



Institutional mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in Austrian pre-service teacher education

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Abstract

Based on the Austrian government's program of the XXIVth legislation period, which recommends to "offer incentives so that more qualified people with a migration background start pedagogical training,"¹ (Bundeskanzleramt, 2008, p. 203) the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture funded a nationwide project named 'Diversity and multilingualism in pedagogical professions' to reduce the underrepresentation of teachers with a so-called migration background. 35 expert interviews were conducted with teachers of seven Austrian universities of education. This article gives a summary of the results of a secondary analysis; they are presented as a reconstruction of different ways of talking about teachers and teacher students in a context of migration and multilingualism, including attributions of specific responsibilities and de-qualifications of teachers seen as migrant others. The results show that language ideologies, in particular the concept of 'native speakerism' serve to legitimize gate-keeping measures.

1. Introduction

In the last 15 years, debates on the topics of migration and multilingualism have increased in countries with German as official language. Hereby, the focus generally lies in identifying the discrimination of students whose first language does not correspond with the language of school instruction, or of students with a so-called migration background. Another focus is to find approaches to overcome this dis-

crimination. In the recent past, the attention has increasingly turned towards teachers with a so-called migration background.

This article presents data and analyses mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of multilingual students and students with a so-called migration background in pre-service teacher training at Austrian universities of education. To provide the necessary context, we give a short overview of the situation in Austria, which is remarkable for two reasons: the Austrian government's program of the XXIVth legislation period includes recommendations to "offer incentives so that more qualified people with a migration background start pedagogical training;" (Bundeskanzleramt, 2008, p. 203) yet there is an evident lack of statistical data and research on teachers and teacher students with a migration background.

In the following, however, we will not use the term 'migration background'. Instead, adopting a migration-pedagogical view, the term 'migrant Others' and 'teachers/teacher students seen as migrant Others' will be used. Drawing on the concept of 'Othering' (Said, 1978), the term 'migrant Others' (Mecheril, Castro Varela, Dirim, Kalpaka & Melter, 2010) accentuates that persons are constructed as Others by labeling practices that distinguish persons with a so-called migration background from persons without a so-called migration background. The process of signifying Others also establishes an idea of who is not seen as Other, but as We. The above-mentioned education policy to focus on teachers with a so-called migration background, or, as suggested here, on teachers seen as migrant Others, constructs a 'special' group by attributing specific qualities and responsibilities to them. From a profession-theoretical perspective, Rotter (2014, p. 77) analyses the ways in which teachers are de-professionalized and de-individualized by an attribution of specific qualities and responsibilities – i.e. particular skills and hence a task to 'look after' students seen as migrant Others. In the following, the term will also be used in contexts where this construction and de-professionalization of teachers seen as migrant Others is analyzed critically, even if it is the researchers' aim *not* to construct their research subjects as Others, as, for example, we try to – because this aim can be expressed but hardly met. The construction of migrant Others by and in research on migrant Others is part of the unsolvable problems of this field of research.

2. Empirical research about inclusion and exclusion in pre-service teacher education

Many studies of the past few years in German speaking countries on teachers seen as migrant Others put their focus on school and student actors in the field.² In her study, Rotter (2014) triangulates the data of school students, teachers, and head

teachers. Focusing on actors in the field of pre-service teacher education, Wojciechowicz (2013) examined how trainee teachers were categorized and attributed meaning to by persons accompanying the school experience placement ('Referendariat').

However, the issue of institutional mechanisms of in- and exclusion has not been systematically considered so far. With reference to the Report on Education of 2010 (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2010), Bandorski and Karakaşoğlu (2013) report a lower representation of students seen as migrant Others aged between 20 and 30 years at higher education in Germany (17 % at higher education, 23 % in total population) and a lower success rate (49 % of students seen as migrant Others and 70 % of students seen as German graduate successfully). As a consequence, support measures based on students' needs were designed.

Similar to this study, the project presented in this article ('Diversity and Multilingualism in Pedagogic Professions') aimed to develop support measures for institutions of pre-service teacher training. Originally, institutional mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion were not part of the research question, but results necessitated to look into this direction. While scholars writing in English-medium discourse (cf. Georgi, 2013 for an overview) since the 1980s have focused on institutional obstacles and institutional discrimination (cf. Ogbu, 2001; Bennet, 2001), studies with an explicit focus on structural mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in Austrian pre-service teacher education so far have been lacking. This article will attempt to introduce this focus into the discourse.

3. The project 'Diversity and Multilingualism in Pedagogical Professions'

The interview material analyzed for this article was part of the third-party funded project 'Diversity and Multilingualism in Pedagogical Professions', financed by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture (BMUKK), and carried out between 2011 and 2013 under the supervision of İnci Dirim and Marion Döll at the University of Vienna. It was a subproject of a nationwide project with the same name in which – in cooperation with the BMUKK – seven Austrian universities of education participated. The project followed educational policy recommendations, which have increasingly been made over the past few years in countries with German as official language, especially in Germany. This policy stated that the linguistic and 'cultural' plurality of a migration society should be represented not only in the classroom but also in the teachers' room. This policy, which considered teachers seen as migrant Others as 'dormant resources' that should now be 'used', has been critically discussed in the emerging research in the field

(Georgi et al., 2011; Akbaba, Bräu & Zimmer, 2013). Nevertheless, this governmental recommendation, as well as the corresponding research may be an opportunity to determine the reasons for the underrepresentation of teachers seen as migrant Others, aiming to reduce the inequality suggested by this fact.

Within the nationwide project, various issues were discussed: admission requirements and ‘aptitude’ tests at universities of education, the curricular (non-) consideration of qualifications required from teachers in a migration society, as well as the specific language requirements of the teacher training courses. The issue of language requirements was discussed in two respects: firstly, as a frequently assumed reason why students seen as migrant Others were not admitted for studying or teaching, that is to say as a legitimization of exclusions; and secondly as an aspect that the educating institution was responsible for supporting students in a way that should enable them to study successfully.

The subproject conducted by the University of Vienna project team (İnci Dirim, Marion Döll, and Magdalena Knappik) was situated in this double field of tensions, aiming to work out institutional support measures for the acquisition of discipline-, institution- and profession-specific practical linguistic abilities. Surveys within the research project and debates within the overall project group showed clearly that supporting measures were deemed necessary. However, when data from interviews with experts from universities of education were analyzed, it became apparent that any measures will inevitably fall short if institutional and social conditions are not taken into account.

3.1 Austrian pre-service teacher education

Austrian pre-service teacher training shows particularities that may form barriers at the transition between leaving school and starting teacher training, or at the transition between teacher training and the actual profession. One of these particularities is the strictly separate teacher training courses for so-called compulsory schools (‘Pflichtschulen’, grade 1–9), which take place at universities of education (‘Pädagogische Hochschulen’), and teacher training courses for ‘higher’ secondary schools (‘Allgemeinbildende und Berufsbildende Höhere Schulen’, grade 5–12), which take place at universities. Admission procedures to universities of education are very different from those to universities. At universities, admission is granted for everyone who holds A-levels (‘Matura’). At universities of education, however, an ‘aptitude test’ including language assessment in German must be accomplished in order to gain access on top of holding A-levels (‘Matura’).

The three-year teacher training course at universities of education integrates professional and practical education, whereas the courses at universities only comprise the initial training (five years of specialized studies in two subjects as well as peda-

gogy studies). The one-year teaching practice that follows teacher training at a university is supervised by teachers working at universities of education.

The integration of the practical parts of the program in teacher training for ‘compulsory schools’ is to some extent organized site-specifically. From the first semester onward, usually one day per week is dedicated to teaching practice, where students sit in on school classes and also teach lessons, accompanied by university of education teachers, as well as by teachers of the so-called training school where the lessons are observed and taught. Later in the course, longer practice sessions, of two weeks or more, are common. Each practice lesson held is prepared and followed up in writing and in face-to-face dialogical reflections with a supervisor. In order to continue or complete the studies, each practice module must be completed with positive results. On successful graduation, the graduate receives the teaching qualification and license to teach (‘Lehrbefugnis’). This puts lecturers and practice attendants in the position of a ‘last instance’ before the graduates start their careers, i.e. they are the ones who must or may decide upon graduation and the possibility of their entering the profession.

3.2 Primary aims of the project ‘Diversity and Multilingualism in Pedagogic Professions’

In view of the specific situation at universities of education that includes both theoretical studies and practical training, the quality and level of language requirements for students turned out to be a central question within the project. To answer this question, semi-structured expert interviews were conducted with 35 teachers of seven Austrian universities of education.³ The interview’s focus was on the experts’ experiences and evaluations as to which kind of language uses and proficiencies were required in teacher training courses at an Austrian university of education. We were interested in language practices that present challenges for the students, as well as in those that students succeed at. We tried to avoid the construction or reification of a group of students in the wording of the questions; only the last question of the interview guideline contained a group-specific reference (‘students with German as a second language’). However, the context of the survey, i.e. the project ‘Diversity and Multilingualism in Pedagogical Professions’ and its goals, was provided at the beginning of the interview, so a context of migration-societal multilingualism was given. A content analysis based on Meuser’s & Nagel’s (2009) approach to analyze expert interviews was conducted.

The results of the analysis showed that all acts of oral communications in the context of the teaching experience placement present a task of development to students, but are usually successfully mastered in the course of studies. This seems plausible in the light of the regular (at least weekly) teaching practice and its super-

vision throughout the studies at a university of education. Examples of areas that initially cause problems but are mastered in the course of the studies comprise:

- a conscious use of standard German (instead of a dialect),
- the adjustment to age-appropriate speech, and
- drawing pupils' attention through a conscious use of voice.

Concerning the field of written communication, there is a high demand for support regarding pieces of academic writing such as seminar papers or Bachelor's theses, according to the interviewed experts. Four fields were very often named to constitute the greatest difficulties for students:

- a very high workload that requires a high degree of discipline and hinders in-depth discussion,
- grammar and spelling,
- a slip of the language register from academic German to colloquial German,
- and dialectical interferences.

These problems were generally ascribed to all students of universities of education without distinguishing between monolingual and bilingual students.

3.3 Secondary analysis

The interviewed teachers generally followed the clearly outlined context of linguistic challenges of studies at an Austrian university of education. However, at the end of the interview, when asked if they felt there were differences between students who grew up monolingually and those who grew up in a multilingual environment at accomplishing the required language practices, the majority of teachers left the previously established context. Instead of reporting on any specific language barriers, as we would have expected, the interviewees chose to discuss various subject areas, mostly with a reference to migration and multilingualism; they gave vague or no responses at all to the question asked. It became clear that there was a need among the interviewees to talk about migration and multilingualism. This led us to decide to do a secondary analysis of data where the interview material was categorized inductively for the identification of key categories. Subsequently, the key sequences were interpreted hermeneutically. The subject of the analysis is based on all statements that were made by the 35 interviewees about students with a migration background and students who grew up in a multilingual environment.

Two slightly different interview guidelines were used, one for university of education lecturers, who also supervise written papers, and one for lecturers who also supervise teaching practice. The last question for the first group was "How do you think students whose first language is not German deal with these genres? Are there

differences?”, after several questions that generally dealt with different academic genres and the challenges they pose to students. The last question for teaching practice supervisors was: “Are there areas that stand out concerning students with German as a second language?” Precedent questions dealt with linguistic practices that have to be mastered while teaching in a training placement.

Both questions create the notion of two seemingly distinct groups – ‘students with German as a second language’ vs. ‘students with German as a first language’. In doing so, they evoke the idea that the speaking and writing proficiency of students differs depending on whether German is their first or second language. Both questions create a space of talking about Others and – because the aspect of a ‘second language’ is linked to migration – contain an invitation to create migrant Others (Mecheril et al., 2010). This constitutes a problem inherent to research projects with research interests like the one described in this article (cf. Rotter, 2014, p. 151 f., who problematizes her interview guideline in a similar way, and also cf. Georgi, 2013, p. 99): as the aim of these projects is to detect potential needs for support to acquire and meet academic language requirements, the interviewers also asked for potential specific needs of students with different language acquisition biographies. The above-mentioned interview questions reflect the conflicting aims of the project – trying to develop supportive course-accompanying measures without a deficit-based construction of groups with need for support.

3.4 Digressions

In the first step of analysis, the statements made by the interviewees were categorized thematically. Five key issues were identified:

- language proficiency,
- working conditions at universities of education,
- enrichment through students seen as migrant Others,
- responsibilities of teachers seen as migrant Others, and
- German as a subject in school.

3.4.1 Language proficiency

On account of the interview questions, it was to be expected that the issue of *language proficiency* of students seen as migrant Others and students who grew up in a multilingual environment would be brought up. The interviewees mentioned specific cases, generally describing the students’ proficiency in German as either remarkably imperfect or extremely competent:

- Befragter/ Interviewee: [...] aber mir ist auch aufgefallen, dass Studierende, die zweisprachig sind, also [anerkannte Minderheitensprache]-Deutsch sich noch amal schwerer tun
 [...] *but I also remarked that students who are bilingual, that means [recognized minority language]-German have even more difficulties*
- Interviewer: wie äußert sich das [?]
How does this show [?]
- Befragter/ Interviewee: naja, dass sie simple Sätze net aufs Papier bringen
well, that they can't even write simple sentences
- Interviewer: mhm mhm
- Befragter/ Interviewee: dass sie Sätze nicht miteinander verbinden können, dass sie falsche Verben verwenden, äh, ich mein, es gibt auch welche, die perfekt sind
that they can't connect sentences with one another, that they use the wrong verbs, er, I mean there are others who are perfect (Interview 22, 48–52)

This dichotomization between *fundamentally imperfect* and *perfect* is represented in the data solely associated with students seen as migrant Others and students who grew up in a multilingual environment. Students who grew up monolingually or who are not seen as migrant Others are usually placed on a standard/dialect continuum. An increased use of dialect grammar and lexic and a strong dialect accent are perceived as inappropriate, and are thus criticized. Some interviewees talked about measures taken at their institutions to support students in acquiring the standard register. Unlike students seen as migrant Others or students who grew up multilingually due to migration, whose proficiency in the German (standard) language is described as either *fundamentally imperfect* or *perfect*, students “of Austrian origin” (Interview 13, 163) are conceded a potential for linguistic development: those who deviate from standard language use but are not seen as migrant Others are assumed to be able to adopt the required language norms in the course of the studies:

- Befragter/ Interviewee: [...] ich habe jetzt Lehrvorführungen vom ersten Semester gesehen, da merkt man halt schon noch äh dieses [:], wenn sie an alle Methoden und Sozialformen denken müssen, dann kommt selbstverständlich ihre/ ihre Muttersprache, sprich Dialektsprache, heraus
 [...] *I saw teaching experience performances of the first semester and there you can still see, er, this [:], if they have to consider all these methods and social forms, of course their native language, in other words their dialect, shows*
- Interviewer: Mhm
- Befragter/ Interviewee: aba des gwöhnt ma si leicht um [...]
but you easily adapt to the new situation [...] (Interview 6, 39–41)

3.4.2 Working conditions at universities of education

Another frequent answer, digressing from the original question about experiences with multilingual students, is a detailed description of organizational and legal *working conditions* at universities of education. Interviewees often refer to the small number of multilingual students at their own institution to explain the lack of observations about the development of writing skills of this student group. Linked to these remarks are statements about the selectivity of the university's admission procedures that indicate a discrimination of multilingual students. This can best be seen in a sequence of interview 16 where 'native speaker language proficiency' is presented as a selection criterion:

- Befragter/ Interviewee: aus dem Grund oder auch weils gesetzlich vorgeschrieben is, ham wir einen Sprachteil, der sowohl bepunktet wird als auch ein ein K.O.-Selektionskriterium ist, das heißt, wer nicht 60 Prozent dieses Sprachteils schafft, kommt nicht rein
for this reason and also because it is regulated by law, we have a language section that is equally seen as scoring as well as a knockout selection criterion, which means that whoever doesn't pass the language section with 60 percent is not getting in
- Interviewer: Mhm
- Befragter/ Interviewee: und dieser Sprachteil ist, natürlich weil ma/ natürlich hauptsächlich Leute ham mit deutscher Muttersprache, auch selektiv, weil sonst mochts ja kein Sinn net, und den schafft praktisch niemand, der nicht deutsche Muttersprache hat
and this language section, obviously, 'cause we mainly got people with German as a mother tongue, is selective too, 'cause otherwise it just wouldn't make sense, and practically nobody passes that test who doesn't have German as a mother tongue
- Interviewer: mh mhm
- Befragter/ Interviewee: damit ist die Frage schon obsolet, wir ham praktisch nur ganz wenige Leute, die von früher noch da sind, die nicht deutsche Muttersprache ham
thus, the question itself has become obsolete; we practically have only very few people who are still there from before who don't have German as a mother tongue (Interview 16, 120–124)

An extract from another interview (Interview 18) with an expert from another university of education indicates that the selection criterion 'native speaker language proficiency' in the admission tests is operationalized by idiomatic expressions.

- Befragter/ Interviewee: und da geht's so vor allem so um um Redewendungen und Ähnliches
and in this regard it's, above all, a matter of idiomatic expressions and the like (Interview 18, 47)

So far, there is no evidence that understanding and creating idiomatic expressions could be indicators for the specific linguistic proficiencies needed when teaching. Conversely, this suggests that the procedure applied serves less to take objective and professionally justified decisions but rather functions as a (university-)politically motivated or at least tolerated gate-keeping-mechanism for specific groups of people. According to Douglas (2001), procedures that truly prove linguistic qualification for a specific professional field are distinguished by subject-adequate analysis and development procedures; in other words:

- by a discipline- and occupation-oriented structure modeling of the construct under examination;
- an empirical analysis of subject and occupation-typical usage of language in context situations in order to derive appropriate testing contents and methods, as well as
- an inclusion of experts in the respective specialist area or occupation (ibid., p. 174).

Although all of the various universities of education develop and utilize their own tests that differ in means of content and methodology, all of the procedures still face the issue of missing subject adequacy as, so far, no analyses have been carried out concerning actual language requirements of compulsory school teachers or students to become compulsory school teachers.

In the majority of interviews, the interviewees mention the low number of multilingual students at their universities of education and associate this with the institutions' admission tests, in particular their language proficiency tests. However, only few question the appropriateness of the applied German language testing procedures – and consequently possible risks of systematic discrimination are not being addressed.

Although not in context with aptitude tests but with focus on assessments of written performances, one of the interviewees (Interview 19) criticizes the occurrence of discrimination of multilingual students:

- Befragter/ Interviewee: also ich würde sagen, wenn man so sehr darauf besteht, dass Studierende mit Migrationshintergrund ihre Deutschkenntnisse unter Beweis stellen, dann sollte man auch bei den österreichischen Studierenden etwas genauer hinschauen
so, I would say that if it is so important for students with a migration background to prove their knowledge of German, then there should be more attention paid to Austrian students as well

- Interviewer: mhm mhm haben Sie den Eindruck, dass da mit zweierlei Maß gemessen wird [?]
mhm mhm do you have the impression that this is due to double standards [?]
- Befragter/ Interviewee: ja, ganz ehrlich, ja, es wird schon nicht so genau hingeschaut, wenn es eine
yes, to be honest, yes, they do not look very closely in the case of
- Interviewer: ja
yes
- Befragter/ Interviewee: offensichtlich eine Studierende äh österreichischer Provenienz is wie bei Studierenden mit Migrationshintergrund, das stört mich auch sehr
students who obviously have uhm Austrian nationality compared to those with a migration background. That really bothers me in case with
- Interviewer: ja, bei schriftlichen Arbeiten [?]
yes, with written papers [?]
- Befragter/ Interviewee: bei schriftlichen Arbeiten – ich hab immer wieder so das so das Gefühl, es mag ein Gefühl sein, aber es es kommt so aus den Gesprächen heraus, weil ich mich auch mit dem Thema sehr beschäftige
with written papers – again and again I have that kind of feeling, yes it might be a feeling, but mainly it reveals itself in conversations and also I really think a lot about this topic (Interview 19, 80–86)

3.4.3 Enrichment through students seen as migrant Others

The third central category within this subject is *enrichment*. Throughout all of the material there are statements that indicate that students with a migration background as well as multilingual students are described as enrichment for schools and universities of education, as they would bring linguistic and cultural diversity to colleges and schools. Yet, actual appreciation is either bound to a high level of expertise in German or high artistic and academic skills.

- Befragter/ Interviewee: wie gsagt, die, die wirklich gut Deutsch können, es werden zusehends mehr, die sind eine Bereicherung und die sind dann meistens aber auch wirklich sehr gut
as I said, those, those who speak German really well, and their number is increasing, those are an enrichment and most of them really are very good (Interview 15, 199)

- Befragter/ Interviewee: wie gsagt, manche bringens mit vom ersten Moment an, und da lernen wir mit, also, grad in der neuen Gruppe, i hab drei Akademikerinnen drin, eine Politikwissenschaftlerin, eine Bühnenbildnerin, die jetzt ein Monat in Madrid an der Oper noch ihren Vertrag erfüllen musste, also ich seh das als ungeheure Bereicherung
as mentioned before, some just bring it with them right from the beginning and then we learn with them too, so, especially in new groups, I got three graduates in one group, one is a political scientist, the other one a

stage set designer, who had to fulfill her contract for one more month at an opera in Madrid, so I see this as a tremendous asset (Interview 17, 191)

3.4.4 Responsibilities of teachers seen as migrant Others

Additionally, the motive for talking about enrichment is connected to an aspect of specific *responsibility* that is attributed to multilingual students with a migration background. On the one hand, they should operate as *role models* for students, and on the other hand it is assumed that multilingual teachers or teachers with a migration background have a better *access* to multilingual students or students with a migration background; moreover, they are provided with the capability to *build a bridge* between multilingual families or families with a migration background and the Austrian school.

Befragter/ Interviewee: und ich denke mir, dass Lehrerinnen und Lehrer, die aus einer Zuwanderungsgeschichte zu uns kommen an die Pädagogische Hochschule, um selber LehrerInnen/ also StudentInnen, die kommen um, selber Lehrerinnen und Lehrer zu werden, dass die unheimlich wertvoll sind für die Schule, für jede einzelne Schule, an der sie in Zukunft unterrichten werden, weil sie ein Brückenschlag bilden sowohl für die Kinder/ als auch für die Eltern/ als auch für einen Lehrkörper, und Diversität im Lehrkörper kann nur eine riesengroße Bereicherung sein im gesellschaften / im gesamtgesellschaftlichen Bild Österreichs
and I think that teachers who come to our university of education from a migration background to become teachers themselves, that is to say teacher students, that they are an incredibly precious asset for the schools, for each of the schools they are going to teach at, because they can act as a bridge between children, parents but also teachers as well as they can improve diversity within the teaching staff which means a great enrichment for Austria's whole society. (Interview 19, 148)

Here, multilingual families and those seen as migrant Others are considered ‘special cases’ or rather a ‘special group’ because of their attributed otherness and their assumed differences to the Austrian majority society, a ‘fact’ which is deemed to require building bridges. Teachers that are perceived as members of these groups are seen as particularly suitable for this task; they are, on the one hand, familiar with linguistic and cultural practices of ‘those’ pupils and families, and on the other hand can act as role models – in particular linguistic ones – for students. This focus is based on the understanding of multilingual families and families seen as migrant Others generally being incompatibly ‘different’ in lifestyle and language use to families considered monolingual and Austrian. Teachers seen as migrant Others or multilingual are expected to be particularly well placed to meet the needs of ‘other’ pupils and families, as they grew up multilingual or are seen as migrant Others

themselves. Against this backdrop, a professional stance towards dealing with natio-ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity does not appear to be an acquirable qualification but a quality that is acquired through a socialization process that resembles the one of pupils and families. Building on this idea, one of the interviewees suggests that prospective migrant Other students, who fail regular admission procedures, should still be allowed to access the teacher training course, but with a restriction to only be allowed to teach at ‘hotspot’ schools after graduation (Interview 16, 132 f.). In that sense, it seems to be the sole responsibility of teachers seen as migrant Others to teach heritage languages and migration topics, as well as linguistic and cultural ‘enrichment’ to promote the relations with pupils in every day school life. This concept is taken for granted in such a way that a refusal of this attributed responsibility by students triggers confusion and disconcertment:

Befragter/ ja, eine, äh, Studierende aus der Türkei oh ja äh ja [::] da hat mich sehr
 Interviewee: verwundert [::], dass sie sehr wenig aus ihrer ei / eigenen Heimat einge-
 bracht hat, äh, denn i hab sie a paar Mal angesprochen, dass grad in den
 Klassen, weil wir ja auch in den Schulklassen Schüler mit Migrations-
 hintergrund haben, ähm [::], dass sie dann auch ihre Sprache mit ein-
 bringt, wir ham ja grad viele Schüler Türkisch oder Kurdisch in einigen
 Klassen

*yes, one, er, student from Turkey oh yes uhm yeah [::] it really surprised
 me [::] that she had little to contribute from her home, uhm, because I
 addressed her a few times about that especially in class at school, be-
 cause there we got pupils with a migration background too, uhm [::]
 that she could bring her language into the class as we got lots of pupils
 with Turkish or Kurdish there*

Interviewer: mhm mhm

Befragter/ und da hab ich gemerkt, dass sie sehr wenig Bezug zu ihrem eigenen
 Interviewee: Land hat

and then I realized that she has little reference to her own country

Interviewer: Mhm

Befragter/ und sie hat/ obwohl sie eine Mutt / ihre Erstsprache kann

Interviewee: *and she has/although she can speak a mother/ her first language (Inter-
 view 7, 90–92)*

Besides the essentialization and de-individualization, which herein are referred to as the idea of ‘culture’, this procedure can also be read as de-professionalization, as Rotter (2014, p. 77) suggests from a profession-theoretical perspective with reference to Oevermann (1996) and Helsper (2004). Oevermann distinguishes three tasks for teachers: transferring knowledge, communicating norms, and acting as a counsellor. Regarding interactions that refer to the person as a whole (e.g. their biography, emotionality etc.; in contrast to role-specific interaction, Oevermann calls these “diffuse relational patterns”), the “rule of abstinence” applies similar to

therapeutical settings: although teachers can perceive these emotional dimensions, they are expected to “... create and ... channel interactions in the sense of specific and role-shaped social relationships” (Rotter, 2014, p. 62). Rotter consequently analyses: “the participation in diffuse relational patterns connected to a relationship of proximity between pupils and teachers cannot be conceded due to the rule of abstinence; in other words, it cannot be granted exclusively or permanently in line with their professionalism as it would interfere with their role as teachers” (ibid., p. 63). The aspect of *enrichment*, therefore, indicates that teachers seen as migrant Others are not conceded to act – and to have to act – role-specifically as teachers. This is accompanied by an essentialising and de-individualizing codification. In addition, a supposedly positive appreciation of migrant Others can be used to make specific requirements seem plausible: “as I said before, those, those who speak German really well, and their number is increasing, those are an enrichment” (Interview 15, 199).

3.4.5 German as a subject in school

The fifth and last central thematic excursus provides to some extent the counterpart to the category of responsibility, in other words an ascribed non-competence for the *subject German*. This is connected with a skeptical stance towards the suitability for teaching posts at elementary and special schools where teachers teach all subjects, including German. The teaching subject German is discussed in two respects: On the one hand, there is a demand for teachers of this subject to be able to speak a “beautiful German” (Interview 4, 58); on the other hand, interviewees report of little acceptance from parents towards teachers seen as migrant Others, as the following example illustrates

Befragter/ Interviewee: [...] es gibt's nur eine einzige Kollegin bei uns an der Schule, die, äh, Ungarisch als ihre Erstsprache hat, ähm, in der Färbung hört mans, die unterrichtet Deutsch, die Eltern haben damit ein Problem, wenn sie, zum Beispiel nach dem Elternsprechtag hab ich das, dass viele Eltern kommen und sagen, wie kann die Kollegin Deutsch unterrichten, das merkt man ja selber, dass die, äh, eigentlich einen Migrationshintergrund hat
 [...] we only have one colleague at our school, who, uhm, has Hungarian as a first language, uhm, you can hear it in her intonation and she teaches German, the parents have a problem with that, when she, for example after 'parents consultation day', many parents address me to ask how she could actually teach German and you just notice that she, uhm, actually has a migration background (Interview 1, 87)

The interviewee reports that *native-speaker language proficiency* of German teachers is very important to the parents, but also that some of the interviewees explicitly demand it (Interview 31, 210). In another interview the interviewee explains that students seen as migrant Others have little interest in becoming teachers for elementary schools anyway as it would be well-known that ‘perfect German’ is a requirement for that (Interview 6, 15–17).

Befragter/ Interviewee: [...] aber prinzipiell hat jetzt das Lehramt in der allgemeinbildenden Pflichtschule, vor allem in der Grundschule, also Volksschule, den Anspruch an die Muttersprachlichkeit und ich muss ihnen ganz ehrlich sagen, ich kenn auch niemanden, der jetzt in der Grundschule unterrichtet oder das Studium zurzeit absolviert, der nicht akzentfrei muttersprachliches Deutsch spricht

[...] but in general the teaching profession for compulsory school, especially in elementary school requires native-speaker language proficiency and to be honest, I really don't know anybody who is currently teaching at primary school or studying for it who doesn't speak a native and accent free German (Interview 31, 210)

Befragter/ Interviewee: wenn also/ ich bin ja bei Aufnahmegesprächen von allen dabei, nicht nur von Volksschulen und also wer von / mit Migrationshintergrund gekommen ist, hat er meist a anderes Fach wollen, nicht Volksschule ge also schon allan die ham sich selbst scho richtig eigschätzt
so if/ well, I am present at the admission interviews of all of them and not only at those for elementary school and those, from/with a migration background, mostly want another subject anyway – not elementary school, so they assess themselves realistically anyway

Interviewer: mhm mhm

Befragter/ Interviewee: soweit ist das schon durchgedrungen, dass das in der Volksschule [::] eigentlich net haltbar wäre, wenn jetzt jemand net perfektes Deutsch kann
to some extent it already is acknowledged that in primary schools [::] it wouldn't be acceptable if somebody wasn't able to speak perfect German (Interview 6, 15–17)

3.5 Leitmotif and dilemma

The analysis of data within the five thematic categories outlined above reveals on the one hand a dilemma that teachers try to deal with, and on the other hand a leitmotif that becomes apparent when looking at the suggestions for solutions and the speaking about migrant Other students. The dilemma is that teachers as employees of an institution that grants the authority to teach have to safeguard that, during their course of studies, students in pre-service teacher education acquire all necessary skills to later teach and support their pupils appropriately. It is likely that a

high degree of language proficiency in the language of instruction is essential for this task, perhaps even crucial. However, as there have not been any analyses of the specific language proficiency requirements of teaching at Austrian schools, it is still unclear what level of proficiency in German can be considered as sufficient for teaching. One of the interviewees sums up the difficulty:

- Befragter/ Interviewee: und das ist immer so für uns auch das Problem, dann irgendwo eine Grenze zu ziehen, wo ma dann sagt, ab jetzt müssen wir sagen, jetzt gehts nicht mehr
and for us that's always the problem, to actually draw the line somewhere, where we can say that up to this point and then no more
- Interviewer: mhm
- Befragter/ Interviewee: weil das kann ma so schlecht messen, nur weil jemand vielleicht 15 Rechtschreibfehler wo drinnen hat und er hat aber nicht Deutsch als Erstsprache, da tu ich mir schwer, dass ich sag, wieso soll des jetzt ungenügend sein, es is eigentlich sehr gut für eine Person, die diese Sprache als Zweitsprache hat
because it's so difficult to assess, just because one has about 15 mistakes in a paper, but German is not his first language, then that's very difficult for me to say that it's a fail as it actually is very good for a person who has this language as a second language
- Interviewer: mhm
- Befragter/ Interviewee: aber dann muss ma wieder überlegen, okay, aber is des ausreichend trotzdem, wenn ich als Lehrerin als Lehrer arbeiten möchte und das / do do stoß ma immer an unsere Grenzen
but then again you have to consider, okay, but is that still enough if I want to work as a teacher and at that point, we just always reach our limits (Interview 29, 75–79)

The leitmotif, which runs throughout the whole data, is a *perfect German* in the sense of a native German: ‘Perfect’ German is considered a necessary criterion for the teaching qualification at Austrian schools. The language section of the admission procedure, while ignoring the quality criterion of subject adequacy, is based on native-speaker language proficiency; the aptitude for teaching at primary and special schools is bound to the ability to speak German as a ‘mother tongue’. A discussion of this phenomenon in the light of the term ‘native-speakerism’ (Holliday, 2006) has proved fruitful (Knappik & Dirim, 2013). The term refers to the construction of so-called ‘native speakers’ as superior speakers – and teachers, drawing on colonial ideologies. Following Rommelspacher’s (2009) definition of racism, this phenomenon can be understood as a form of ‘new racism’ (Balibar, 1990, p. 28):

In doing so, social and cultural differences are naturalized, and thus are understood as unchangeable and inheritable social relationships between people (naturalization). People therefore are subdivided and unified into homogeneous groups (homogenization) and de-

clared as incompatible and completely different in contrast to the others (polarization). At the same time, they are placed into a ranking system (hierarchy). Consequently, racism is not only a matter of personal prejudices but also a legitimation for social hierarchies that are based on the discrimination of the so constructed groups (Rommelspacher, 2009, p. 29).

German speakers are divided into ‘natives’ and ‘non-natives’, which are considered as homogeneous. Membership to one of the groups is seen as unchangeable (naturalization) – either you are ‘native’ or not. It is impossible to become a ‘native’ later on but at most it is possible to master German as a foreign or second language on a native-speaker-like level. As a result, the two groups are polarized. At the same time, a hierarchy is established by, for example, unjustified orientation on ‘native-speaker language proficiency’ in preparing aptitude tests for the teaching profession and the demand of German ‘native speaker language proficiency’ as a requirement for teachers at primary schools.

Institutions adopt different strategies to deal with the above-mentioned dilemma that arises from the institutions’ responsibility to account for appropriately trained future teachers while trying to reduce access barriers for underrepresented groups. Of course, this has consequences not only for students seen as migrant Others, but also for students that are not seen as ‘native’. Nevertheless, the analyzed material, which of course reflects Austrian media discourses on migration and multilingualism, shows a skeptical stance on part of several interviewees towards the linguistic ‘aptitude’ of students seen as migrant Others. This skepticism causes an increasing focus on control (cf. Interview 19, 80–86) and also is accompanied by a racializing recourse to the concept of ‘native-speakerism’.

4. Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion

In view of the institutional specifics of universities of education in Austria, institutional mechanisms of inclusion into and exclusion from the teaching profession (for compulsory schools) are particularly visible within the Austrian pre-service teacher training; especially when looking at aptitude tests, the integrated practical phase with its condition to accomplish all teaching experience placements with positive acknowledgment, and the granting of the teaching licence on graduating the teacher training course. Several studies indicate, however, that difficulties during the stages of transition from school to (education) university and from education university to profession arise also in pre-service teacher education institutions in other countries with German as official language (cf. Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013; Wojciechowicz, 2013; Kul, 2013).

A systematic exploration of institutional in- and exclusions within Austrian pre-service teacher education, for instance drawing on the work of Gomolla & Radtke

(2007) on institutional discrimination, is a desideratum of the still emerging German-medium research on teachers and students seen as migrant Others. Using a Foucauldian discourse theoretical framework would also be fruitful: The analyzed categories indicate that the interpretive models of lecturers and practical training supervisors are strongly influenced by migration societal discourses such as those on language(s) or ‘native-speakerism’. Consequently, the actualization of elements of migration societal discourses serves the legitimization of in- and exclusions, which are described by the interviewees as being bound to institutional necessities. Projects that develop supporting measures for students and further trainings for lecturers and practical training supervisors, such as the ‘Diversity and Multilingualism in Pedagogical Professions’ project, are certainly to be welcomed if they can achieve a reflexive development within institutions and a reduction of discrimination. Yet future research that specifically focuses on institutional mechanisms of in- and exclusions in pre-service teacher education seems to be suitable in a very specific way to foster awareness regarding our involvement in discriminating conditions. And: possibly, such an approach could prevent that research creates migrant Others.

Notes

1. All citations of German sources have been translated by the authors.
2. For studies on teachers, cf. Edelmann (2008), Georgi, Ackermann and Karakaş, (2011), Elsayed (2012), Varga and Munsch (2014); on trainee teachers: Kul (2013); on students in pre-service teacher training or students of pedagogical studies: Bandorski and Karakaşoğlu (2013), Schwendowius (2014).
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