping. Political reports of the news, along with debates and discussions and having experts from different fields invited into these learning environments, can lead to new ways of thinking. Recycling, dealing with pollution, issues around water, ecology, business and corporate interests, the haves and the have nots, along with human rights and systems of politics/governments can be explored.

The transpersonal, holistic, integrative approaches to one's own life experience, as shared by the teacher's own practices in these areas, can be modeled so as to help create survival skills that are imparted by teachers and students. Spiritual practices along with physical and emotional mastering techniques (Leonard and Murphy, 1995; Wilber, 2000), can be taught and demonstrated to become more normally accepted in traditional institutions. Documentation as to their benefits for learning and positive benefits for all can be studied and evaluated (Shapiro, 1990). Meditation, affirmations, visualisation, aerobic exercise and the marshal arts, can be introduced along with psychological openness and therapy, if needed, for individual and group growth and development.

The education field, teaching, pedagogics, should include the realities of today's world, which encompasses hands-on ideas, self actualization, stress reduction, stress management, and self esteem exercises. Visiting and learning about those groups, organizations and agencies that are doing good, making a difference in the world, should be studied and projects directly connected with them, then initiated and actualized.

People that come to mind just now, like a list anyone can make, although with different names reflecting one's own models and teachers, such as: Martin Buber, Ken Wilber, George Leonard, Michael Murphy, Noam Chomsky, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Marshall Mc Luhan, Albert Einstein, Stephen Hawking, Roberto Assagioli, Michael Moore, Rosa Parks, The Dalai Lama, Angie Arrien and Francis Vaughan, as well as those hundreds and thousands of doers and shakers of the past and present, should be studied and learned from. The major positive tenets and teachings of the major religions as well as their practices, can be demonstrated and learned about. Spirituality, connected to various populations such as: Native Americans and other of the indigenous peoples of the world, have something to teach the industrialized world in the context of the 'perennial philosophy' that has been around for thousands of years. There are many legitimate and now accepted studies and places of higher learning that are including many of the topics mentioned in this discussion.

The intellectual, academic world, which encourages and sponsors research, grants, seminars, workshops and interactive discussions and symposiums, keeps on trying to keep pace with what seems like a never ending plethora of crisis and problems waiting to be solved and studied. What we teach and how, whether we are acting as self-actualized role models to students of all ages is of the utmost importance. The vision we present and instill has to take hold and manifest in students who are active listeners and performers in the holistic concepts of a transpersonal perspective and not just on the fast track of coveting things in a materialistic world bent towards an insatiable need to consume. It is partially up to us. Educators, peer groups, parents, media and technology, politicians and business, all compete for influence on what is deemed important to learn and live for in the unsettled environment we live in. How can we deliver the message that is integrated in mind, body and spirit? Some of the answers and resources can be explored and evaluated, from the references listed, for example the practical models of integrated life experiences and practices from Kwee, Leonard, Murphy, and Wilber. This discussion has raised some possibilities and it is up to us to use our insight to build bridges and a better world for our children.

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5. LACK OF COMPARABILITY OF EDUCATIONAL ENROLMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT DATA BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The Educational Situation of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in 15 EU Member States in Comparative Perspective

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A recent comparative study²⁵, which the author conducted on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), focused, among other issues, on the following questions: Are there equal chances for all ethnic groups in the EU Member States' educational institutions or do migrants and ethnic minorities experience inequality and discrimination? What do we know about minorities' educational achievements and is it feasible to make comparisons between different countries on this issue? The study is based on country reports delivered from so-called National Focal Points that are part of a network called RAXEN (Racism and Xenophobia in Europe), established by the EUMC. It highlights dissimilarities between the Member States regarding their ethnic composition and their different methods of data collection and illustrates that there is a lack of significant current data, which limits the development of objective, reliable, and comparable information on these topics. However, study results also yield meaningful general conclusions and clear mandates for further research.

Issues of Comparability

Problems of comparability of minority populations' educational situation arise for various reasons. The main difficulties regarding comparability across countries evolve from the fact that in the Member States there are:

- Different types of ethnic minority groups;
- Different terms and categories that are used for collecting data on migrants and ethnic minorities in the field of education;
- Differences regarding the availability of data;
- Different educational systems.

Types of Ethnic Minority Groups

Minority groups in the Member States vary in ethnicity, size, and status. Circumstances, how majority and minority populations initially came in contact with each other and the treatment of minority groups in the respective countries differ. Some Member States have a substantial ethnic minority population due to their colonial past (e.g. France, UK,

²⁵ *Migrants, Minorities and Education. Documenting discrimination and integration in 15 Member States of the European Union* on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). Printed version: Equality and diversity for an inclusive Europe, EUMC comparative study, Vienna 2004 <http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/material/pub/comparativestudy/CS-Education-en.pdf>

the Netherlands). There, many of the minority members have attained citizenship. In other countries the presence of minorities is mostly due to recruitment of so-called „guest-workers“ in the second half of last century (e.g. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, Sweden). These countries have significant populations of non-nationals but also of descendants who have acquired citizenship of their new country of residence. Several countries - some of which used to be countries of emigration - experience more recent immigration (e.g. Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Ireland).

While the absolute increase of school enrolment of migrants and minorities depends on immigration, some countries with little new immigration still show a relative increase of these groups among the school population, which in part is caused by lower birth rates among the majority populations.

Depending on each country's specific situation, there are also indigenous groups or different national, autochthonous or linguistic minorities that have lived in the respective countries or specific territories for centuries. Thus, among the different types of ethnic minority groups in the Member States are:

- Indigenous groups (e.g. the Sámi in Finland and Sweden or the Travellers in Ireland);
- National, autochthonous or linguistic minorities (e.g. Roma, who live in many countries);
- Ethnic minorities from former colonies (e.g. minority groups from North African countries in France or from Asian countries in the UK and the Netherlands);
- Labour migrants and descendants (e.g. from Turkey, and former Yugoslavia);
- Refugees and asylum-seekers (from various countries depending on regional conflicts and political turmoil);
- Repatriated groups or returned migrants (e.g. in Greece or Portugal).

Terms and Categories for Collecting Data

The countries of the European Union use different terms and categories for collecting data on migrants and ethnic minorities in the field of education. These criteria effect how data is collected for educational enrolment or achievement and determine, who receives what kind of services.

Most countries distinguish students according to citizenship or nationality. These countries are Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, and Spain. Collecting data according to these categories has the result that naturalized citizens or members of the second or third generation with a foreign background, who were granted citizenship at birth, no longer are recorded separately from the countries' majority group. As a consequence, depending on each country's situation, a smaller or larger group of students with a foreign background „disappears“ from the statistics. Furthermore, in all countries, with the exception of Germany, data on university students do not differentiate between foreign students, who came to the country for the sole purpose of studying, and foreign nationals, who permanently live in the country.

If distinctions are not made according to ethnicity, data on the schooling situation of specific ethnic groups (e.g. Roma, Kurds, etc.) is not recorded. However, some countries

also collect data on the students' primary language and thus at times indirectly record data on particular ethnic groups.

There are great variations regarding the size of the student populations with foreign citizenship in the Member States. For example, in primary education there are countries with 2-4% enrolment of students with a foreign citizenship (e.g. Italy, Spain, Finland), others with 10-15% (e.g. Austria, the French Community in Belgium, Germany) or Luxembourg, which has 38%. Great differences also exist in absolute numbers. In recent school years there were more than 350.000 foreign students in primary schools in Germany (four years duration) and in France (five years duration) but less than 15.000 in Luxembourg (six years duration) and in Finland (nine years basic compulsory school).

Some countries use other categories than citizenship, such as immigrants and descendants, bilingual students, students with a foreign background, students with non-native ethnic background, or ethnic minority students.

- Education statistics in Denmark distinguish between „immigrants“ from different countries and „descendants“ A person born outside of Denmark is an immigrant, if both parents are foreign citizens or born outside of Denmark. A person born in Denmark is a descendent if none of the parents living in the country are Danish citizens. These students, regardless of being immigrants or descendants, may or may not be Danish citizens. The term „bilingual students“, which is another category used in data collections, is not used strictly according to its definition. Descendants with little knowledge of their parents' mother tongue are called bilingual students in the same way as newcomers, who do not speak Danish.
- In Greece, the term „immigrants“ refers to either foreign immigrants with another ethnicity or to ethnic Greek immigrants, who have returned to Greece from other countries. Their citizenship status varies.
- The Netherlands collects data on students with „non-Dutch ethnic background“, independent of citizenship status. Different terms, such as „ethnic minorities“ or „cultural minorities“ as well as „allochtonen“ are used interchangeably. An ethnic minority student is defined as someone, who was born in one of the *target group* countries or someone, who has at least one parent born in a *target group* country, a country from which most emigrants tend to be socially disadvantaged. Since not all countries of origin are regarded as criteria for disadvantage, certain countries have been selected as „target“ countries (e.g. Turkey, Morocco, Surinam, Netherlands Antilles, etc.) The definition of target groups is part of the policy on disadvantaged peoples, for whom an extra school budget is made available for overcoming learning lags.
- Portugal uses the category „cultural groups and nationalities“, to collect data on students of various foreign nationalities, returned emigrants, and Roma.
- Sweden collects data on „students with foreign background,“ differentiated by countries of origin. This category includes students born to foreign parents in Sweden and students born abroad.
- The U.K. distinguishes groups according to „ethnicity“. However, the categories used for ethnic data monitoring since 2003 refer to skin colour and geographic origin (i.e. regions or countries) rather than to ethnicity. The main categories used are White, Mixed, Asian or Asian British, Chinese, Black or Black British, and Any Other Ethnic

Background. Each main category has subcategories. For example, for the category „White“ the subcategories are White British, White Irish, Traveller of Irish heritage, Gypsy/Roma, Greek/Greek Cypriot, Turkish/Turkish Cypriot and White European.

Categorisations of groups according to foreign or ethnic background do not always allow distinction between recent immigrants and members of established ethnic minority groups. It is thus more difficult to analyse certain developments such as educational achievements of groups over time.

Some countries also collect separate data on indigenous or national, autochthonous minorities. There are substantial numbers of Roma students in several countries (e.g. Spain, Portugal, Greece) and other particularly large groups such as the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, the Finnish minority in Sweden, the Muslim minority in Greece, or Travellers in Ireland.

In view of the different ethnic minority groups in the Member States and of non-standardized methods of collecting data on these groups, it becomes rather difficult to arrive at meaningful comparisons of aggregate data on migrants and ethnic minorities. Even an assessment of the same ethnic minority or nationality group in different countries is at times complicated, because not all countries make the same differentiations.

Education Systems

Another circumstance that hampers comparability of data is the fact that education systems in the Member States vary considerably. There are countries where schooling starts at age four (e.g. Ireland) and others where it starts at age seven (e.g. Sweden). In some countries, students transfer to different school types after four years of primary school (e.g. Austria) while in others basic comprehensive schooling lasts nine years (e.g. Finland). Some countries have less variation of secondary school types and while in others (e.g. Sweden) students may choose between a great variety of different tracks and specialisations. Depending on each country's school system, aggregate data on migrants and ethnic minorities exists for a different number of years of consecutive schooling (e.g. four years of primary schooling in Germany or nine years of compulsory schooling in Denmark). All countries collect data on minority student enrolments at different educational levels but only a few (e.g. United Kingdom) also collect data on school completion rates.

Educational provisions for migrants and ethnic minorities vary in the EU Member States. Among these provisions are language programs (native language and second language instruction), culture of origin courses, reception programs for newcomers, and compensatory education. Native language instruction, which has been recognised by many experts as fostering the language development of both, the native language as well as the language of the country of immigration, is not offered to all minorities in all Member States. Programs of second language instruction are not always led by appropriately educated and well-trained staff. In addition, there are differences regarding the integration of intercultural approaches to teaching. School textbooks and curricula do not always depict the countries' ethnic diversity appropriately.

Despite the lack of comparability of data across countries, general trends can be derived from the interpretation of data on educational enrolment and achievement, as well as from reports about specific phenomena faced by migrants and ethnic minorities. These include segregation, exclusion, limited access to certain educational institutions, unequal treatment, verbalized prejudice, harassment by teachers and peers, as well as violence.

Inequality, Discrimination, and Racism in the Field of Education

Enrolment and achievement data frequently show an overrepresentation of migrant and ethnic minority groups in educational institutions with lower academic demands, an overrepresentation in special education, as well as disproportional early dropout and expulsion rates. Given the lack of research in this area, it is rather difficult to assess the extent to which educational underachievement of migrants and ethnic minority groups can be traced back to forms of discrimination. Many factors influence their educational attainment, e.g. language competency, socio-economic factors, parents' educational background, and cultural values. Still, among signs of discriminatory attitudes and practices are that minority students are faced with low teacher expectations, assignment to special education for reasons other than disability, placement in lower than age-appropriate grades, and restricted admittance in more prestigious or private institutions. In addition, disadvantages exist when there is a lack of or low quality of compensatory programs, a lack of effective language programs and of specifically trained language teachers, a lack of intercultural curricula and minority education programs as well as a lack of religious pluralism.

Differentiated data shows that great differences exist in achievements between various migrant and ethnic minority groups. While some ethnic groups achieve significantly above average results or even outperform majority students on some educational levels, others are very much behind. For example, in England, students with Chinese and Indian backgrounds have higher achievements than White majority students, while Black students (the group also most likely to be excluded from school), or students with Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds achieve below average.

Despite overall lower success ratings for educational attainment, there are positive developments reported by some countries regarding the starting performance of students with foreign backgrounds (e.g. in the Netherlands). Second-generation migrants, in many cases, do better than new immigrants. Studies also show that these students often attain higher educational levels than their parents (e.g. in Germany). Across all ethnic groups, female students tend to achieve better than males.

PISA study results of students' reading, mathematical and scientific literacy skills show that in most countries, native students perform better than students with a foreign background (born in the country or abroad).²⁶ Results from Ireland, indicating that non-native students surpass the average score of native students, as well as from Denmark and Belgium, indicating that non-native students perform better than native-born students with a foreign background, have to be treated with caution because of small and unreliable study samples. In order to draw better evidence-based conclusions, the collection of more differentiated quantitative data as well as qualitative research on educational achievement of migrants and minorities in the Member States is needed.

Reports on non-migrant ethnic minority groups (national, autochthonous or linguistic minorities) show underachievement in education of several groups, among them Roma (and Sinti) in several countries, Travellers in Ireland and Northern Ireland, or the Muslim minority in Greece. The reasons for the lower academic achievement of these groups

²⁶ OECD (2001), Knowledge and Skills for Life. First Results from the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000; available at: <http://www.pisa.oecd.org/knowledge/download.htm> (accessed 27.04.2004)

vary and are manifold. For some groups, e.g. the Sámi and the Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland or the Sámi and the Swedish Finns in Sweden, very little data on achievement was supplied.

Overall, there is a lack of research and data concerning the reasons for the educational underachievement of non-migrant ethnic minority groups. It seems fair to say that in many cases, a history of social exclusion, assimilationist tendencies, and a monocultural orientation in education lead to distrust in the educational system and to low expectations about the benefits of educational attainment. Since a large proportion of the groups' older generation has not met basic educational standards, it has been problematic to increase the educational attainment of the younger generation. Some consider schooling of their children even as harmful since, in their view, it deprives children of their family and socializes them into different cultural values and norms. The socio-economic differences between many national minorities and the majority of the population in the Member States are still considerable. This creates not only problems relating to education, but also to other aspects such as employment and housing, which also negatively influence the educational situation of these groups.

The EU Member States report various acts of discrimination and racism in the area of education. For example, there are reports about segregation of minorities in special „minority classes“ or about exclusion and harassment for cultural reasons (e.g. for wearing a headscarf). However, the reported incidences are not a reliable indicator of their actual frequency of occurrence. Instead, countries with a better functioning reporting system are likely to report more cases than others. Significant differences exist in the EU Member States regarding the existence of legislative measures to combat ethnic discrimination, racism, and inequalities. Some countries have specific anti-discrimination or equal treatment legislation pertaining to the field of education, such as Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, the United Kingdom, or Sweden (in higher education). Other countries lack explicit legislation on this matter or are currently proposing to introduce new laws in accordance with Directive 2000/43/EC²⁷. The same is true for monitoring bodies, which are implemented in some countries to oversee the laws on anti-discrimination and to record incidents of discrimination and racism. Such bodies may be official and state-organised, or unofficial and run by NGOs.

Conclusions

It can be concluded that there is a lack of comprehensive and comparable data on the educational situation of migrants and ethnic minorities in the EU Member States. In order to better understand the situation of minorities in education, the availability, the scope, and the quality of data has to be increased. This pertains to data on educational enrolment and achievement, as well as to the monitoring of acts of discrimination and racism. Also, there is a need for more qualitative (ethnographic) research on the variability in educational performance of minority groups.

In spite of various support programs (e.g. reception programs, native language and second language programs), of efforts to introduce new curricula to suit the needs of a multicultural student body, as well as of integration and anti-discrimination initiatives, inequalities continue to persist to a great extent. On the one hand, one needs to gain a

²⁷ Council Directive 2000/43/EC of June 29, 2000, implementing the principle of equal treatment on grounds of racial and ethnic origin.

good understanding of the particularities of each education system in order to better understand the relevance of the unequal distribution of migrants and ethnic minorities in the different school types and tracks, their lower educational attainments and earlier dropout rates. On the other hand, further research will be necessary to understand, which factors determine the differences in educational achievement between different ethnic groups.

Aside from primary language and cultural differences as well as differences caused by the varying socio-economic conditions for different groups, discriminatory practices and unequal power relationships between the majority populations and minority groups negatively influence the educational attainment of minorities. Lasting experiences of discrimination may result in distrust in the education system by members of these groups. Such negative relations and prejudice may also interfere with communication between teachers and students, teachers and parents, as well as between peers of different ethnicities.

Other reasons, which complicate the motivation to achieve and to integrate, may be rooted in uncertainties, such as whether migrants expect to stay in their new country of residence. The motivation to achieve may also be affected by cultural perceptions of what it takes to make it in the receiving society. An important consideration is, whether integration into the majority culture is believed to actually lead to advancement rather than to barriers, such as unequal chances in the employment area.

Necessary steps have to be taken, which go beyond the mere introduction of language programs for minorities or multicultural curricula. Minority members not only have to believe that their efforts to attain higher levels of education will actually pay off, but they also must experience that the pledge for equal treatment becomes a reality in all areas of society.

6. THE RELEVANCE OF BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR THE AREA OF EDUCATION

Migration und Schullaufbahn in Österreich

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Einleitung

Die Bildungsexpansion der letzten Jahrzehnte und der damit einhergehende Anstieg der Bildungsbeteiligung hat nichts daran geändert, dass immer noch eine Ungleichheit des Bildungszugangs in Bezug auf den Bildungsstatus der Eltern sowie deren sozio-ökonomische Situation zu beobachten ist. Die studentische Population in Österreich ist bereits das Ergebnis einer sozialen Auslese, die über die gesamte Schulzeit hindurch stattgefunden hat. Diese manifestiert sich im tertiären Bildungssektor als ungleiche Zugangschancen: Die an der Hochschule am stärksten vertretenen Klassen²⁸ sind in der Bevölkerung am schwächsten vertreten.²⁹ *Diagramm 1* verdeutlicht, dass das Schulsystem eine um so stärkere Selektion vornimmt, je ‚bildungsferner‘ die Klassen sind (vgl. Bourdieu & Passeron 1971, S. 20).

²⁸ Trotz der vorgenommenen Trennschärfe des Klassifikationsbegriffs wird angemerkt, dass die daraus resultierenden „Klassen“, theoretische Gruppierungen darstellen und nicht als real handelnde Kollektivsubjekte verstanden werden sollen. (Zum Klassenbegriff vgl. Bourdieu 1998, S. 23;27), (Pierre Bourdieu 1994, S. 182 - 187); zur Abgrenzung von der traditionellen Klassentheorie (vgl. Eder 1989, S. 15–18; Bourdieu 1994; Kraus 2001, S. 31-37).

²⁹ Die Bildungsherkunft der StudienanfängerInnen wird in Österreich lediglich von allen Erstimmatrikulierenden an den Universitäten und Fachhochschulen und nicht von StudienanfängerInnen an den hochschulverwandten Lehranstalten erfasst. Die hier ausgewerteten Rohdaten werden von der Statistik Austria verwaltet. Eine erstmalige Auswertung der Bildungsherkunft nach Studienrichtungen wurde von der Autorin durchgeführt. Für die Bildungsherkunft der Vätergeneration (inländische männliche Wohnbevölkerung zwischen 40 und 65 Jahren) musste vorerst auf Daten des Mikrozensus 2001 aus dem *Bericht zur sozialen Lage der Studierenden* zurückgegriffen werden (vgl. Wroblewski 2003, S. 43), da aktuellere Daten zum Zeitpunkt des Verfassens dieses Artikels im April 2004 noch nicht zur Verfügung gestellt werden konnten.

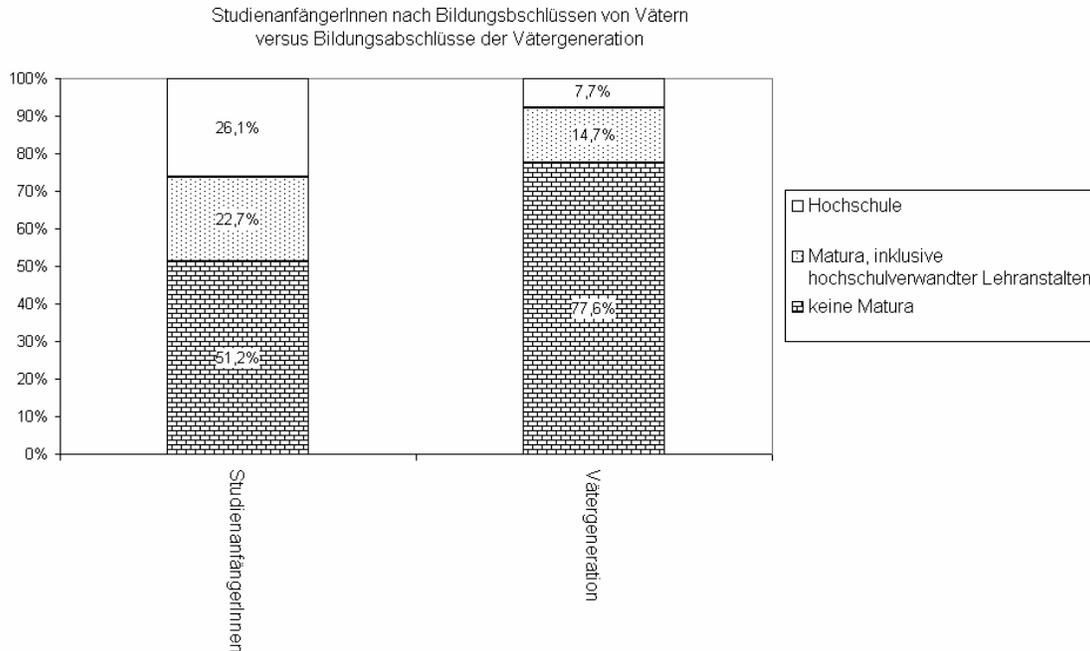


Diagramm 1: Bildungsherkunft der StudienanfängerInnen im WS 2002 versus Bildungsabschlüsse der Vätergeneration in Österreich

Erstimmatrikulierende mit der höchsten Bildungsherkunft (hier operationalisiert am höchsten Bildungsabschluss des Vaters³⁰) stellen 26,1 % der gesamten Population von Erstimmatrikulierenden dar, während die entsprechende Vätergeneration in unserer Bevölkerung lediglich 7,7 % ausmacht. Subtile Prozesse der kulturellen Kapitalvermittlung innerhalb der Familie sind – neben der Verfügung über ökonomisches Kapital – mitbestimmend für Schullaufbahnentscheidungen und Bildungsprivilegien (vgl. Bourdieu & Passeron 1971, S. 20; Baumert & Schümer 2001). Der sozioökonomische Status der Eltern (Bildungsstand, beruflicher Status, Einkommen) steht tendenziell in einem engen Zusammenhang mit dem Ausmaß an jenem kulturellen Kapital, welches – nach Bourdieu – Bildungshandeln und Bildungserfolg beeinflusst.

In der PISA-Studie wurde ein relativer starker Zusammenhang zwischen dem sozioökonomischen Status der Eltern und der Leistungen der SchülerInnen gemessen. So kommen die schlechtesten 10 % der SchülerInnen überproportional stark aus den niedrigeren sozioökonomischen Schichten. In Österreich liegt der sozioökonomische Status der Eltern der 15-/16-Jährigen SchülerInnen ohne Migrationshintergrund deutlich höher als bei Eltern von SchülerInnen derselben Altersgruppe mit Migrationshintergrund (vgl. Haider 2002b, S. 71, 72 und 74). Insgesamt erreichen nur ca. 25 % der MigrantInnen den durchschnittlichen sozioökonomischen Status der ÖsterreicherInnen. Die Differenz zwischen den beiden Gruppen bezogen auf den höchsten

³⁰ Selbstverständlich wäre eine Operationalisierung anhand der Bildungsherkunft der Mutter ebenso interessant. Aufgrund der bisher vorliegenden Studien (vgl. Wroblewski 2003, S. 51), ist jedoch anzunehmen, dass sich keine neue „Klasse“, im Sinne Bourdieus ergeben würde: Ein Vergleich der Rekrutierungsquoten nach dem höchsten Bildungsabschluss der Väter mit dem der Mütter für das Jahr 2001 zeigte: niedrigere Quoten bei Müttern mit Fachschulabschluss sowie leicht höhere Quoten bei Müttern mit Matura bzw. Akademieabschluss und leicht niedrigere Quoten bei Müttern mit Hochschulabschluss.

Bildungsabschluss der Eltern ist besonders im Bereich der niedrigen Schulbildung groß. Während der Anteil an Müttern oder Vätern von deutschsprachigen SchülerInnen, die als höchsten formellen Bildungsabschluss eine Volks- oder Sonderschule vorweisen, 3 % beträgt, verfügen 12 % der Väter bzw. 22 % der Mütter von anderssprachigen SchülerInnen über einen solchen Abschluss (eine grobe Vergleichbarkeit der Bildungsabschlüsse wird hier angenommen).

Knapp 7 % der in der PISA-Studie befragten SchülerInnen sprechen normalerweise zuhause nicht die Testsprache. Die größte nicht-deutschsprachige Gruppe nimmt 2,5 % der Befragten ein und spricht in der Familie eine Sprache aus dem ehemaligen jugoslawischen Staatsgebiet (Bosnisch, Kroatisch, Serbisch)³¹. 1,8 % der befragten SchülerInnen sprechen zuhause Türkisch. Die verbleibenden anderen Sprachen (Polnisch, Rumänisch, Slowenisch, Tschechisch und Ungarisch) machen jeweils 0,5 % aus (vgl. Haider 2002b, S. 69-70).

Die PISA-Studie hat ebenso auf die starke Selektivität des österreichischen Bildungswesens hingewiesen, indem sie auf die hohe Korrelation zwischen erreichter Lesekompetenz mit den jeweiligen Schultypen herausgestellt hat. So konnte „die Leistung eines Schülers bereits durch die Kenntnis des Schultyps in dem er sich befindet, recht gut geschätzt werden,“ (Haider 2002a, S. 13). Auch andere nationale Studien belegen den Einfluss der sozialen Herkunft auf Bildungsentscheidungen; in Österreich zeigt sich dieser augenfällig bei der sogenannten „ersten Gabelung im österreichischen Bildungswesen“: Eltern, die selber ‚nur‘ über einen Pflichtschulabschluss verfügen, entscheiden sich sehr oft gegen den Besuch der Allgemeinbildenden Höheren Schulen ihrer Kinder. Eng damit zusammen hängt – wie gesagt - deren sozioökonomischer Hintergrund (vgl. Schwarz, Spielauer & Städtner 2002; Steiner 1998).

Die Entscheidung zwischen den beiden Schultypen Allgemein Bildende Höhere Schule und Hauptschule wird in Österreich – trotz der formellen sogenannten Durchlässigkeit des österreichischen Bildungswesens – bereits nach der vierten Schulstufe gefällt. Dies wirkt sich in der Folge stark selektiv auf weitere Bildungsentscheidungen aus. Die Folgen für die spätere Beteiligung an einem Hochschulstudium sind evident.

Der folgende Beitrag zeigt – vor dem Hintergrund der weitreichenden Konsequenzen der frühen Gabelung der Bildungswege – vergleichend die Verteilung von SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher und deutscher Muttersprache in den unterschiedlichen Schultypen der fünften Schulstufe in Österreich. Daran anschließend wird ein theoretischer Versuch unternommen, die Implikationen von Sprachkompetenz auf den Bildungserfolg, in Anlehnung an Bourdieus Ungleichheitstheorie, zu analysieren. Nicht verwechselt werden sollte dieser theoretische Zugang mit Erklärungsversuchen von unterschiedlichen Bildungserfolgen auf der Basis der sogenannten Defizithypothesen³². Der Fokus der folgenden Analyse liegt vielmehr – hier schließe ich mich Bourdieu an – auf der

³¹ Bosnisch ist weitgehend identisch mit Kroatisch und Serbisch und wurde früher mit diesen zu „Serbo-Kroatisch“, zusammengefasst. Seit dem Zerfall Jugoslawiens in verschiedene Staaten wurden die jeweiligen ‚Dialekte‘ als verschiedene Sprachen anerkannt. Im Fragebogen der PISA-Studie war aus diesen vier vorgegebenen Kategorien eine auszuwählen.

³² Basil Bernstein gilt als Klassiker der Defizithyothese, auf deren Basis die Forderung nach – kompensatorischer Erziehung – gestellt wird.

Dimension der Macht, die in Sprachverhältnissen manifest wird und in der Bedeutung der Übertragung von „kulturellem Kapital„ für zukünftige Bildungslaufbahnen relevant ist.

Verteilung der SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher und deutscher Muttersprache auf die unterschiedlichen Schultypen in der fünften Schulstufe

Diagramm 2 zeigt die unterschiedliche Verteilung der SchülerInnen auf unterschiedliche Schultypen der fünften Schulstufe, differenziert nach nicht-deutscher und deutscher Muttersprache.

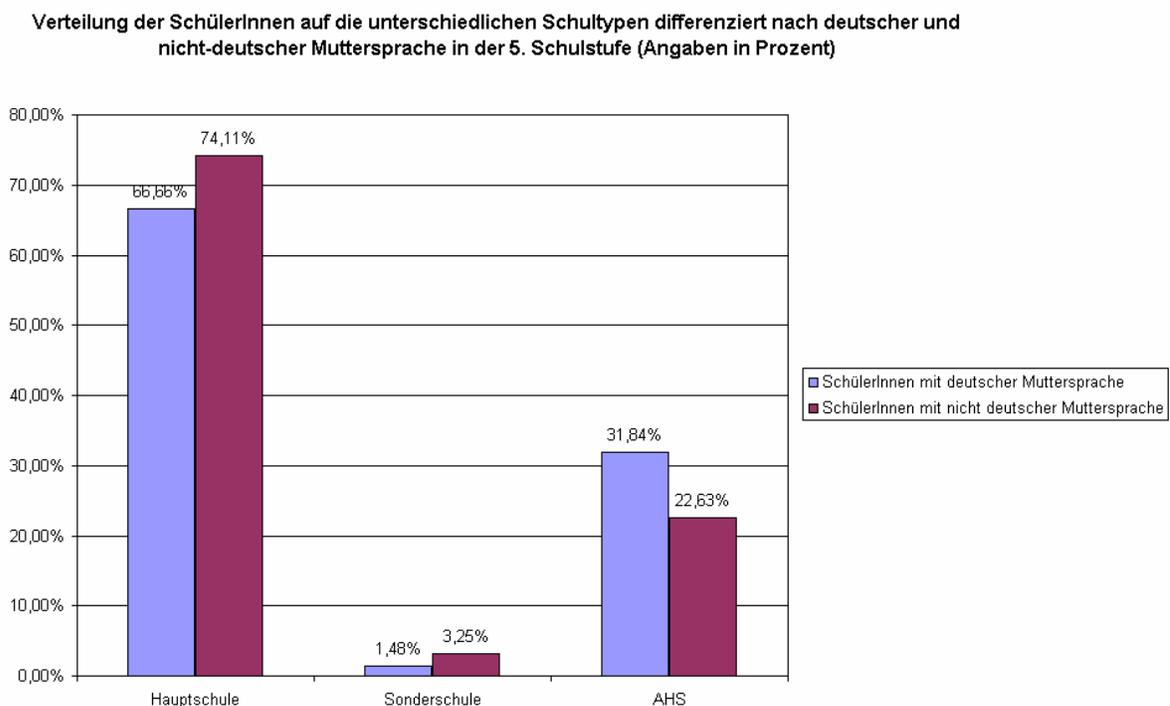


Diagramm 2: Verteilung der SchülerInnen auf unterschiedliche Schultypen, differenziert nach deutscher und nicht-deutscher Muttersprache in der 5. Schulstufe. Quelle: Österreichische Schulstatistik 2001/02. Eigene Berechnungen.

Zur besseren Veranschaulichung wurden von der prozentualen Verteilung nach Schultypen Indizes gebildet (*Diagramm 3*), durch welche die jeweiligen Anteile der SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache in den unterschiedlichen Schultypen in ein Verhältnis zur prozentualen Verteilung der SchülerInnen mit deutscher Muttersprache im jeweiligen Schultyp gesetzt wurden. Indexwerte über 100 repräsentieren eine überproportionale Vertretung der Gruppe der SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache im jeweiligen Schultyp. Umgekehrt deutet ein Index unter 100 auf eine unterproportionale Vertretung hin.

Anteil an SchülerInnen mit nicht deutscher Muttersprache nach Schultypen in der 5. Schulstufe
(Indexdarstellung)

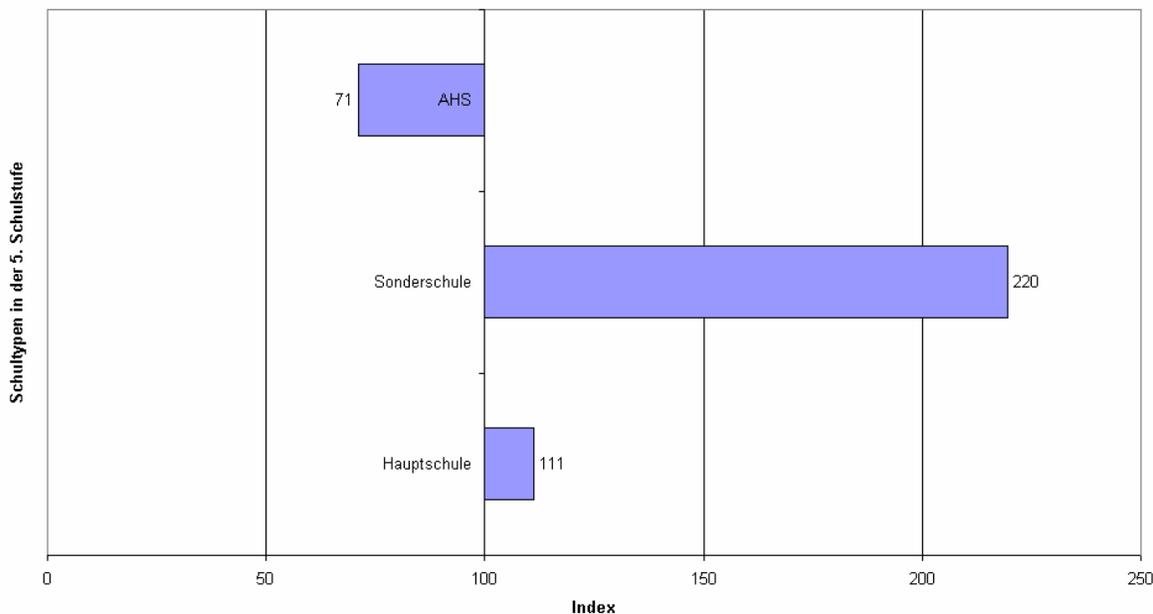


Diagramm 3: Proportionale Vertretung der SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache in den unterschiedlichen Schultypen im 5. Schuljahr (Indexdarstellung). Quelle: Österreichische Schulstatistik 2001/02. Eigene Indexberechnung.

Die Indexdarstellung verdeutlicht, dass SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache schwach überproportional in den Hauptschulen vertreten sind. Eklatant ist die überproportionale Verteilung in den Sonderschulen: SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache besuchen mehr als doppelt so häufig diesen Schultyp. Unterproportional vertreten sind SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache in den Allgemein Bildenden Höheren Schulen.

Eine Untersuchung der Repräsentation der SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache in den weiterführenden Schulstufen ist mangels verfügbarer Daten leider nicht möglich. In der österreichischen Schulstatistik werden lediglich jene SchülerInnen in der Kategorie „nicht-deutsche Muttersprache,“ geführt, die nicht mehr als sechs Schuljahre in Österreich absolviert haben.

Eine differenzierte Analyse der Schülerpopulation in den Sonderschulen nach unterschiedlichen Staatsangehörigkeiten ergibt, dass Kinder mit einer türkischen, serbischen und montenegrinischen Staatsbürgerschaft proportional am stärksten vertreten sind. SchülerInnen mit einer bosnisch-herzegowinischen Staatsbürgerschaft sind dort nicht häufiger vertreten als österreichische SchülerInnen. Polnische und chinesische SchülerInnen und SchülerInnen gehen weniger häufig in Sonderschulen als österreichische Kinder. (Bundesministerium für Bildung 2002, S. 314-325, Eigene Berechnungen)

Obige Ausführungen belegen, dass SchülerInnen mit nicht-deutscher Muttersprache insgesamt häufiger niedrigere Schultypen besuchen. Eine differenzierte vergleichende Analyse der Bildungslaufbahnen von Kindern unterschiedlicher staatlicher Herkunft hinsichtlich der Transformation des kulturellen Kapitals ihrer Familien ist allerdings noch ein Forschungsdesiderat.

Sprache und Macht

Für Bourdieu ist Sprache nicht nur ein einfaches verbales Kommunikationsmittel. Dies hatten bereits Wilhelm v. Humboldt und seine nachfolgende Schule dargelegt. Der neue Akzent, den Bourdieu gesetzt hat, war der Hinweis, dass sprachliche Verhältnisse immer Verhältnisse der symbolischen Macht sind. Durch sie werden die Machtverhältnisse zwischen den SprecherInnen und ihren jeweiligen sozialen Gruppen aktualisiert. (vgl. Bourdieu 1996, S. 177-181.) Auch ist die sprachliche Kompetenz sowohl eine sachliche als auch eine statusgebundene Fähigkeit. Für Bourdieu ist der Zugang zur 'legitimen' Sprache³³ nicht für alle Gruppen im sozialen Raum unserer Gesellschaft in der gleichen Art und im gleichen Umfang möglich. Ungleichheiten in der sprachlichen Kompetenz werden in der alltäglichen Interaktionen in der Schule manifest (vgl. ebd., S. 181). Das bedeutet, dass nicht alle sprachlichen Formulierungen im schulischen Feld auf gleiche Weise akzeptiert werden. Der Zugang zur 'legitimen' Sprache, die auch Tür und Tor für schulischen Erfolg öffnet, ist nach Bourdieu ein völlig ungleicher und wird von Subjekten einer relativ kleinen Gemeinschaft monopolisiert.

SchülerInnen, die zuhause nicht die Unterrichtssprache sprechen, erlernen die 'legitime' Unterrichtssprache primär im schulischen Kontext³⁴. Die 'korrekte', oder besser: die 'korrigierte' Sprache des Unterrichts unterscheidet sich mitunter radikal von der in der Familie erlernten Sprache (vgl. Bourdieu & Passeron 1971, S. 115-116; s. auch das weite Feld der soziolinguistischen Forschung). Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit – Kinder aus der Oberschicht bilden eine Ausnahme, wie es sich bei schulerfolgreichen Kindern aus der persisch-iranischen Oberschicht gezeigt hat – verstärkt sich diese Benachteiligung bei Kindern mit Migrationshintergrund und nicht-deutscher Muttersprache³⁵. Damit ist nicht gemeint, dass das pädagogische Dilemma bei Schülerinnen und Schülern aus restringiertem deutschsprachigen Sprachcode-Milieu übersehen werden darf (vgl. Bredel 2003, Heusinger 2004).

Der Verinnerlichungsprozess beim Erlernen einer Sprache und eines bestimmten Sprachstils nimmt viel Zeit in Anspruch, welche ausschließlich von den Lernenden selbst investiert wird. Es ist banal, daran zu erinnern, dass der Spracherwerb nicht an eine fremde Person delegiert werden kann. Sprache ist somit eine Form von verinnerlichtem (inkorporiertem) kulturellem Kapital und an eine ganz bestimmte Person gebunden.³⁶ Wer am Erwerb von Bildung, d.h. auch an differenzierter Sprachaneignung arbeitet, arbeitet an sich selbst, er bildet sich. Das setzt voraus, dass man mit seiner Person –

³³ Hier grenzt sich Bourdieu von der Soziolinguistik Bernsteins ab, indem er im besonderen auf dessen Vernachlässigung der sozialen Bedingungen bei der Produktion und Reproduktion des elaborierten Sprachcodes hinweist. (Näheres siehe Bourdieu 1991, S. 53). Ähnlich kritisiert Bourdieu die Idealisierung der Sprechsituationen bei Chomsky und Habermas. (Näheres siehe Bourdieu 1990, S. 18-19)

³⁴ Selbstverständlich wird die Unterrichtssprache auch in anderen Kommunikationskontexten teilweise gesprochen, wie z.B. in den Medien.

³⁵ Unter Muttersprache versteht man die in der frühen Kindheit ohne formalen Unterricht erlernte Sprache.

³⁶ Zum den verschiedenen Formen des kulturellen Kapitals siehe Bourdieu 1992, S. 53-63.

nach der Terminologie Bourdieus – ‚bezahlt‘ (vgl. Bourdieu 1992, S. 55). „Man investiert vor allem Zeit, aber auch eine Form sozial konstruierter Libido, die *libido sciendi*³⁷, die alle möglichen Entbehrungen, Versagungen und Opfer mit sich bringen kann,“ (ebd., S. 55). - Freilich sollte nicht vergessen werden, dass diese Versagungen dann zu Kompetenzen führen, die diese Bürden kompensieren und sogar zu einer Art von Funktionslust führen können.

Inkorporiertes (verinnerlichtes) kulturelles Kapital bleibt – nach Bourdieu – geprägt von den Umständen seiner ersten Aneignung und ist auf verschiedenste Weise mit dem Individuum in seiner Einzigartigkeit verbunden (vgl. ebd., S. 57). Durch die Zuordnung eines ‚typischen‘ Sprachstils zu einer Klasse³⁸ oder Region wird auch der jeweilige Wert des kulturellen Kapitals mitbestimmt.

Der Sprachstil ist immer mitbestimmend für den Bildungserfolg, implizit oder explizit auf allen Bildungsstufen und in allen Unterrichtsfächern (vgl. Bourdieu & Passeron 1971, S. 133). Zudem ist die Sprache nicht – wie bereits oben ausgeführt – lediglich ein Kommunikationsmittel, sie liefert neben einem bestimmten Wortschatz auch ein System von mehr oder weniger komplexen Kategorien (wie es besonders im Neu-Humboldtianismus betont wird). D.h. die Fähigkeit, komplexe logische oder ästhetische Strukturen aufzuschlüsseln und anzuwenden, ist von der Komplexität der ‚mitgebrachten‘ Sprache abhängig.

Das sprachliche Milieu der Herkunftsfamilie beeinflusst die Chancen für eine erfolgreiche Bildungslaufbahn positiv oder negativ, je nachdem, ob sich ein Mensch im Laufe seiner Entwicklung jene kultivierte Sprache aneignen konnte, die im Bildungswesen in unterschiedlichen Graden gefordert wird.

Somit beschränkt sich die *Dauer des Bildungserwerbs* – wie am Beispiel der Sprache gezeigt wurde - nicht allein auf die Dauer des Schulbesuchs (vgl. Bourdieu 1992, S. 56). Auch die Primärsozialisation in der Familie muss als *gewonnene Zeit* oder als *negativer Faktor*, d.h. paradoxerweise doppelt verlorene Zeit in Rechnung gestellt werden. Dies bedeutet einmal einen Vorsprung, ein anderes Mal Kompensation der negativen Folgen eines Bildungsdefizits, weil zusätzliche Zeit eingesetzt werden muss, um dieses Defizit auszugleichen. Dieser zeitliche Aspekt – so interpretiere ich Bourdieu - bedeutet allerdings nicht eine naive Erneuerung der Defizithypothese, weil er nicht direkt auf einen klar definierten sogenannten Mangel hinweist, sondern auf die Ökonomie der Zeit, die ihren irreversiblen Charakter nie abschütteln wird: SchulanfängerInnen, welche die Unterrichtssprache schlecht beherrschen, sind somit doppelt benachteiligt, denn die Zeit, in der sie versuchen, ihre Defizite auszugleichen, fehlt ihnen für die Aneignung anderweitiger Fähigkeiten. SchülerInnen oder Studierende aus privilegiertem sprachlichen Milieu haben im Gegensatz dazu einen, für weitere Schullaufbahnentscheidungen entscheidenden, Bildungsvorsprung. Dies mag vielleicht kontrovers, jedoch kurzschlüssig von der interkulturellen Pädagogik gesehen werden, wenn sie die Pointe Bourdieus als Wiederholung des Defizit-Ansatzes bei Migrant*innenkindern mißverstehet.³⁹ Für Bourdieu würde die Unterschlagung der zeitlichen Dimension jedoch eher ein Wunschdenken aufgeklärter ForscherInnen darstellen.

³⁷ Liebe zur Wissenschaft (Anmerkung der Verfasserin).

³⁸ Zum Begriff ‚Klasse‘ s. Anm. 1.

³⁹ M.E. ist bei Bourdieu durchaus eine Brücke – auch in der behandelten Frage der Temporalität - zum monolingualen Habitus (s. Gogolin 1994) möglich.

Ausmaß und Dauer, die Kinder zur Verfügung haben, um sich ‚anerkanntes‘ kulturelles Kapital anzueignen, hängt primär von der jeweiligen Kapitalausstattung innerhalb der Familie ab (vgl. Bourdieu 1992, S. 58-59). Daraus resultieren unterschiedliche Fähigkeiten der Kinder, den kulturellen Anforderungen eines langandauernden Aneignungsprozesses in der Schule gerecht zu werden. Ein Kind hat nur die Möglichkeit, die Zeit für die Akkumulation von kulturellem Kapital so lange auszudehnen, wie ihm seine Familie freie, von ökonomischen Zwängen befreite Zeit zu garantieren in der Lage ist. Zeit ist somit auch *das* Bindeglied zwischen ökonomischem und kulturellem Kapital.

Jeder Sprechakt oder Diskurs ist in seiner jeweiligen Konstellation – nach Bourdieu – „das Produkt des Zusammentreffens eines *sprachlichen Habitus* und eines *sprachlichen Marktes*, das heißt eines Systems von sozial konstituierten Dispositionen auf der einen Seite [...] und eines Systems von Verhältnissen der symbolischen Macht auf der anderen Seite, die über ein System von spezifischen Sanktionen und Zensurmaßnahmen durchgesetzt werden [...]„ (Bourdieu 1996, S. 180). Sprachlicher Habitus kann unter anderem beschrieben werden als eine bestimmte Ausdrucksweise, eine bestimmte Art des Sprechens, d.h. auch als eine bestimmte Sprachkompetenz. Dazu gehört die soziale Fähigkeit zum adäquaten Sprachgebrauch in gegebenen Situationen (vgl. ebd.).

Charakteristisch für SchülerInnen und Studierende aus weniger privilegierten Milieus ist der Umstand, dass sich diese um sprachliche Sicherheit bemühen müssen, um sich den Sprachnormen der Schule anzupassen (vgl. Bourdieu & Passeron 1971, 114-115). In der Distanz von Muttersprache und der in der Schule geforderten Sprache liegen auch die Wurzeln der unterschiedlichen Einstellungen zur ‚Bildungssprache‘ überhaupt (vgl. ebd.,

S. 112). Diese Einstellungen zur ‚Bildungssprache‘ „bilden eines der eindeutigsten Kennzeichen für die soziale Stellung des Sprechenden„ (ebd., S. 112).

SchülerInnen und Studierende aus privilegierten sprachlichen Milieus haben die Fähigkeit erlernt, sich ‚ungezwungen‘, sicher und differenziert auszudrücken. Zwischen der Einstellung der privilegierten Klassen zur Sprache und zum Bildungswesen besteht nach Bourdieu eine eindeutige Affinität: „Das Bildungswesen verlangt die Verbalisierung der Erfahrung und damit genau die Einstellung zur Kultur, zu den Erfahrungen und der sie ausdrückenden Sprache, die für den Bildungsbegriff jener Klassen konstitutiv ist„ (Ebd., S. 115).

Sprachliche Verhältnisse sind immer Verhältnisse der symbolischen Macht (vgl. Bourdieu 1996, S. 177). Es ist nach Bourdieu nicht möglich, einen Kommunikationsakt allein anhand einer reinen sprachlichen Analyse zu interpretieren. Dieser wird nämlich mitbestimmt durch die jeweiligen Machtverhältnisse zwischen den KommunikationspartnerInnen. Jeder sprachliche Austausch ist zugleich mit ein Produkt eines komplexen Netzes von historischen Machtverhältnissen, nämlich der Art der Autoritätsbeziehung zwischen den Sprechenden (z.B. zwischen der Position der Lehrenden und der SchülerInnen).

Das strukturelle Machtverhältnis zwischen Lehrpersonen und SchülerInnen bleibt in unterschiedlichsten Kommunikationskontexten prinzipiell – ohne Unterschied zwischen Migrant*in-Kind oder nicht - erhalten: Auch wenn die Lehrperson im Unterricht, als Zeichen für ihr Bemühen, einen Sachverhalt in der Sprache des Schülers wiederholt, so verzichtet sie zwar vorübergehend auf ihre herrschende Position. Deren Ausklammerung bleibt fiktiv, auch wenn sie in humaner Zuwendung geschieht. Diese fiktive Ausklammerung des Machtverhältnisses profitiert gerade von diesem

Machtverhältnis, weil sie auf deren Boden steht (vgl. Bourdieu 1996, S. 178). Dies mag für viele, die auf eine humanistische Psychologie bauen, hart klingen. Bourdieu läßt sich jedoch in seiner strukturellen Analyse nicht beirren und ebnet deshalb nicht die verschiedenen Positionen ein, deren Ungleichheit durch noch so intensives pädagogisches Bemühen nicht aus der Welt zu schaffen ist. Die weitaus häufigere Situation in der Praxis, ist natürlich nicht die oben beschriebene, sondern eine Situation, in der von den SchülerInnen verlangt wird, die Unterrichtssprache anzuwenden – diese ist sicherlich auch differenziert hinsichtlich ihrer regionalen Bindung und unterschiedlicher Nähe zur Hochsprache. Wenn der/die Schüler/in zudem restringiert spricht, ist sein/ihr sprachliches Kapital entsprechend entwertet. Und hier zeigt sich, daß die sprachliche Interaktion zwischen InländerInnen und AusländerInnen vom strukturellen Verhältnis ihrer jeweiligen Beherrschung des Deutschen, d.h. von ungleichgewichtigen Machtverhältnissen geprägt ist, wobei nicht geleugnet wird, daß es außerhalb des Unterrichts schulische Szenen geben kann, in denen aufgrund der Dynamik heterogener Gruppen zu einer Umkehrung der im Unterricht vorherrschenden Machtverhältnisse kommen kann.

Die Weitergabe und der Erwerb von Bildungskapital geschieht viel verborgener als dies beim ökonomischen Kapital der Fall ist (vgl. Bourdieu 1992, S. 57). Dabei wird meist verkannt, dass der Erwerb von sprachlichem Kapital primär in der Familie stattfindet und dass die Fähigkeit zum differenzierten Sprachgebrauch unter sehr ungleichen Voraussetzungen erworben wird. Der Besitz von kulturellem Kapital (z.B. einer elaborierten Sprechweise) kann zur Basis für weitere materielle und symbolische Profite werden.

Die Möglichkeit und Fähigkeit zur Aneignung von Bildungstiteln wird – nach Bourdieu – mitbestimmt von dem in der gesamten Familie verkörperten kulturellen Kapital. Wie oben ausgeführt, beginnt die Akkumulation von kulturellem Kapital bereits in der frühesten Kindheit. Jene Art von nützlichen Fähigkeiten, die im Bildungssystem primär eingefordert werden, wird – ohne Verzögerung und Zeitverlust – nur in jenen Familien erworben, die über ein hohes Potential an kulturellem Kapital verfügen.

Nach Bourdieu ist die Übertragung von kulturellem Kapital zweifellos die am meisten verdeckte Form ‚erblicher‘ Übertragung von Kapital (vgl. Bourdieu 1998, S. 35). Im Unterschied zu den anderen Kapitalformen (dem ökonomischen oder sozialen Kapital) hat kulturelles Kapital im Bildungssystem einen besonders hohen Wert, weil die Übertragung der anderen Kapitalformen hier sozial kontrolliert wird. Eine korrekte Analyse der Entstehung von Chancen(un)gleichheiten im Bildungswesen müsste somit bei der Entschleierung der ‚Vererbungswege‘ von kulturellem Kapital ansetzen.

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7.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

The question of otherness and scientific discourse

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In the last decades the discourse about otherness has widened in a way that was simply inconceivable before. The fact that the question of otherness is far from being reduced to an academic issue certainly contributes to such a spread: the attention paid to what constitutes the „dark sides“ of western identity increases more and more, both in the United States of America and in Europe. Additionally, there is a widespread consensus about the fact that the main issue here is immediately a political one. Our relationship to otherness begins to acquire visibility, or begins to be a problem, both of theoretical and of practical relevance, only in the moment in which we begin to perceive the extent to which the construction of the self takes place thanks to certain mechanisms of exclusion. What we classify under the concept of „otherness“ is strictly connected to these mechanisms. Moreover, we are aware of the fact that such mechanisms of exclusion affect every construction of the self, no matter whether that self is intended as a collective or an individual factor.

It is well known that philosophy has largely contributed to the rise of the consciousness that the construction of the self is deeply affected by otherness – and, conversely, that any discourse about otherness implies a form of incorporation of the other carried on by the subject who accomplishes this discourse. Names like Lacan, Foucault, Levinas, Ricoeur, Said, Derrida constitute normal references for all those who try to enlarge or refine this issue. On the other hand, the whole discourse within the humanities could also be regarded as an attempt to define the boundary between the self and the other. At the beginning, this attempt was strictly tied to the idea that we can possibly recognize the difference between what constitutes our identity and what constitutes the identity of people located in another dimension, no matter whether spatial or temporal. Today, on the contrary, it is almost common sense to consider thoroughly misleading the simple idea that this difference can be treated as an obvious presupposition, which does not itself deserve an analysis. A fundamental entanglement between philosophy and humanities on the one hand and a deep reassessment of the humanities themselves has on the other hand led to the present situation.

In this context, I think a genealogical reconstruction of the main concept used within the humanities is useful in order to locate the aforementioned difference, i.e. the concept of culture. The issue at stake here is present in the actual discussion within cultural anthropology, the discipline, which, more than others, has shown a receptiveness towards a critical revision of its own conceptual tools. My idea is that such a critical revision is to be extended to all the disciplines that make use of the concept of culture. These disciplines are: biblical philology, classical philology, and history of religion. The scope of such an analysis could be to bring into prominence the fact that the use made by these disciplines of the concept of culture met – and largely meets – demands the

nature of which is not only cognitive, but also ideological. In other words, the issue here concerns the ideological significance of the fact that, in a precise moment of modern history, these disciplines arose within the academic system in order to provide the conceptual management of difference. The anthropological discourse focused on those cultural forms that represent the beginnings of human civilisation, whereas the concept of culture, associated with that of development, provided the articulation of the difference between the original (both in the sense of primary and primitive) and the fully accomplished. Parallel to cultural anthropology, history of religions gave place to a similar outlook regarding the difference between what is to be considered a primitive (or still not well developed) form of religious belief and what is to be considered, at least implicitly, the fulfilment of the spiritual development of mankind. Both cultural anthropology and history of religions dealt with form of otherness immediately characterized as such. Classical philology and biblical philology, on the other hand, focussed on what we could call an internal difference within the Western civilisation. Classical philology saw the difference between the ancient civilisation and our present one as a difference between two poles both placed on the same axis. While the savages studied by anthropologists show the cultural stage we came from but have left behind us, the ancient civilisation exhibits the direct provenance of our cultural tradition. The same spirit (*Geist*) possessed by Greeks and Romans is at work within us, and all the main achievements of our civilisation are nothing but better refined enlargements of what the ancient world put into existence. Biblical philology located other forms of difference along what was supposed to be the continuum of Western civilisation, namely the difference between Judaism and Christianity on one hand, and the difference between Christianity and Modernity on the other. Scholars of Old Testament philology, even if not tempted by anti-Semitic positions, constructed their own object of research in such way that the old Judaism resulted in being a relevant agent of our tradition only as a preparatory factor of Christianity. Jewish tradition, while at the same time part of our common heritage and excluded from it, has been thus submitted to an incorporation which made impossible to perceive the peculiar and autonomous position it occupied. New Testament scholars treated the object of their researches in a way that seem to be as ideologically charged as the way Old Testament scholars worked. Well aware that the results of the historical method applied to the New Testament would have led to a rejection of its religious significance, they often laid claim for a strong distinction between the religious relevance of Jesus' message and the historical conditions in which this message came to be a part of the classical world. Such an attitude was largely due to the fact that Biblical philology, as a part of the faculty of Theology, was not able (and I would say not authorized) to answer the question concerning the difference between modernity and Christianity.

In such a context, it seems to be opportune and fruitful to speak of „disciplines of otherness“. As Foucault pointed out, the scientific interest in any form of otherness always takes place in conjunction with another interest, which is not of scientific but rather of ideological nature. This assumption becomes particularly evident when considering both the history of the aforementioned disciplines and their mutual relationships. These disciplines have been charged with the description of what constitutes for us a peculiar form of otherness; such a description should provide the perception of the boundary beyond which our being a part of a continuous and established historical heritage becomes questionable. The concept of culture (together with that of religion) plays a central role here. Through this concept it becomes possible to structure a hierarchy the implicit scope of which is to legitimise the superiority of the

Western tradition. The concept of culture, in other words, locates the other in a dimension where the main constituents of our modern identity are present as a modulation of what we are not, but could be or could have been, if only our civilisation hadn't gone the path it took. In this way, what the concept of culture excludes, that is the sound of the other's voice, receives a place „within us“, and precisely as a possible internal variation of that form of civilisation which presents itself as the only possible one.