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Drorit Lengyel, Lisa Rosen (Eds.)

Minority teachers in different educational contexts –
Recent studies from three German-speaking countries



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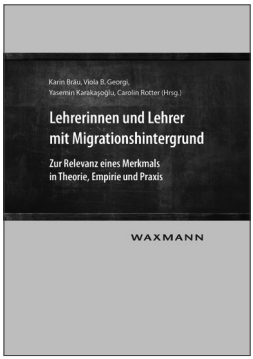


Karin Bräu, Viola B. Georgi, Yasemin Karakaşoğlu, Carolin Rotter (Hrsg.)

# Lehrerinnen und Lehrer mit Migrationshintergrund

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Die Hypothese, dass Lehrkräfte allein durch ihre Migrationserfahrung über besondere interkulturelle Kompetenzen verfügen, ist bislang weder empirisch belegt noch theoretisch fundiert. Mit diesem Band möchten die Herausgeberinnen Beiträge leisten, zum einen zum Diskurs um die Relevanz der Kategorie ´Migrationshintergrund´ im Kontext professionellen Lehrerhandelns und zum anderen zur bildungspolitischen Debatte der Lehrerbildung unter Migrationsbedingungen.

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# Minority teachers in different educational contexts – Recent studies from three German-speaking countries

Inhalt

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# Minority teachers in different educational contexts: Introduction

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*Osnabrück University*

Over the last decade, the implementation of intercultural receptiveness in education systems across Europe has focused on the guiding idea that teachers need to be prepared to teach in culturally and linguistically heterogeneous schools on account of growing diversity in society. Increasing recruitment of minority teachers and pre-service teachers has thus been discussed in education policy as one strategy to enhance social justice in the system and provide all children with equal opportunities.

In English-speaking OECD countries, research on minority teachers or teachers of color, has been carried out since the 1980s. For the German-speaking context, Viola Georgi summarizes research carried out in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom according to three core themes (Georgi, 2013, p. 92 ff.; for a summary of the research in the United States and the United Kingdom see also Karakaşoğlu, 2011, p. 123 ff.): (1) Studies that highlight the representation and recruitment of minority teachers; (2) Researchers' focus on minority teachers' experiences (of discrimination) during their educational careers, at primary and secondary school and also as educators at the university level; and (3) Studies which investigate to what extent minority teachers act as mentors, role models and agents of change, and how they influence ethnic minority students. Despite such long-standing research on minority teachers – especially when compared with research from German-speaking countries – numerous gaps remain. For instance, there are

no studies to date that examine the positive effects of minority teacher recruitment for intercultural receptiveness (cf. Georgi, 2013, p. 94). Furthermore, it remains to be seen whether these teachers directly contribute to minority students' educational success as role models and mentors (ibid., p. 96). These open questions do not belie the fact, however, that the international, Anglophone state of research is substantial. Alice Quiocho and Francisco Rios (2000) demonstrate this in their review of literature for which they yielded 476 records up to the year 2000 using the key word "minority group teachers" (cf. p. 487). Their investigation of empirical studies included scholarly journals only, and excluded conference presentations, chapters in books and other such publications. After reducing the results to 39 studies between the years 1989 until 1998, the two authors summarize:

> We know that the number of minority group people who are prepared for and interested in teaching as a career is limited. As we reflect on this review, it is evident that many barriers will ensure that these numbers remain low. Barriers to teacher certification include negative perceptions of the profession, inequities in testing and admission into teacher education, and the incongruence of minority group preservice teachers' experiences with traditional teacher education curriculums. Once minority group members have their credentials, they face discrimination in employment practices, culturally discontinuous school climates and taboos about raising issues of racism, lack of promotion opportunities, and failure of others to recognize their leadership skills (ibid., p. 522).

Based on their survey, Quiocho and Rios can chronologically identify underrepresentation and discrimination along the career trajectories of minority teachers, thereby connecting the first two of the aforementioned core themes of research. With reference to the third theme of expected effects, they conclude their contribution with the statement that they "are convinced that schools, at all levels of the educational system, will be enriched through the power of the presence of minority group teachers" (ibid., p. 524).

This evaluation is also corroborated in two reviews of the international state of research for the German-speaking context: Josef Strasser and Corinna Steber (2010) write cautiously that the expectations placed on the recruitment of teachers with migration backgrounds seem to be at least partially justified (p. 117). Carola Mantel and Bruno Leutwyler (2013) also hint at "a broad variety of different aspects of possible potentials connected to teachers with minority backgrounds" (p. 241).

In Austria, Germany and Switzerland, however, research in this field is still at an early stage and the call within education policy for more minority teachers in our schools is just about a decade old. Interestingly, emerging studies reconfirm some of the international findings and expound the problems of the dilemma of reification (Georgi, Ackermann & Karakaş, 2011; numerous articles in the collective volume by Bräu, Georgi, Karakaşoğlu & Rotter, 2013; Rotter, 2014). Whereas

most research activities have concentrated on minority teachers, research in Austria, Germany and Switzerland over the past five years has started to address pre-service teachers from immigrant families at university (for Germany in particular, see among others Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013; Kul, 2013; Lengyel & Rosen, 2012; Panagiotopoulou & Rosen, 2015; Schlickum, 2013; Wojciechowicz, 2013). These studies have examined minority teachers' professional beliefs, roles ascribed to them in schools, their motivation, resources and support requirements, and experiences of racism. Because there continues to be an even greater need for research on minority pre-service teachers than for minority in-service teachers, this issue focuses on recent studies in this particular field. Considering the international research, it is clear that we are dealing with a broad range of research questions and perspectives. We hereby sketch a point of entry that we consider to be important as well as to provide food for thought for future research activities.

Since the 1990s, the Anglophone discourse has been preoccupied with the conceptualization of teacher education that is shaped by taking diversity of pre-service teachers into account and providing equal opportunities to them. This does not necessarily mean pursuing certain unexploited talents nor, in the broader sense, considering the effectiveness of minority (pre-service) teachers. Rather than functionalize minority statuses, this discourse highlights anti-discrimination. According to this perspective, the crucial argument for recruitment is not the supposed (intercultural) competencies of minority teachers, but their proper representation (cf. Téllez, 1999, p. 557). Along with university programs that recruit and support minority teachers[1] and the concomitant research, there are approaches that critically examine whether teacher education and the university as an institution appropriately address the realities of migrant societies. The experiences of pre-service teachers during teacher education play a central role in these studies (Haddix, 2008; Rosebud, 2001; Watts Pailliotet, 1997; see Clark & Flores, 2001 for illustrations of the development of teachers' self-conception), for example during the course of teaching practice (Téllez, 1999; Mujawamariya, 2010) or in intercultural education modules (Amos, 2010; Krummel, 2013). Many of these predominantly qualitative studies reveal overarching themes of marginalization and exclusion:

> Minority preservice teachers feel silenced and overlooked in teacher education programs where curriculum and practice are designed and shaped to meet the needs of a majority White, monolingual, middle class, and female teacher population (Haddix, 2008, p. 214).

This silencing power can be understood as a result of White resistance to equal opportunities and treatment at the university (cf. Fennimore, 2001). In the German-speaking discourse, such a (power-theoretical) critical perspective on the university as an institution, its actors and the pedagogical activities of university teachers (especially in the context of intercultural education) has only just begun to take

hold. The articles in this issue address this perspective at least insofar as they illuminate the perspectives of pre-service teachers and allow for indirect inferences about their experiences, including ascriptions by other parties.

About the articles in this issue: The first three articles focus on the university as educational context. *Drorit Lengyel* and *Lisa Rosen* investigate minority pre-service teachers' perspectives on the role that is ascribed to them by educational policy in Germany which calls for the recruitment of more minority teachers to support the immigrant student population. Using grounded theory, they analyze focus group discussions and portfolio entries conducted during a university seminar. Overall, the findings reveal the group members' ambivalent attitudes towards the expectations of educational policy. On the one hand, the students are willing to contribute to the reduction of educational disadvantages; on the other hand, they doubt that this policy strategy is sufficient to change the educational environment in a sustainable way.

The second article also presents results from a research project that was conducted in the institutional context of teacher education. It addresses the policy demand for more diversity in the staff room. As in Germany, policy in Austria seeks to incentivize qualified immigrant students to pursue teaching careers, thereby increasing the representation of immigrants in teaching professions. *Marion Döll* and *Magdalena Knappik* present results from the publicly-funded project 'Diversity and multilingualism in pedagogical professions'. Instead of highlighting the perspectives of minority students, however, they concentrate on teacher educators. The data was collected via expert interviews at seven universities of education in Austria. The interviewees reproduce general tenets that dominate the discourse on migration and multilingualism among teachers and pre-service teachers. Language ideologies, particularly 'native speakerism', are used to legitimize reactionary measures by teacher educators. This means that, unlike the expectations contained in educational policy, the students' multilingualism is not perceived as a resource but as a detractor or as unprofessional.

The third article comes from Switzerland. Here, as in Austria and Germany, minority teacher numbers are low when compared with both the rising proportion of minorities in the general population and the student population. Taking this situation as a starting point, *Doris Edelmann, Sonja Bischoff, Michael Beck* and *Angelika Meier* describe two studies from the DIVAL research project ('Diversity of pre-service teachers: focus migration'), which is being conducted at the University of Teacher Education, St.Gallen. The qualitative part of this project reveals the relevance ascribed to migration backgrounds by both pre-service teachers and lecturers. One finding from focus group discussions is that they prefer color-blind approaches: Only a small number of lecturers and pre-service teachers expressed the

opinion that it would be beneficial if more minority students enrolled at universities of teacher education. Further to this, student diversity was assessed using an online survey. The authors compare these results with data from a national study of all students at Swiss universities of teacher education and with students at all other Swiss universities.

*Argyro Panagiotopoulou* and *Lisa Rosen* take minority pre-service teachers' views concerning linguistic diversity and language practices in Germany as their starting point. The authors reveal that minority pre-service teachers argue in favour of monolingualism, thus not considering their personal multilingualism to be an educational resource. This finding led to the development of the research project 'Migration-Related Multilingualism and Pedagogical Professionalism', which is presented here. The project's internationally comparative design seeks to answer the following research question: Do the experiences gained by pedagogical professionals in multilingual educational settings interrelate with their views on migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity and language practices at school? If so, how? Panagiotopoulou and Rosen provide a first look at the empirical data using excerpts from expert interviews with multilingual (minority) teachers at German Schools in Athens and Montreal concerning their views on migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity and language practices.

The fifth article addresses another perspective that has rarely been highlighted until now, namely that of students' opinions concerning minority teachers.[2] Rather than the university, this article turns to the school as educational context. *Josef Strasser* and *Wiebke Waburg* conducted group discussions with students on their views of their minority teachers. Initial results indicate that teachers' minority status become relevant only in certain situations that are closely linked to other dimensions (e.g. age, gender, class) that are salient for students.

Each article conceives of 'minority' or 'migration background' in specific terms. We decided to uphold the different terminological approaches of the various authors, rather than streamlining terminology in what is a very heterogeneous field. On the one hand, we hope that the terminologies that prevail in German-speaking countries remain visible. On the other hand, we hope to connect this context to the Anglophone discourse. The authors of the respective articles explain the backgrounds and considerations for their choices in terminology.

All studies in this special issue were presented at two symposia as part of Network 7 'Social Justice and Intercultural Education' which we organized at the European Conference of Education Research (ECER) in Istanbul, Turkey, in 2013 and in Porto, Portugal, in 2014. Our intention with this special issue remains that of the aforementioned symposium, namely to contribute to the ongoing discussion about minority teachers in nationally shaped educational systems and to connect research

activities and findings from English-speaking countries with those from German-speaking countries. The Tertium Comparationis therefore seems to be the perfect publication setting for this endeavor.

We would like to thank the authors for their contributions to this issue and İnci Dirim for assuming the role of 'acting editor'.

*Notes*

1. See Young, Grant, Montbriand & Therriault, 2001, p. 3 f. for a survey of programs aimed at recruiting minority teachers that were already established before 2001.
2. Carolin Rotter (2014) was the first researcher within the German-speaking discourse to present research results in this field.

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# Diversity in the staff room – Ethnic minority student teachers' perspectives on the recruitment of minority teachers[1]

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*Abstract*

Responding to the educational policy that was recently implemented in Germany and that calls for an increase in the recruitment of minority teachers, this study investigates the perspectives of minority student teachers about said policy, about the roles that are ascribed to them, and about multilingualism as a professional resource. The data was gathered in the context of the teaching-research project 'Diversity in the staff room'. For the purpose of this article, portfolio entries and focus groups with minority student teachers where analyzed drawing on grounded theory. The findings reveal the groups' overall ambivalent attitudes towards the policy call mentioned above. On the one hand, the students are willing to contribute to the reduction of educational disadvantage, but on the other hand, they doubt that this policy strategy is sufficient to change the educational environment in a sustainable way. With reference to their multilingual resources, it becomes apparent that the students develop a sense for recognizing situations in which their heritage languages and their experience learning German can be helpful in professional classroom practices. Still, they are not entirely convinced of this and make it contingent upon certain conditions that have to be met in the school system.

## 1. Introduction

In Germany – as in other European countries – the academic performance of ethnic minority pupils is significantly below the level of their native peers (Prenzel, Sälzer, Klieme & Köller, 2013, p. 10). One strategy intended to reduce this disadvantage, as discussed in educational policy, is to recruit teachers of ethnic minority heritage since the number of minority teachers is still very low in comparison to the

overall number of minority pupils. At 6.1 %, the percentage of minorities in the teaching profession is well below the average of minorities with college degrees engaged in other occupations (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2012, p. 82). When taking nationality into consideration and not the own birthplace or parental birthplace, this percentage even drops to just under 1 % (cf. Stürzer, Täubig, Uchronski, & Bruhns, 2012, p. 52).

The argument put forth within educational policy is that minority teachers are equipped with specific resources due to their bilingual and bicultural upbringing. For example, according to the ministry of the most populous German state, North Rhine-Westphalia:

Teachers of ethnic minority origin can "draw upon their bicultural background not only as mediators between cultures. They are also role models for positive integration and successful educational careers. As they are familiar with many problems that immigrants face, having experienced such problems themselves, they are able to identify and tackle specific problems with greater sensitivity, awareness, and success"[2] (MSW NRW, 2007, p. 3).

Minority teachers are also expected to use these resources as professional competencies to enhance minority pupils' academic achievement. Analyzing educational policy documents, Akbaba, Bräu, and Zimmer (2013, p. 52) outline one negative aspect such policy objectives: They point out that the optimistic expectations that are projected onto minority teachers – to be bridge builders, integration enablers, language and cultural mediators, etc. – are stigmatizing "from a pedagogical and professional perspective," for such culturalization constrains teachers' actions and complicates their self-determined construction of ethnicity (ibid.).

Although international research shows some effects of ethnic minority teacher recruitment on the academic performance of students from the same ethnic group (Karakaşoğlu, 2011, p. 125 ff.), relevant findings emphasize entry barriers, unequal treatment, discrimination, and racism experienced by minority teachers in teacher training and in the labor market (Carrington & Tomlin, 2000; Cunningham & Hargreaves, 2007; Lynn & Lewis, 2009).

All in all, research focusing on recruitment and increasing the participation of ethnic minority teachers has been conducted in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States since the 1980s, whereas in Germany this research has just begun. Several publications have, however, already been published in German, summarizing and systematizing the current state of international and national research (cf. Strasser & Steber, 2010; Mantel & Leutwyler, 2013; Georgi, 2013). These publications concur that additional empirical evidence is necessary to substantiate the effectiveness of certain educational policy strategies. Research on ethnic minority teachers in German-speaking countries is generally considered a desideratum

(cf. Mantel & Leutwyler, 2013, p. 236 ff.) which is even more acute in terms of ethnic minority student teachers. Within the context of educational policy discourse, it is "particularly critical to ask how the student teachers themselves assess their role as sources of hope for the future or ambassadors of integration" (Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013, p. 133).

Such considerations were the starting point of our research focusing on future ethnic minority teachers. Our aim is to evaluate the educational policy position mentioned previously with its objective of 'integration and social cohesion through specific recruitment' by comparing and contrasting it to the perspectives of ethnic minority student teachers in teacher education (Lengyel & Rosen, 2012).

Thus, in this article we continue with a discussion of the state of research on minority student teachers (2) and explain the ramifications of our project (3). In the fourth section, we present our findings from group discussions (4.1) and portfolio entries (4.2) regarding minority student teachers' perspectives as they pertain to certain relevant educational policy objectives. Furthermore, we examine how these student teachers evaluated their anticipated role as language mediators, and through analyses of their portfolios, we also reconstruct the students' assessments of how they anticipate dealing with their own multilingualism as (future) educators (4.3). In conclusion, based on our findings, we present hypotheses and pose questions relevant for future research involving 'ethnic minority teachers' (5).

## 2. The state of research on minority student teachers in German-speaking countries

In this section, we present an overview of the few publications currently addressing the topic of minority student teachers. We examine their research questions, methodological approaches, and results. The majority of projects discussed here were still in progress at the time of publication of this article; thus, only their initial findings are presented here.

At the University of Bremen, a study utilizing a mixed methods design to investigate student teachers' levels of progress and satisfaction in terms of their university studies was developed and conducted as "research sensitive to migration issues and aimed at carrying out an empirical needs assessment" (Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013, p. 133).[3] The quantitative methods involved the collection of data from 560 student teachers via written questionnaires (ibid., p. 136). Using cluster and factor analysis, the researchers determined that the "great majority of students of ethnic minority heritage … do not consider themselves 'a group' with specific features and need for support." Therefore, the researchers recommend not addressing them as such in order to avoid stigmatizing them; only a limited number of stu-

dents have specific needs when it comes to language support (ibid., p. 147). Bandorski and Karakaşoğlu argue that this sample of minority students is slightly more sensitive toward inequality in general than those students of non-minority heritage, but these are to be considered "cautiously corroborative indicators" aligned with educational policy objectives (ibid., p. 152). However, what is more pronounced in their motivation regarding career choice is the desire to be role models for pupils of both minority and non-minority heritage, and this desire "does not specifically refer to the group of children or youth of minority heritage, the benchmark set by policy makers as the 'distinct group' of minority teachers; rather, their motivation does not depend on specific target group categories such as minority vs. non-minority, girl/boy, etc." (ibid., p. 153).

Concerning the perceptions of university teachers accompanying student teachers of minority and non-minority heritage during their practical training, Wojciechowicz (2013)[4] provides a detailed evaluation of one problem-centered interview from the ten she conducted and assessed according to the documentary method and the grounded theory (ibid., pp. 120, 122 ff.). According to her research question about the interpretive patterns and potentially connected ethnic markers of difference among university teachers, Wojciechowicz comes to the following conclusion: Minority teachers' study habits are marked by deficit ascriptions according to features of ethnic classification and difficulties during their studies are explained in a culturally deterministic manner (ibid., p. 120). In a similar manner, Döll and Knappik (2013) investigate constructions of difference within the contexts of university and the initial phases of professionalization; they are especially interested in mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in Austrian teacher education when it comes to creating language hierarchies. While these studies focus on university teachers' perspectives and attitudes about migration-related diversity, the following studies focus on the perspectives of student teachers.

Schlickum (2013) is interested in "student teachers' frames of reference in dealing with cultural diversity" (p. 109) and outlines these in the context of a pilot study at the University of Mainz involving five group discussions comprised of three to five participants each (ibid.). Based on the analysis of one of the group discussions according to the documentary method, she indicates that in terms of approaches to language standardization in school none of the student teachers, whether of minority or non-minority heritage, questioned the general "required obligation to use the national language" (ibid., p. 115). If the issue of discrimination should arise in this context, it is not directed at questioning the requirement itself "but rather its general implementation" (ibid.). No differences were found among students when taking minority or non-minority heritage into consideration (ibid., p. 116). At the University of Cologne, Panagiotopoulou and Rosen (2015) reach similar con-

clusions in their project involving thirty-two student teachers both of minority and non-minority heritage as they interviewed one other, resulting in sixteen guideline-assisted peer-interviews. Their analysis is based on grounded theory and indicates that minority student teachers assess their experiences of (self-)exclusion due to their (own) non-German languages in educational contexts as illegitimate or discriminatory only to a very limited degree, thus barely distancing themselves from such practices within the German school system. On the contrary, they advocate a monolingual approach at school. Also at the University of Cologne, Lengyel and Rosen (2012) conducted four group discussions, each consisting of three to four minority student teachers, involving self-evaluations of their intercultural competencies, and analyzed their data using grounded theory. Using in-vivo coding, "giving us somewhat of an advantage" (ibid., p. 78), the authors indicate that the majority of these students assume they have a higher level of intercultural competence when compared to student teachers of non-minority heritage. At the same time, they also emphasize that students of non-minority heritage can and should acquire such competencies. They refer to attitudes such as openness, tolerance, appreciation, and individualization, which they stress are crucial, and even more importantly, heritage-independent elements of pedagogical professionalism when dealing with migration-related diversity (ibid., p. 81 ff.).

In summary, it is apparent that the minority student respondents do not see themselves as a cohesive group that accepts being identified based solely on their minority heritage, although the university instructor respondents engage precisely in such practices and tend to approach these students with deficit-based attitudes (e.g. in terms of their language practices). Analysis of their professional approaches indicates that minority students, similar to students of non-minority heritage, tend to adopt the strategies of the (monolingual) school system. Additionally, minority students consider themselves to be at an advantage over students of non-minority heritage with regard to intercultural competence.

## 3. The research project 'Diversity in the staff room'

The teaching-research project 'Diversity in the staff room' provides the context and framework of our study. We conducted this project for the first time at the University of Cologne during the winter term of 2010-11.[5] The objective of this seminar was for students to articulate their own positions in light of educational policy initiatives assigning them roles as language and cultural mediators. In addition to theory-guided discussions about 'multilingualism', 'intercultural competence', and 'discrimination', empowerment methods, in particular, as well as biographical reflection and portfolio work were intended to facilitate a reflective process, moving

from biographical resources toward professional competencies. Given this context, the research instruments are also simultaneously university didactic methods of teacher education. We analyzed students' learning-process portfolios (cf. Gläser-Zikuda, Voigt, & Rohde, 2010, p. 147) in which they made entries during the seminars and between block modules (for an overview, see Gläser-Zikuda, Rohde & Schlomske, 2010; Koch-Priewe, 2013). We recorded, transcribed, and made available for further analysis the discussions which the students in groups of three or four engaged in during peer-learning phases which involved consolidation of theoretical understanding and reflection on personal critical incidents (cf. Flechsig, 1999, p. 217; Hiller, 2010).

The research questions we focus on in this article are closely connected to the previously mentioned educational policy initiatives, giving students themselves the opportunity to express whether or not they wish to be perceived as sources of hope for the future and integration ambassadors at school. Thus, the questions are: How do they foresee their ascribed roles as linguistic and cultural mediators, and which chances and obstacles do they anticipate? Furthermore, how do they expect to deal with their multilingualism as a biographical resource within future educational contexts?

To answer the first question we draw on data from four focus groups in each of which three to four students discussed their views about the linguistic and cultural mediator roles attributed to them (see 4.1). This method of data collection is particularly suitable for eliciting opinions beyond hegemonic discourse. According to Pollock, one epistemological goal of group discussions is to elicit "non-public opinions," which "the individual often only becomes aware of during discussions with others" (quoted in Lamnek, 1995, p. 141 ff.). Here the manner of communication in the group, inspired by everyday practices, becomes "the means to reconstruct individual opinions in an appropriate manner" (Flick, 1995, p. 133). Additionally, we are interested in group opinions, or the consensus among participants, reached during discussions about specific issues (ibid.).

In addition and in order to expand our knowledge base (key term 'triangulation', see Flick, 2011, p. 41), our data is gathered from portfolio entries wherein students were asked to evaluate educational policy initiatives striving for 'diversity in the staff room' and to discuss which roles they themselves wanted to assume in relation to these issues (see 4.2).

To address the question of how students anticipated dealing with their multilingualism in the future, we also drew on portfolio entries written for the purpose of reflecting on their multilingual biographies (see 4.3).

Drawing on grounded theory (cf. Bryant & Charmaz, 2010; Hülst, 2010; Charmaz, 2014) the students' portfolios were processed in MAXQDA to enable

computer-assisted analyses, initially through open coding and then through axial coding (cf. Strauss & Corbin, 1996, pp. 43 ff., 75 ff.). The objective of this analysis was to develop explorative theoretical concepts about these minority student teachers' perspectives and expectations.

Before discussing our findings, we would like to present our initial discussion questions and the related portfolio assignments in order to describe in detail how the students' (written) statements were generated.

First, some information about the participants themselves: This group consisted of fifteen female students who were, on average, approximately 29 years old. Given that the average age among undergraduate students working toward a B.A. was 22.9 and among students pursuing the German 'Staatsexamen' was 24.0, the average age of the research project participants was relatively high. Nine students were first-generation immigrants, and the remaining six were second-generation immigrants. Immigration status was determined based on the respondents' country of birth and their parents' countries of birth. Nine students born outside of Germany considered a language other than German to be their first language. Of the six students born in Germany, only one considered German to be her sole first language; three students grew up multilingually and two reported a language other than German as their first language. All fifteen students reported that they wanted their future children to grow up bilingually. The majority of students (eight) were studying to become secondary school teachers, six to become primary school teachers and one was pursuing a degree in special education.

## 4. Student teachers' perspectives on the chances and challenges of minority teachers – the results

First, we turn to the question of how the students evaluate the cultural and language mediator roles attributed to them: What opportunities and obstacles do they perceive in this context? Subsequently, we address how they anticipate using their multilingual resources as teachers in school.

### 4.1 Results from group discussions about their role as 'special teachers' and their assessment of the educational policy objective calling for diversity in the staff room

The topic of interest was discussed in the context of a focus group concerned with intercultural communication and competence. The students' task was to explore the role of power asymmetries within a critical incident and to derive a model of intercultural competence in which the susceptibility to failure of intercultural communication is primarily attributed to power asymmetries, and cultural differences are of

secondary importance (Auernheimer, 2013). This was followed by the question of how students, bearing Auernheimer's model in mind, would evaluate the call for more diversity in the staff room and how they would assess the argument that ethnic minority teachers should be cultural mediators.

An overarching similarity throughout the discussions is that the students feel particularly responsible for shaping immigrant society and enabling equal opportunities in education; at the same time, they wish to simply be considered members of the staff and not be reduced to the role of integration experts. This result is consistent with other initial findings about minority teachers (cf. Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013, p. 134). The opportunities they associate with the call for staff, i.e. faculty diversity also represent obstacles. This ambivalence is portrayed differently within the four groups. We continue by tracing how each of these four groups reached their respective conclusions.

The participants of one group emphasized that the responsibility for reducing educational disadvantages of migrant pupils should not only be sustained by a group of 'experts', but also be supported by the involvement of each and every teacher. Their considerations also took into account the academic training of student teachers. Migration issues should be a mandatory element of the curriculum. High-rated aspects included: Knowledge about causes of migration and migrants' motives and familiarity with the environment within which migrants live as well as the diversity of religious expression and religious background. Building on this knowledge, it would be possible to further develop other important skills such as sensitivity, commitment, and openness. Emphasizing these dimensions of knowledge and crucial attitudes went hand in hand with uncertainty about the definition of 'culture' and the transmission and representation of migrant cultures in educational contexts. The discussants wondered whether this was what educational policy makers desired: "especially at school … to actually teach these cultures?" The students agreed that they were uncertain about what exactly was required of them as cultural mediators. They felt they were not up to the task, especially in terms of mediating between "the child" and the "German environment." This would require "a certain willingness … particularly on the German side … either on the part of school or of … society." However, they felt optimistic about the future and assumed that not only the situation in schools, but also the overall situation would improve and that Germany would become a more multicultural society. This forward-looking consensus concluded the discussion, although the students did not address how discrimination, for instance, could be reduced. Indeed, they justified their belief in a better future by pointing to positive developments in recent years. Intercultural education, for example, was now being offered as a subject in teacher

education. They expected this development to continue although they acknowledged that it could still take forty years to reach a satisfactory level.

The students in another group presented arguments along similar lines: They asserted that teachers and student teachers of non-minority heritage should "be thoughtful about this topic and should take great care," by participating in "such seminars," for example, and by taking the "experiences of others" into consideration. They also insisted the entire faculty needed to take responsibility for supporting migrant children and youth in their academic progress. Hence, they argue against a static distribution of tasks. Although they did not feel as optimistic about the future as the first group, this second group emphasized the complexities and the pressures that characterized teachers' daily lives. Thus, teachers lacked the time and capacity to deal with "migrant children." This would be the "fate for the moment" of minority teachers, i.e. the student teachers considered the role ascribed to them as an opportunity and agreed with the statement of one discussant who said, "Okay. We feel like we are up to the challenge." They were willing to adopt this role on a tentative basis, but their goal for the future was not to be viewed as "someone special" – or as "others." They adopted the term 'equality' (Gleichheit) in a unique manner. Their interpretation referred to a lesser extent to equal status in a formerly exclusively 'white' faculty, but rather to equal status in terms of pedagogical qualifications: "Each and every teacher should be equal in competence" and at the same time be able to be "somewhat different." This dilemma about uniformity and difference was resolved by the consensus that intercultural education was to be defined as a cross-sectional task. The participants' discomfort about their special status became particularly apparent when the topic of cooperation with parents arose. They agreed about this potential obstacle, and more precisely about the possibility that minority parents might take advantage of them, especially if these parents considered them "compatriots" according to the motto, "One good deed deserves another." The student teachers felt unprepared for such situations and wondered how to "stay polite" and still deflect such offers.

To some extent, the third group of students was more critical in their discussions of the cultural and language mediator roles they were expected to fulfill. For example:

> S2: … well, this formulation here, ff, yes ff migrant teacher should fulfill this role, this is yet another form of building stereotypes, well yes exactly
> S4: exactly, to peg someone as something

They broached the issue of "being the other" and addressed their discomfort with such circumstances. The discussants concurred with one student's remarks. They highlighted, once again, the importance of the individuality and uniqueness of every human being:

S3: What I like to stress in any case is, the importance of each human being an individual, the individuality of each and every human being
S1: mh (affirmation)
S3: … never mind which country he or she comes from, never mind if he or she is a migrant or not and if you deal with this person respectfully then it does not matter if the teacher is a migrant himself or not
S2: mh (affirmation)

The student teachers came to the conclusion that it was not important whether teachers were migrants or not; what was important was that they dealt with pupils in a respectful manner. It is also worth mentioning that the group discussed this while talking about professionalism and thus opposed the tendency to naturalize traits due to a history of migration. People treat one another respectfully because they choose to do so. This is the central argument the students used to rebuff the attribution of special competences due to minority heritage because, from their perspective, the willingness to treat people respectfully and recognize their humanity "in all their diversity" could and should exist and develop independently of teachers' personal backgrounds. This agreement is due to their immanent recourse to general social competencies and to a humanist conception of humankind as crucial elements of pedagogical professionalism. In doing so, they also draw the necessity of subject-specific competencies into question because they speak up in favor of treating each and every pupil as an individual, or rather, they consider this to be more important than merely focusing on minority heritage. They are likewise skeptical about the assertion that the group of minority teachers are "able to do the job." On the one hand, members of this group may feel they are predestined to fulfill the task of cultural mediator; on the other hand, being a member of a minority is not the only prerequisite required for such a task. Having the strength to accept the challenge of purposefully acting as minority teachers and supporting minority children and youth does not constitute a contradiction. The humanist conception they have developed as a guiding educational principle goes hand in hand with the desire for equal opportunities and their concerted willingness to engage in this.

The participants in the fourth group also deconstruct minority teachers' assumed, quasi-natural ability to better empathize with and understand minority pupils as well as their assumed ability to thus be better able at resolving conflicts among pupils. This qualifies as positive discrimination and the discussants draw parallels to racism. Discrimination and racism are not only background issues allowing discussants to criticize the *othering* of minorities by addressing them as *migrant others* (for term discussion see Mecheril, Castro Varela, Dirim, Kalpaka & Melter, 2010, p. 17); by using these categories, the discussants also question the effectiveness of recruiting minority teachers. Their main argument is that not only do members of the majority practice discrimination, but minorities do so as well:

S2: or perhaps, for example in my opinion, foreigners discriminate against others as well. Why do they think minorities would be more tolerant?
S1: yes exactly
S4: yes
S1: ... this is (incomprehensible)
S2: They discriminate (S1: yes yes) in the same way
S3: mh
S1: yes yes
S2: Perhaps they are not discriminating against their own [people], but other cultures.
S3: yes
S1: Of course, mh
S2: And that's why, who, I don't think, that it is sufficient to say it that way, right? A minority teacher, because a German teacher, who can say, that he would not be more tolerant mh than a minority teacher, right?
S2: These, this...
S3: Mh, yes
S2: ... connection I think somewhat, I don't think that this is something given
S3: Ascription that is not always correct
S2: Exactly, that...
S4: Mh
S2: Every person with minority heritage is being tolerant towards other cultures, that's not true
S1: That's not true at all

The students also associated the role of language and cultural mediator with the issue of discrimination; to be more precise, they associated it with the reduction of discrimination and tolerant attitudes. From their perspective, the call for increased faculty diversity does not reach far enough because the status of "member of a minority" does not prevent one from discriminating against others. Although they highlight collective involvement in discriminatory practices and tend to dismiss differences between people of minority and non-minority heritage, they nevertheless rely on terms like 'own' versus 'strange' as markers of difference. They distinguish between members of their own culture, which they consider to be differentiable, and those "other cultures" of minorities. For this reason, the students come to different conclusions when considering whether they are able to or even wish to fulfill the ascribed role of minority teacher. They, similar to the other groups, think that all staff should be responsible and become more knowledgeable in this field of action. The discussants argue not only normatively but also pragmatically: "a single" fighter cannot change anything within a monocultural school. They are afraid of being rejected by the non-minority members of the staff and of not being accepted by their colleagues. They see not only the necessity to foster cooperation between minority and non-minority teachers, but they also seek to build networks among minority teachers. By working with "many people" on the faculty, one can

"somehow push things forward" and "simply develop more openness and tolerance among the faculty."

In summary, the student teachers exhibit predominantly ambivalent attitudes toward the call for staff diversity. They are conflicted, for they assume that on the one hand, there is a need to reduce educational disadvantage and institutionalized discrimination and they want to facilitate this, but on the other hand, they are afraid of becoming involved in discriminatory practices themselves.

Throughout their respective discussions, the four groups resolved their quandaries by relying on different aspects of these dilemmas. They agreed about the following arguments, which they used to critically examine educational policy:

1. It is every teacher's responsibility! For that reason, minority issues should be an integral element of teacher education.
2. Giving minority teachers a special role is a provisional solution on the path toward education providing equal opportunities for all.
3. Minority heritage is not the only condition that predestines a person to function as a language and cultural mediator.
4. Minority heritage does not automatically ensure anti-discriminatory attitudes and actions.

If we further condense these four lines of argumentation, we can identify a common thread in the overall group consisting of the four focus groups. This theme may be described as "everyone involved assumes responsibilities when it comes to the unfulfilled promise of equal opportunities in education." The student teachers are willing to work toward this. Their commitment may be characterized by distinct contributions, but they doubt that this is sufficient to change the educational environment in a sustainable way. Another common attitude of the overall group is that both pupils and teachers of minority and non-minority heritage are subsumed under the label 'cultural belonging'. By doing this, they – and everyone else involved in the current discourse – run the risk of neglecting other lines of difference such as socio-economic background (cf. Knappik & Dirim, 2012, p. 92 f.). These explorative findings of the group discussions correspond to the analysis of the portfolio entries which is addressed in the next section. The (re)production of binary perspectives according to the pattern 'minority heritage' vs. 'non-minority heritage' also becomes apparent throughout students' individual reflections.

### 4.2 Results gathered from portfolios about the role of 'special teachers' and about the evaluation of the call for staff diversity

The closing evaluation of minority student teachers' perspectives about educational policy objectives are presented in writing as responses to the following assignment:

> Earlier today you were divided into small groups, and you discussed your personal experiences with discrimination at school. Based on theoretical explanatory models about prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination and (cultural) racism, re-evaluate your experiences and put your ideas in writing: How would you evaluate the targeted recruitment of minority teachers? Please explain your position.

All students reaffirm the educational policy demand for staff, i.e. faculty diversity and scrutinize it critically at the same time. Based on thirteen portfolio entries, it is possible to differentiate the following lines of argumentation:

One student presents the underrepresentation of minority teachers at German school as anachronistic. According to her, it is "long overdue … that more minority teachers work at schools." Instead of referring to "equality", her reasoning is mostly based on considerations of "enrichment" and "gain". She argues that the *enrichment that is achieved by increasing* the amount of minority teachers benefits two different "sides", those in school of minority and non-minority heritage: "I consider it to be a benefit for both sides. It opens up opportunities and possibilities for both sides to broaden horizons and perspectives." She assumes that it is a reciprocal process, which she underlies using educational theory (*broadening horizons through multiple perspectives*). The overarching concept, which is then further differentiated, is the *assumption and construction of various and binary perspectives* which confirm the educational policy agenda. Some students consider themselves to be at an advantage when it comes to social (communicative) competencies when compared with (student) teachers of non-minority heritage. Their *common or at the very least comparable space of experience* at school allows them to better empathize with minority pupils. This particular advantage is that they do not have a deficit-based opinion about minority heritage and can thereby contribute to the de-dramatization of the 'minority' label while at the same time being aware of the 'problems' that minority children and youth may encounter at school and in their everyday lives in society. The student teachers acknowledge the central role of the teacher-pupil relationship. They highlight *the conjunctive space of experience* that minority teachers and pupils *may have in common*, for instance, when it comes to the 'potentialities' of multilingualism; they do not expect this to occur automatically. The following are two examples:

> I would argue in favor of more minority teachers who often are more familiar with the everyday lives of minority children and are better able to cope with their problems. Minority teachers are more empathetic and do not consider minority status to be a problem.

> I do indeed believe that my multilingualism may allow me to create closer connections.

Other student teachers partially deconstruct the *assumption and construction of various and binary perspectives* and completely deconstruct opportunities for establishing relationships by pointing to the heterogeneity of the minority group as a

whole and the unique nature of minority experiences. They use the same argument to reject categorizations and ascriptions and thereby express their unanswered questions about the educational policy agenda as well as their fears of being exploited as minority teachers. "Nevertheless, the entire situation needs to be critically scrutinized! Are we mere stopgaps … in this system?" At the same time these student teachers emphasize their pedagogical stance of "leaving no child behind" and thereby demonstrating their willingness to assume responsibility. They consider their professional opportunities for action to be rather limited because *limitations in understanding cannot be bridged due to the highly personal nature of the conjunctive space of experience*. This is illustrated by the following prime example:

> As a student teacher – and having been a minority pupil – I have lived through … what my pupils go through. Nevertheless, I do not want to be pigeonholed because everyone has a unique background as a minority and consequently, a unique understanding of themselves …, which I cannot comprehend. What I can do is help whenever possible and teach them to trust in themselves.

In addition to these two dimensions, there is another that is based on the argument that a bridge builder role is negotiated interactively and flexibly and is therefore also determined by context and the specifics of any particular situation:

> As a minority teacher, I consider myself to be responsible to be an intermediary or a person of trust when children, youth and parents want to see me in that role.

Here, the assumption that migrants share the same space of experience and perspectives moves partially into the background in favor of active role-making that selected actors within educational institutions as well as the persons themselves actively shape. This seems to include the option not automatically to be seen as "intermediaries" or "persons of trust". The opportunity for establishing connections, which other students describe using the subjunctive mood, becomes more specific on the interactive level in this case due to the *negotiation of connection and trust*. As a result, the educational policy agenda is evaluated based on the perspective of the actors: The primary emphasis is put on the (specific) expectations of children, youth, and parents instead of relying on the (abstract) opportunities of a conjunctive space of experience.

Many students indicate a basic willingness to assume a special role and to also assume this responsibility on a normative level. Nevertheless, even while agreeing with educational policy objectives, some student teachers stress that, as one of the students states, "minority teachers cannot be seen as a 'magic bullet for societal integration'." Particularly when it comes to formal education at school, they emphasize that additional measures of intercultural educational development are necessary and that all teachers need to acquire intercultural competencies as part of their professional training. The same student phrases this in an idealized manner:

> In addition to intentionally recruiting minority teachers, the intercultural competencies of every educator need to improve during basic and advanced training in order to avoid having teachers with international roots be stereotyped and asking them to solve problems that they supposedly know the obvious solutions for.

Another dimension of the *assumption and construction of various and binary perspectives* is to broaden the perspective to include other categories of social inequalities and further differentiate the binary distinction of minority vs. non-minority heritage. At the forefront of this dimension is the role model function of a high-achieving educational career, as the following example illustrates. There is an underlying assumption about the common educational aspirations shared by those pupils with low chances for educational success, and these may include both minority families and families with low socio-economic status:

> I can absolutely imagine that people will treat me with another form of respect and that I might be able to convey that everyone can make it, irrespective of the circumstances. This may not only influence minority pupils; it may also positively affect others (for instance children who come from poor families).

Thus, the minority student teachers reaffirm the call for staff, i.e. faculty diversity in their portfolio entries while, at the same time, scrutinizing it critically. Their perspectives reveal that the *assumption and construction of various and binary perspectives* in different configurations of 'minority vs. non-minority heritage' may have been elicited or facilitated by the debate on educational policy and its rhetoric as well as discriminatory language practices in research publications and in seminars. It can therefore also be understood in the context of emergent "heightened sensitivity to inequality", making it possible to name and recognize educational inequalities which the students wish to address.

### 4.3 Results gathered from the language biographies about the treatment of multilingualism at school

This analysis is based on portfolio entries that addressed the student teachers' multilingual language biographies. The students were asked to write a 'story' about their multilingual language biography. In conclusion, they were asked to reflect on this while addressing one of the following guiding questions and writing down their reflections: *How important are your languages to you and why? How do the people in your life and specific events and contexts influence the significance of your languages?* In the end, the students were asked to contemplate how their personal multilingualism might benefit them as teachers. They were asked to think of scenarios in which they might be able to use their languages in a meaningful manner.

The following analysis refers to the latter question. It is worth mentioning that only ten language biographies addressed the guiding question that is relevant for

this analysis. Based on these ten documents, it is possible to derive three lines of argumentation: a) benefits of multilingualism, b) potential of the conjunctive space of experience ('konjunktiver Erfahrungsraum', cf. Bohnsack, 2010), and c) ambivalence about the use of personal multilingualism.

*a) Benefits of multilingualism*

The students consider their multilingualism, both language proficiency and multicultural experience, to be an advantage which they wish to use as teachers in the future. They express this attitude but often do not explicitly state how exactly they want to use this advantage. Statements such as "In my opinion, this gift, multilingualism I mean, which was given to me, is of immeasurable value and I will be able to use this to my advantage later as a teacher" and "I am convinced that there are many advantages to being a teacher who is multilingual" illustrate the abstract benefit they expect from this condition. Another student is more reserved: She 'could' imagine that the multitude of languages she knows 'might' be beneficial. The student teachers often associate this advantage with familiarity with (national) cultures and proficiency in specific languages (e.g. Russian, Turkish); they do not, however, address other advantages of multilingualism which go beyond the connection to the respective languages, such as expanded metalinguistic abilities or translanguaging. One student addresses her specific multilingual opportunities for action: She would not punish pupils who use their heritage languages and would be attuned to pupils' multilingualism using the language-awareness approach (Hawkins, 1984/1987; James & Carrett, 1992); at the same time, she qualifies this intention by pointing to the mistrust against the use of heritage languages that predominates at schools: "If someone were to address me in Polish, (I) would like to reply to the child in Polish. But the German school is a long way away from this ideal."

The student teachers primarily address the interaction with parents but they also mention the interactions with pupils and colleagues when it comes to integration support. They expect to be able to motivate families to participate actively at school, and they consider themselves to operate as intermediaries between different groups, generate cooperation because "cooperation would be more successful if bi-/multilingual communication were possible." Another student provides the following remark, by knowing two minority languages (Turkish and Kurdish), she could be the initial point of contact for pupils and parents and assume the "position of guidance counselor." Nevertheless, she does not want to use her multilingualism in terms of being an interpreter. She would also be able "to recruit parents for various projects, encourage them to be involved how school is conducted. I will be an educator that promotes or facilitates cooperation between certain groups due to my

linguistic advantages." What is interesting at this point is that this student teacher uses the future tense instead of phrasing this statement in the subjunctive mood. By doing so, she highlights her thoughts as a personal and professional goal that she seeks to achieve.

The student teachers not only mention cooperation with parents and maybe other groups as possible advantages, they also address the possibility that they would be able to recognize language difficulties in pupils that are due to second language acquisition or that are heritage language specific. One student teacher writes, "typical language features of Turkish and of Spanish are well known." For that reason, she can understand "the respective language difficulties of children who have this heritage language."

The student teachers' reflections also demonstrate their awareness that certain heritage languages may be more useful than others due to the structure of German migration society and the pupil population. One student, who experienced a "certain hybridity" of Algerian and French while growing up, regrets not knowing Turkish because it would be "relevant for certain in-class situations."

*b) Potential of the conjunctive space of experiences*

The student teachers reflect at length about the opportunities that the conjunctive space of experience created by a multilingual environment may offer. For instance, they assume that they are able to better understand the process of second language acquisition because of their own experiences. They also assume that they can therefore benefit from this shared experience when it comes to building relationships with their pupils. One student acknowledges that she has used most of her languages passively because she never felt comfortable enough to speak in front of others. Based on her personal language biography and acquired knowledge, she reflects that as a teacher she has the opportunity "to encourage pupils that they shouldn't feel bad about language deficits or about their accents and that they have to communicate actively in this language." But in order to do this, the school would first have to create an "appropriate learning environment." Whether she would be willing to help establish such an atmosphere and how she would do this, remained unspoken.

Based on their personal experiences, the student teachers expect to be more sensitive, more empathetic, and more understanding toward the children who are learning German and may encounter discrimination because of this. Because they themselves have experienced "not understanding something and/or not being understood," they can be more "sensitive toward these children" as teachers. Another student makes a similar observation: Being personally sensitive about (language) discrimination makes it possible to treat pupils "justly". Yet another student also

reflects on being able to establish closer contact with families and pupils because she can understand them better and act as a role model for them in terms of language attainment.

Interestingly, the student teachers also rely on the argument of a common or conjunctive space of experience between minority teachers on the one hand and minority pupils on the other when it comes to supporting colleagues. One student writes that she will be able to support her colleagues by "helping interpret the behaviors of pupils who are of Turkish-Muslim heritage." Although they were merely asked to reflect on their multilingualism as teachers, this draws a connection to national cultural and religious heritage. As the connection between language and culture – even if they are considered dynamic constructs – is omnipresent, this way of thinking reveals an understanding of language that is linked to national culture as well as a close connection between culture and religion, which are transmitted via language. It is also reminiscent of the daily societal discourse about culture wherein cultures are considered clearly differentiable units whose members share inherent characteristics.

*c) Ambivalence about the use of personal multilingualism*

As the previous sections have already suggested, in most of their portfolio entries, the student teachers exhibit a tendency toward critically ambivalent attitudes about their multilingualism and its use in school. This ambivalence, however, is stated outright only occasionally. One portfolio entry explicitly grapples with the ambivalent feeling and thoughts. By talking about "language as the key to closeness and trust," this student initially highlights the benefits of multilingualism and of her own intercultural experiences in terms of communication and contact with parents and pupils. She considers it to be her job to "convey basic trust in the slow learning achievement" of pupils whose second language is German. Nevertheless, it is generally desirable for pupils to develop "trust in all teachers."

In one paragraph addressing cooperation with parents, she also acknowledges specific challenges that may result when parents speak the same minority language that she does. "I can especially imagine that parents from Russia may be willing to speak with me more openly when they realize that we are connected by our common mother tongue. But here, too, it is important to be aware of the negative aspects because I can imagine that my Russian, which will not be on the same level as the parents, may come across like I didn't spend enough effort on this culture and language."

The student also voices her fear of being stereotyped because of her multilingualism, of having to assume a special role and of being pigeonholed. "Are you in a system where you are potentially forced to assume a certain role because of your

personal background, so are you being stereotyped and have to identify with this? Or are you suddenly a stopgap when your colleagues don't know what to do anymore?"

Here the student demonstrates a high level of willingness to reflect critically. This allows her to clearly express both her questions and fears when it comes to dealing with her own multilingualism and the potential that may be related to it. By referring to her personal multilingualism and minority heritage, she deconstructs the abstract advantages that underlie the empty phrase "to use multilingualism" which we – researchers, lecturers and practitioners – also use.

In summary, we can identify three lines of argumentation based on portfolio entries that dealt with the guiding question of how minority student teachers may use their multilingualism. It becomes apparent that the students develop a sense for recognizing situations in which their multilingualism may be used in a meaningful manner, both by relying on their own heritage languages and by drawing on their experience learning German. But it also becomes apparent that they are not entirely convinced of the usefulness of their multilingualism. Instead they make it contingent upon certain conditions – such as the overall school climate that recognizes multilingual resources – that have to be met in order to be able to deal with their personal multilingualism in a professional manner. This also illustrates that the everyday understanding of language (and culture) and multilingualism, which becomes apparent in the written reflections, needs to be addressed in student teacher education in order to make the potential of the 'personal' (e.g. the individual language competence a person may possess) tangible for the student teachers.

## 5. Conclusion

The explorative study presented in this article addresses a crucial component in international and German research on 'minority student teachers', namely how minority student teachers themselves evaluate and assess the role of language and cultural mediator assigned to them by educational policy. In order to investigate this question, we used two distinct methods of data collection: focus groups and written documents in the form of portfolio entries. We are convinced that the multidimensionality of this methodological approach is particularly beneficial because it reveals the collective guiding patterns of a (supposed) group as well as individual perspectives. This allows us to better examine the soundness of both articulated perspectives in terms of their validity which a single methodological approach would not allow for. In addition, portfolios, like other pieces of writing, allow for analytical insights into the *reflective processes* of their authors.

The results analyzed according to the grounded theory can be summarized as follows. It has to be considered – as it was said before – that the data was collected in a special learning context where critical reflections based on thematic input and literature reception were supported. This certainly has had an impact on the students' views and ways to argue. The focus groups demonstrate ambivalent perspectives: The students consider themselves, as well as all other teachers, to be obliged to contribute to minority pupils' integration and educational success. They are critical of the special role that is ascribed to them and do not expect to automatically be able to fulfill it better than non-minority teachers due to their biographical resources. In their portfolio entries, the student teachers support this perspective. The analysis comes to a similar conclusion, when they articulate their individual positions about the use of their multilingual resources. Although they mention a few general benefits when it comes to teaching in a multilingual classroom, the analysis also reveals ambivalent attitudes when it comes to how to deal with personal multilingualism and that of pupils. Furthermore it becomes evident that the student teachers do not define their role in isolation from general processes of intercultural school development. Another result of the analysis is that students (re)produce binary perspectives along the lines of difference of minority and non-minority heritage; this is partially due to the explicit involvement with the subject matter on the one hand but also points towards the students' heightened sensitivity to inequality on the other (cf. Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013, p. 152).

So how can the revealed ambivalences be explained? We will investigate possible responses to this question in light of other research results. The educational policy demand for more minority teachers neglects one aspect in particular: minority teachers who completed or at least partially completed their educational careers in Germany have become acquainted with an educational system that transmits the cultural and linguistic norms of the majority (Gogolin, 2002; Ross, 2003). Initial findings indicate that a interrelation between educational biographical experiences and the (anticipated) contact with migration-related diversity exists or can be expected (cf. Panagiotopoulou & Rosen, 2015). Franz Hamburger, for instance, demonstrates in a survey of qualitative studies that immigrants who were educationally successful studied in a 'steady' manner during their educational careers – they kept their minority heritage in the background in order to be educationally successful (2005, p. 10). The educational policy objective, however, requires them to do exactly the opposite, namely to emphasize that aspect of their biography that they generally have not previously intentionally revealed in educational contexts. Doris Edelmann's (2013) results also point in a similar direction. She demonstrates – also provisionally – that young minority teachers favor a 'silent' recognition of heterogeneity and, in doing so, leave potential differences and commonalities un-

addressed. To these teachers it is "often particularly important not to explicitly talk to pupils about their heritage or even address them as representatives of a certain culture due to their own, negative experiences during primary and secondary education" (p. 200). That is to say, although the ascription of a special role as language and cultural mediators, bridge builders, integration assistants, role models, etc. may be positive, it nevertheless stigmatizes and may not correspond to the personal and professional self-understanding of minority student teachers.

From our perspective, we recommend that future research investigates and further develops such hypotheses in order to help explain the ambivalent perspectives of student teachers.

*Notes*

1. For reasons of international connectivity we refer to minority teachers, minority student teachers as ethnic minorities although in Germany the term 'migration background' is widespread. When we quote German research literature or our own data we mostly use minority heritage to emphasize the connection to the German term.
2. All citations of German sources have been translated by the authors.
3. The mixed-methods study DIVAL at the University of Teacher Education, St.Gallen, Switzerland (see Edelmann, Bischoff, Beck & Meier in this issue) is based on a comparable university-political interest, namely the illumination and simultaneous consideration of the (growing) diversity among pre-service teachers (see, http://blogs.phsg.ch/dival/).
4. In addition to this research proposal, the wider context of the regional project of Bremen also includes the qualitative study by Kul (2013), which takes the second phase of teacher education into account, for which the universities are not responsible in Germany. Her research question addresses "how student teachers [deal with] racializing ascriptions of positions," which behavioral strategies they use in this context, and how important these experiences of racism are in light of their professional self-understanding (p. 157). In order to investigate these questions Kul conducted 18 episodic interviews with student teachers both of minority and non-minority heritage; the interviews were evaluated according to the documentary method.
5. For more information about the seminar design and the evaluation of the focus-group discussions about 'intercultural competency' between minority student teachers, see Lengyel and Rosen (2012).

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# 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 XXIV$^{th}$ 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 XXIV$^{th}$ 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 legitimation 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<br>*[...] but I also remarked that students who are bilingual, that means [recognized minority language]-German have even more difficulties* |
| Interviewer: | wie äußert sich das [?]<br>*How does this show [?]* |
| Befragter/ Interviewee: | naja, dass sie simple Sätze net aufs Papier bringen<br>*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<br>*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<br>*[...] 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 [...]<br>*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<br>*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<br>*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<br>*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<br>*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<br>*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 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/ Interviewee: | ja, eine, äh, Studierende aus der Türkei oh ja äh ja [::] da hat mich sehr verwundert [::], dass sie sehr wenig aus ihrer ei / eigenen Heimat eingebracht hat, äh, denn i hab sie a paar Mal angesprochen, dass grad in den Klassen, weil wir ja auch in den Schulklassen Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund haben, ähm [::], dass sie dann auch ihre Sprache mit einbringt, wir ham ja grad viele Schüler Türkisch oder Kurdisch in einigen Klassen<br>*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, because 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/ Interviewee: | und da hab ich gemerkt, dass sie sehr wenig Bezug zu ihrem eigenen Land hat<br>*and then I realized that she has little reference to her own country* |
| Interviewer: | Mhm |
| Befragter/ Interviewee: | und sie hat/ obwohl sie eine Mutt / ihre Erstsprache kann<br>*and she has/although she can speak a mother/ her first language* (Interview 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 sagn, ich kenn auch niemanden, der jetzt in der Grundschule unterrichtet oder das Studium zurzeit absolviert, der nicht akzentfrei muttersprachliches Deutsch spricht<br>*[…] 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<br>*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<br>*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<br>*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<br>*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<br>*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).
3. Our special thanks are extended to the universities of education of Salzburg, Styria, Lower Austria, Carinthia, and Vienna for their valuable cooperation that enabled the surveys of the project.

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# More students with migration backgrounds at Universities of Teacher Education. Theoretical reflections and empirical insights on potential aspects and challenges from the perspectives of pre-service teachers and lecturers

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*"Our journey will not be complete until the demographic imperative has been completely ameliorated" and "all students have highly effective, culturally responsive teachers who value diverse cultural heritage and who spark the genius in every child."*
*(Neal, Sleeter & Kumashiro, 2015, p. 14)*

*Abstract*

Continuous migration processes are shaping the social reality in Switzerland and their education system, thus also the Universities of Teacher Education. However, the growing migration-related diversity in the student-population is not reflected among pre- and in-service teachers, since to date only few successful young adults with migration backgrounds decide to become teachers. While the migration-related diversity of the student-population in schools has been receiving a lot of attention for some time, up to date there are still hardly any meaningful studies about pre-service teachers with migration backgrounds in Switzerland. Due to the lack of empirical data so far, it can only be speculated what the potential aspects and challenges could be if the percentage of students with migration backgrounds at Universities of Teacher Education were to increase. In this context the research project DIVAL (= Diversity of pre-service teachers: focus migration / Diversität angehender Lehrkräfte: Fokus Migration) was conducted at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen. It consists of two sub-studies: Based on an online survey the migration-related diversity of all students was assessed. During focused group discussions, students with and without migration backgrounds as well as lecturers where asked about the relevance they attribute to migration backgrounds during teacher education.

## 1. Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st century, the social reality of Switzerland is marked by ongoing migration processes. The resulting diversity impacts the Swiss society and its education system, thus also the Universities of Teacher Education. This leads to the following challenges: Firstly, in Switzerland as well as in many other countries, students with migration backgrounds are often disadvantaged within the school system (e.g. SCCRE, 2014). Secondly, all students, regardless of their backgrounds, need to be prepared to live in a globalized, diverse world. In this context questions arise in public debates and in scientific discourses about how to better prepare pre-service teachers to deal effectively with the diversity of their student body. Or to say it in the words of Neal, Sleeter and Kumashiro (2015, p. 14): how can we make sure that in every classroom "all students have highly effective, culturally responsive teachers who value diverse cultural heritage and who spark the genius in every child."

In recent years research on teachers' competencies has demonstrated that their professional knowledge *and* their beliefs, values and norms about cultural diversity impact the quality of their instruction in diverse classrooms. Hence, in order to prepare teachers, it is crucial to "actively encourage teacher candidates to be open to the cultural backgrounds of their students" (Hachfeld, Hahn, Schroeder, Anders & Kunter, 2015, p. 53) because this attitude can lead to more support for students with migration backgrounds. Based on empirical evidence, teachers' professional competence is to be understood as the "interplay between content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, generic pedagogical knowledge, and teachers' beliefs, values, motivational orientations and self-regulatory abilities" (ibid., 2015, p. 47).

Against this background, Universities of Teacher Education need to adequately support pre-service teachers in the development of their pedagogical professionalism in dealing with the migration-related diversity of their future students. As a major result of the so-called 'Bologna-Reform', since around 10 years, teacher education in Switzerland has taken place at the tertiary level at one of the sixteen newly organized Universities of Teacher Education that train pre- and in-service teachers from kindergarten to upper secondary school level. Since this restructuring process was implemented, all pre-service teachers have received instruction in dealing with migration-related diversity in their future classrooms. Methods, scopes and contents of the teacher trainings may vary and so far hardly any information is available about what exactly is being taught and done in this regard at different Universities of Teacher Education (Edelmann, 2009; Sieber & Bischoff, 2007).

When it comes to preparing teachers for diverse classrooms, we believe that one part of the quality of teacher training results from the curricula and the teaching

methods. Just as important, in our opinion, is the way Teacher Universities themselves deal with diversity issues and latent constructions of normality (Edelmann, 2014). The topic of pre-service teachers with migration backgrounds in particular leads then to questions regarding the significance that is ascribed to the diverse biographical and educational experiences of students, and whether and how these are acknowledged as potential learning opportunities for all members at Universities of Teacher Education. Therefore the goal for every University of Teacher Education should be to become "a place of enlightenment" that enables all members "to critically examine their own cultural stereotypes and to challenge the validity of these within a pluralistic society" (Karakaşoğlu, 2014, p. 22). Within universities, the idea of comprehensive resource-oriented organizational strategies is currently referred to as the concept of diversity management (e.g. Lutz, 2013; Kappus, 2013). This implies that Universities of Teacher Education are obliged to not only deal with education and training concepts in order to approach the migration-related diversity in the classrooms but also examine how they as universities deal with the migration-related diversity of their own students, "enabling everyone to experience that diversity is a fundamental feature of the institution, especially essential to the goal of comprehensive intercultural opening" (Karakaşoğlu, 2014, p. 14).

It is, however, an empirical fact that in Switzerland – as in many other countries – the growing societal diversity is not yet reflected in the pre- and in the in-service teacher force. Therefore, Universities of Teacher Education still have to be considered as 'mono-cultural islands' in a 'transnational education space' (Edelmann, 2013; Howard, 1999). This social fact contradicts, firstly, the objectives of Swiss integration policies which deem the integration of people with migration backgrounds as unfulfilled until all members are represented equally in socially relevant positions and organizations, such as schools and Universities of Teacher Education (EKA, 2005). Consequently, educational policies must focus on increasing the representation of people with migration backgrounds in teaching positions because they are *representatives* of society. In this context, the concept of 'migration mainstreaming' is often referenced that is based on the concept of 'gender mainstreaming' or on the concept of 'diversity management' (ibid.).

Secondly, it is a fact that the 'gap' between the migration-related diversity of the student population and the homogeneity of the teaching force stand in clear contrast to findings of international research – especially U.S. American research – that have illustrated for some time that the migration-related diversity in the teaching force underlies a fundamentally potential, as it can contribute to broadening perspectives in terms of "world views" (Sleeter & Milner, 2013, p. 179). These "world views" (ibid.) can support the teaching force to adequately meet the needs of their increasingly diverse student population.

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It is, thirdly, desirable to close the 'gap' between the migration-related diversity of the student population and the teaching staff, in the majority female, Christian and middle class. This means that teacher education programs need to be more persistent and innovative in attracting a more diverse teacher force. This desideratum is also to be understood as a "demographic imperative" (Neal et al., 2015, p. 14).

So far hardly any empirical findings exist about the situation of pre-service teachers with migration backgrounds at the Universities of Teacher Education in Switzerland, neither about possible potential aspects nor challenges (Edelmann, 2014). Against this background, the research project DIVAL[1] (= Diversity of pre-service teachers: focus migration / Diversität angehender Lehrkräfte: Fokus Migration) was developed to explore the migration-related diversity of pre-service teachers at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen[2] (cf. section 3). The research project DIVAL consists of a quantitative study (cf. section 4) and a qualitative study (cf. section 5). Before selected results will be presented, an overview of the state of research is demonstrated (cf. section 2). The article will finish with a conclusion regarding central findings and future developments (cf. section 6).

## 2. State of research with a focus on the situation in Switzerland

The theoretical considerations have so far, at least in Switzerland, been sustained by very little empirical evidence. While the migration-related diversity of the student population in schools has received a lot of attention in education policy as well as in educational research for some time, to date there are still no broad studies about pre-service and in-service teachers with migration backgrounds (Edelmann, 2007, 2014).

The issue was investigated for the first time in a national study commissioned by the COHEP (= Swiss Conference of Rectors of Universities of Teacher Education). This study addressed the value attributed to 'intercultural education' in teacher education at the beginning of the 21st century (Sieber & Bischoff, 2007). Among other aspects, research was conducted on whether and how Teacher Universities reduced potential barriers to teacher education as experienced by students with migration backgrounds. It was clear from the results of the study that this requirement was only met sporadically (ibid., p. 26 f.). The first explorative study with pre-service teachers was carried out at the Thurgau University of Teacher Education (Luginbühl & Kosorok Labhart, 2013). In an exploratory investigation 14 pre-service teachers, half of them with migration backgrounds were interviewed using qualitative methods. One of the main findings of the study was the fact that pre-

service teachers with migration backgrounds appreciated it if their migration-related resources were addressed during their teacher training.

The question of how in-service teachers deal with the migration related diversity of their classes was the focus of a qualitative study by Edelmann (2007, 2013). A total of 40 teachers in Zurich were interviewed using qualitative methods, nearly half of them with migration backgrounds (based on self-assessment). The reason that only less than half of the interview partners reported to having migration backgrounds was due to the fact that at the time there were not more primary teachers with migration backgrounds who taught in Zurich. The analysis of the interviews, based on a typology-constructing method ('empirische Typenbildung') by Kelle and Kluge (2010), made it clear that many teachers without migration backgrounds ignored the various socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds of their students. This was not the case with teachers with migration backgrounds, whose teaching practices were guided by multicultural attitudes. The majority of these teachers also had higher expectations of the academic performance of their students with migration backgrounds. At the same time it was very important for them not to be assigned the role of 'cultural' mediators or representatives at their schools. Further findings on in-service teachers with migration backgrounds can be expected from the ongoing study 'Pathways to Success'[3] that is being conducted by the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies at the University of Neuchâtel. This research project focuses on the social mobility of in-service teachers with migration backgrounds. In another current research project that is being conducted at the University of Teacher Education Zug,[4] biographical experiences of in-service teachers with migration backgrounds are being investigated.

In English speaking countries, studies on so-called 'minority teachers' or 'teachers of color' have appeared since the late 1980s (for detailed research overviews, see e.g. Georgi, Ackermann & Karakaş, 2011; Mantel & Leutwyler, 2013; Rotter, 2014). In Germany, research has increased considerably in recent years, most notably in light of the fact that the federal states of Germany are bound to adhere to the National Integration Policy and therefore have increasingly recruited pre- and in-service teachers with migration backgrounds (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2010). Thus a qualitative study about the experiences of students with migration backgrounds in teaching practices and teacher internships was conducted by Karakaşoğlu, Wojciechowicz and Kul (2013). Results of a learning/teaching and research project at the University of Cologne with pre-service teachers with migration backgrounds are also available (Lengyel & Rosen, 2012). In several comprehensive studies about in-service teachers with migration backgrounds that have been carried out in Germany (for detailed research overviews see e.g. Bräu, Georgi, Karakaşoğlu & Rotter, 2013; Georgi et al., 2011) it has also been

demonstrated – similar to the findings of the study by Edelmann (2007, 2013) – that these teachers do not want to be 'reduced' to their migration backgrounds but at the same time find it challenging when their backgrounds are being ignored.

## 3. The research project DIVAL

The research project DIVAL was developed in the context of the aforementioned backgrounds and also as a result of conversations with students with migration backgrounds in the context of lecturing activities of the members of the research team (cf. authors of this article). The main objective of the research project DIVAL was to explore the possible significance of the migration-related diversity from the perspective of pre-service teachers with and without migration backgrounds – henceforth also called students – and lecturers. The study was carried out at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen by the Institute of 'Education and Society'[5]. The DIVAL research project was the first one to gather empirical data regarding students at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen (henceforth called UTED/SG). The research project is based on three questions:

1. Who are the students with migration backgrounds at the UTED/SG?
2. What relevance is attributed to the migration backgrounds of students at the UTED/SG: on the one hand, from the perspective of pre-service teachers with such backgrounds (= self-attributions / Selbstzuschreibungen), and on the other hand, by pre-service teachers without migration backgrounds and lecturers (attributions by others / Fremdzuschreibungen)?
3. To what extent is the migration-related diversity of students at the UTED/SG interpreted and taken into account as a potential aspect and/or a challenge during teacher training?

In order to investigate these questions two sub-studies were conducted. Initially, a quantitative online survey was conducted in autumn 2013 regarding the different diversity characteristics (especially social and national origin, linguistic background, and religion) of all students at the UTED/SG (cf. section 4). In spring 2014, focused group discussions were carried out with students with and without migration backgrounds and with lecturers (cf. section 5).

## 4. The quantitative part of the DIVAL research project

The diverse composition of the pre-service teachers at the UTED/SG is to-date not known with regard to the characteristics of migration backgrounds and gender, as well as the social backgrounds. For this reason, an online survey was conducted at the UTED/SG in autumn of 2013 with the aim of collecting these diversity charac-

teristics. All 1 250 students who were enrolled at the UTED/SG at the time were contacted and 891 students completed the questionnaire, which corresponds to a response rate of around 70 %.

During the same period, the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (FSO) conducted a survey called 'Social and Economic Conditions of Student Life 2013' (FSO, 2014a), in which all students enrolled at all Swiss Universities (= U/CH) were questioned. The survey of all students at all U/CH has been conducted at regular intervals for many years. However, in the survey conducted in 2013, the birth countries of the students and their parents were recorded for the first time, which made it possible to generate a differentiated picture about their migration and socio-economic backgrounds. The results of the quantitative survey of students of the research project DIVAL at the UTED/SG can thus be compared across various fields with data from the national study about all students at Swiss Universities of Teacher Education (= UTED/CH) and with students at all other Swiss Universities (= U/CH).

In the following, results from the research project DIVAL that refer exclusively to the students at the UTED/SG are first presented due to a lack of comparable data about students at other Universities in Switzerland. Secondly, results from the DIVAL project are compared with data about all students at all UTED/CH and all students at all U/CH.

The results of the DIVAL project show that approximately 90 % of the students at the UTED/SG state that they were born in Switzerland. The other 10 % were born in 20 different countries. According to the students, their fathers come from 27 and their mothers from 32 different countries. At around 75 %, the majority of foreign-born students come from the neighboring countries Germany, Austria and Liechtenstein. 89.8 % of the students state that they only speak German or a dialect of German as their main language. On the basis of the definition of the FSO (2014b), the main language was defined as the language that a person speaks best and the language in which they usually think, according to their self-assessment. 9.4 % of all students stated that they spoke a second main language in addition to German. Only 0.8 % of students stated that their main language is not German. In terms of religious affiliation, 85.1 % of the surveyed students stated that they belong to a Christian denomination (predominantly Catholic), 3 % specify a Muslim community, 0.5 % a different religion, and 11.4 % say that they do not belong to any faith community.

The following table (cf. Tab. 1) lists descriptive values that relate to the diversity characteristics of migration backgrounds, gender, and social backgrounds, separated according to the UTED/SG, all UTED/CH and all U/CH. For the following calculations the migration background was operationalized according to the defini-

tion of the FSO (2014a, p. 9). This definition makes it possible to differentiate between first and second generation students, as follows: "Students who are first generation immigrants were born abroad. Second generation immigrants include those whose parents immigrated to Switzerland, i.e. students who were born in Switzerland but whose parents were born abroad" (ibid.). There is one exception for students with Swiss citizenship, for whom only one parent was born abroad: According to the definition of the FSO (ibid.), they do *not* have a migration background. Based on this definition, the population in Switzerland in 2013 was as follows (FSO, 2014c): "34.8 % of the permanent resident population aged 15 or over in Switzerland, i.e. 2 374 000 persons, have migration backgrounds. A third of this population (836 000) has Swiss citizenship. Four fifths of persons with migration backgrounds are themselves immigrants (first generation foreigners and native-born and naturalized Swiss citizens), whereas one fifth were born in Switzerland (second generation foreigners and native-born and naturalized Swiss citizens)."

Table 1: Key figures of diversity characteristics (migration backgrounds, gender, social backgrounds), separated according to the UTED/SG, all UTED/CH and all U/CH (sources: Beck, Bischoff & Edelmann, 2014; FSO, 2014a)

| | Students | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | UTED/SG | UTED/CH | Tertiary CH |
| Migration Background (MB) | 17.0% | 15.8% | 28.2% |
| First Generation | 9.3% | 9.7% | 19.7% |
| Second Generation | 7.7% | 6.2% | 8.5% |
| Certificate CH | 94.6% | 91.3% | 82.4% |
| | | | |
| Female | 78.5% | 75.3% | 48.0% |
| Female X MB | 13.8% | 12.4% | 14.8% |
| Male X MB | 3.1% | 3.4% | 13.4% |
| | | | |
| Tertiary Parental Education* (total) | 43.0% | 47.8% | 58.0% |
| Tertiary Parental Education* (no MB) | 44.4% | 48.5% | 58.1% |
| Tertiary Parental Education* (MB) | 35.6% | 43.6% | 57.8% |
| Parental Occupation Status** (total) | 61.3 (19.5) | 56.8 (22.7) | 59.4 (22.1) |
| Parental Occupation Status** (no MB) | 63.0 (18.5) | 57.7 (22.3) | 60.8 (21.3) |
| Parental Occupation Status** (MB) | 53.5 (22.3) | 50.6 (24.3) | 55.3 (23.7) |

UTED/SG = University of Teacher Education St.Gallen; UTED/CH = Universities of Teacher Education Switzerland; Tertiary CH = Students in Tertiary Education Switzerland; Certificate CH = Certificate of access to higher Education acquired in Switzerland; * = Highest Parental Education: ISCED 5 or 6; ** = Mean and Standard Deviation of ISEI.

As table 1 illustrates, a total of 17 % of all students at the UTED/SG have migration backgrounds. Of these, 9.3 % are first generation and 7.7 % are second generation immigrants. In comparison, only 15.8 % of all students at all UTED/CH have migration backgrounds. Of these, 9.7 % are first generation and 7.7 % are second generation immigrants. In relation to all U/CH, at 28.2 %, significantly more students have migration backgrounds. Of these, 19.7 % are first generation and 8.5 % are second generation immigrants. Compared to the 34.8 % of the permanent resident population with migration backgrounds aged 15 or over in Switzerland, students with migration backgrounds are underrepresented at all Swiss Universities, but especially at Universities of Teacher Education.

*Access to Higher Education*

Nearly 95 % of all students at the UTED/SG gained their Certificate of Access to Higher Education ('Studienberechtigung') in Switzerland. They are therefore referred as "students with Swiss entrance qualification (= 'Bildungsinländer/innen')" (FSO, 2014a, p. 10). The other 5 % are so-called "students with foreign entrance qualification" (= 'Bildungsausländer/innen') (ibid.). The percentage of students who obtained their Certificates of Access to Higher Education in Switzerland is slightly lower at 91.3 % at all U/CH, and with 82.4 % even lower at all UTED/CH.

*Gender issues*

A clear difference can be seen with regard to male students with migration backgrounds. At 3.1 %, they are distinctly underrepresented at the UTED/SG compared to 13.8 % of female students with migration backgrounds. The percentage is comparable to male students with migration background at all UTED/CH which is at 3.4 %. In contrast, male students with migration backgrounds are better represented at all U/CH with 13.4 %. However, the low rate of male students in teacher education does not only apply to male students *with* migration backgrounds. Instead, the percentage of male students at all UTED/CH is generally low, at around 25 %. Across all the U/CH, male students are at 52 % better represented than female students.

*Family backgrounds of the students*

The educational backgrounds of the parents was operationalized using the 'International Standard Classification of Education' (= ISCED) (cf. FSO, 2008). Here, we can see significant differences based on the university degree criteria. At the UTED/SG, the percentage of students who come from families with tertiary education as the highest level of education is at 43 %. This percentage is lower compared

to the students at all UTED/CH, where it is at 47.8 %. Even higher is the percentage of students from families with tertiary education as the highest level of education at all U/CH where it is at 58 %. The differences related to the criterion 'migration backgrounds' become particularly clear: Of all students with migration backgrounds at the UTED/SG, 35.6 % come from families with tertiary education. At a percentage of 43.6, the share is slightly higher at all UTED/CH. In contrast, the percentage at 57.8 is distinctly higher among students with migration backgrounds at all U/CH.

The difference in educational backgrounds between students at all UTED/CH and the total amount of students at all U/CH may be due to the fact that entering a UTED/CH in order to become a teacher is (still) perceived as a social mobility option, especially by students with migration backgrounds and students without migration backgrounds who are from families without tertiary education as the highest level of education. On the other hand, it is clear that far fewer young educationally successful people with migration backgrounds choose to study at a UTED/CH instead of any other U/CH. To date, we can only speculate about the reasons due to lack of empirical data. Assumptions about the causes of this low representation range from formal and/or psycho-social barriers (Sieber & Bischoff, 2007) to voluntary self-selection due to a lack of occupational prestige of teachers (SCCRE, 2014).

For the professional status of the parents, operationalized by the highest level of the 'International Socio-economic Index' (ISEI) (Ganzeboom, de Graaf & Treiman, 1992), the mean values and standard deviations have been calculated. Students with migration backgrounds at the UTED/SG come less frequently from families with privileged social backgrounds: their ISEI-values were significantly lower on average[6] than that for students without migration backgrounds at UTED/CH. Likewise, the composition of students with migration backgrounds differs significantly at all UTED/CH[7] from the population of all students without migration backgrounds at all U/CH. Overall, students in Switzerland with migration backgrounds come significantly more often from socio-economically less privileged family backgrounds than students without migration backgrounds[8].

## 5. The qualitative part of the DIVAL research project

In spring 2014, focused group discussions based on Schulz (2012) were conducted with students with and without migration backgrounds and lecturers at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen. This method is especially suitable to explore new topics because group discussions enable everyday interactive situations ('alltagsnahe Interaktionssituation', cf. Flick, 2010, p. 249) and contribute to stimu-

late new and unexpected patterns of discussion that may not develop in the context of individual interviews (Schulz, 2012, p. 12). It is particular about this method that the moderator uses an interview-guide (Interviewleitfaden) based on an interview-technique according to Witzel (2000) that records three to five relevant areas to be discussed. This technique enables as well narrative flows and a wide degree of openness, as demanded of qualitative research approaches (Edelmann, Schmidt & Tippelt, 2012), as a certain level of comparability between different group discussions. The following areas were discussed in an open order during the group discussions with the students:

1. The motivation to become a teacher and the reaction of the social environment about this career-choice;
2. The perceived relevance of migration backgrounds at the University of Teacher Education;
3. The perception of how the topic of migration-related diversity is dealt with at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen (as a topic in seminars and lectures and among students);
4. The future perspectives of the students in the sense of how they want to deal with migration-related diversity once they work as teachers;
5. Opinions concerning the idea 'more students with migration backgrounds' at Universities of Teacher Education.

In the discussions with the lectures questions two, three and five were at the center of the discussion. Furthermore, the lecturers were asked about their experiences with students with migration backgrounds. The questions were meticulously prepared so they were formulated in an open way and invited the participants explicitly to discuss about potential aspects and challenges.

The recruitment of students for the focused group discussions was based on their agreement to participate in such a group when they were asked about it during the online survey of the DIVAL project (cf. chapter 4). A total of eighteen students were interviewed during eight group discussions (with two to four participants)[9], including fourteen students with and four without migration backgrounds. Students with and those without migration backgrounds participated in separate focused group discussions. We decided to set up separate groups in order to prevent that certain topics were avoided because of 'political correctness' and also because data analysis of a comparison of the statements by students with and without migration backgrounds aided in identifying migration-specific aspects. The students with migration backgrounds represented, as expected, a heterogeneous group: Some had immigrated to Switzerland as children or only a few years ago (first generation),

others were born to parents who had immigrated to Switzerland (second generation). They also came from different countries.

For the focused group discussions with the lectures, we recruited those lecturers who teach in areas in which migration-related diversity plays an *explicit* role: German as a second language, religion/ethics, dealing with heterogeneity, cooperation between schools and families. Four focused group discussions were conducted with four to five participants, i.e. a total of 17 lecturers. Only two of the lecturers had a migration background (Germany) which represents the average lecturing staff at the University of Teacher Education in St.Gallen. The focused group discussions with the students lasted between 60 to 75 minutes and those with the lecturers about 45 minutes. Each discussion was moderated by a member of the research team.

The focused group discussions were recorded and then fully transcribed according to "literary transcription" ('literarische Umschrift', Mayring, 2002, p. 89). The interviews were analyzed according to the method of qualitative structured content analysis by Mayring (2010), supported by the software MAXQDA.

In the following section, we present the perspectives of students with and without migration backgrounds and lecturers expressed during the group discussions concerning the focused theme, what potential aspects and possible challenges could be if the proportion of students with migration backgrounds at Universities of Teacher Education were to increase.

### 5.1 Perspectives of the students

Concerning a possible increase of the proportion of students with migration backgrounds at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen, the interviewed students mentioned either positive or no special expectations. The assumption that *all* students (regardless of their backgrounds) could benefit from biographically related experiences and competences of students with migration backgrounds during teacher training was not directly taken into consideration. The potential aspects primarily referred to personal benefits for themselves as pre- and in-service teachers with migration backgrounds. Above all, students who were of this opinion mentioned that an increase in the proportion of students with migration backgrounds would mean that 'they' would be better represented and would no longer – or at least no longer as obviously as nowadays – be the only representatives of a 'national-ethno-cultural group' and thus feel as if they were seen as 'the others' (Reuter, 2002). This expectation was formulated especially clearly by a student whose migration background is obvious because of her appearance:

> When I started here I was, I believe, the only dark-skinned student. And now at undergraduate level there are, I think, two or three more dark-skinned students that have recently started. And I think that's good. (G4_S1)

Although she does not express this explicitly, we can assume that this student feels less 'exotic' now that she is no longer the only student with dark skin at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen. Without going into further detail, she talked about difficulties she expected in her career if she also turned out to be the only dark-skinned teacher at her future school:

> I think that if I am the only dark-skinned teacher among a hundred others, it will clearly be difficult for me and [...] I would absolutely encourage more dark-skinned people to begin studying. That would also be a supportive fact for me and my later career if I'm not the only dark-skinned teacher among the teaching staff. (G4_S1)

Another student also points out possible difficulties in her future career. In her opinion, these difficulties could be reduced if more teachers with migration backgrounds were trained at Universities of Teacher Education and entered the teaching profession:

> I think it's good for us too, because then we know: hey, we are really wanted in that profession. Because it is also something that scares people away, that you don't know, especially in this profession, whether you will be accepted in the professional field itself or not. (G3_S1)

Knowing that students with migration backgrounds are welcomed and represented at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen would have made it easier for another student in her decision-making process about what and where to study:

> I have asked myself this question before I started teacher education: If I become a teacher as a person with a migration background, how many other such students are currently at this University? Will I be the only one? And if you already know, aha, yes, there are other students with a migration background at this University and it is seen as something positive, then you simply don't need to have this discussion with yourself and worries at the beginning. (G3_S3)

Other students who participated in the discussion believed that increasing the number of students with migration backgrounds would not lead to any changes with regard to their situation as students at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen. One student's explanation was quite typical, saying that students with migration backgrounds have indeed "*come far*" in their educational career and because of this there were no longer "*such big differences*" (G2_S1) between 'them' and students without migration backgrounds. The student referred especially to the Certificate of Access to Higher Education ('Studienberechtigung') that is needed in order to be accepted at the University of Teacher Education. This would level out any differences between students with and without migration backgrounds. Another

student explained her statement that all students at the University of Teacher Education in St.Gallen "*are seen as the same*" (G6_S2).

All three students without a migration background who discussed the question of potential aspects and possible challenges in the event of an increase of the number of students with migration backgrounds – the fourth student did not add anything to this debate – stated that their expectations were primarily positive. A potential benefit is an increased exchange between students with and without migration backgrounds:

> It would certainly be interesting to get to know different cultural backgrounds, also different religious backgrounds. (G8_S1)

One student even regrets that such an exchange cannot occur in her study group at the moment due to the lack of students with migration backgrounds:

> Well, the advantages, or where students can benefit, is certainly in this exchange. So I find it a pity that at the moment we have no one in our study group who can tell us about other backgrounds. (G7_S2)

As possible challenges, two students sketched difficulties based on "*different mentality*" (G7_A2) using fictitious examples. For instance, the different approach to life and studying by a student from Italy "*who perhaps sees everything a little more relaxed than we Swiss do*" (G7_A2) might result in conflicts during group work. Another example refers to a fictitious student from Spain whose "*fiery mentality*" (G8_A2) is on the one hand seen as positive personality trait, on the other hand, the student assumed that this student might not take punctuality as seriously as "*we Swiss do*". These students' statements show that their ideas with respect to students *with* migration backgrounds are at least partially informed by prejudices and stereotypes. However, one of the students added that such issues are probably rarely problematic because all students at the University of Teacher Education have usually already gone through and succeeded in the Swiss education system. Two students suggested that challenges were more likely to be expected outside of the university because in small communities, teachers with migration backgrounds may not be readily accepted by the parents.

### 5.2 Perspectives of the lecturers

The four focused group discussions with the lecturers developed in partly different directions when the participants talked about potential aspects and possible challenges if the number of students with migration backgrounds at Universities of Teacher Education were to increase. Two focus groups (G1 and G2) attributed little relevance to the migration backgrounds of students: "*It would not change much*" (G1_D5). By basically disregarding differences between students due to migration

backgrounds, the discussion participants did not associate any potential aspects or challenges with an increase in the number of students with migration backgrounds. In contrast, they pointed out the importance of pre-service teachers' personalities and thereby disregarded migration backgrounds as part of the personality. Another lecturer followed up on this statement and highlighted the "*inconspicuousness*" of migration backgrounds by explaining that several conditions must be met before students can commence studies at a University of Teacher Education:

> I think it is relevant that there is already a filter on their education journey until they start here. Or there are even several filters. It takes a certain work attitude, a certain personality, and a certain support system. I think that by the time they are here, they are truly – to put it in a positive way – integrated, or put in a negative way 'refined' ('geschliffen'). (G1_D5)

Another member of the discussion group added an argument in which he deliberately emphasized the similarities between *all* students:

> But in principle, I am convinced that similarities must be more emphasized than differences; we teach this in intercultural education as well. And that's why in my mind it is of course simply like this: I think, hey, this is a person, this is a woman, and this is a student. And I don't think: this is – and maybe I don't even know if she is – this is a woman from another culture. (G1_D2)

Overall, the lecturers in these two discussion groups were critical of the education policy objective which states that the migration-related diversity in society should also be represented among the students at their university. They argued that additional criteria and differential characteristics would also need to be taken into consideration accordingly like gender issues, talents, or even urban and rural origin of the students. Another lecturer expressed the opinion that the people with migration backgrounds would, after a certain time, automatically be reflected in the composition of students at Universities of Teacher Education, and therefore no special effort was needed:

> And the more foreigners are living in Switzerland, the more foreigners will then attend our schools, Universities, and the Universities of Teacher Education. 15 years ago, there were barely any students from Ex-Yugoslavia here, and now they suddenly are here. I think it happens automatically. The people who live here get to know the education system and become educated as teachers, and they are absolutely good, like the Swiss. I just don't think that there are any differences. (G2_D4)

In contrast, the need for more students with migration backgrounds was clearly expressed by the participants of another group (G3). They argued that society should to some extent be reflected by the students:

> I also think it would certainly be desirable that a society is somehow reflected in a social institution, and the education system is one of them. So I think it would be well worth it to invest in this, to do an effort to increase the proportion. (G3_D3)

Two lecturers highlighted multilingualism as a specific potential aspect that could become stronger if the number of students with migration backgrounds were to increase. One of the participants also expressed the expectation that a better representation of students with migration backgrounds at Universities of Teacher Education would break down widespread prejudices and stereotypes about the people with migration backgrounds in society.

In addition to these expected potential aspects, the participants also mentioned possible challenges. One lecturer considers it to be a challenge that an increased number of students with migration backgrounds would mean that the way religion is taught at the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen would need to change because the seminar is based on Christian perspectives. With regard to the language skills of students with migration backgrounds, another lecturer speculates that students who grew up bilingually could possibly have difficulties in written work and consequently the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen would have to develop courses to improve their language skills:

> That would mean the more students with migration backgrounds would be here, the more supporting programs we'd have to offer, and these are foster programs that go beyond what is available now. (G3_ D1)

The discussion in the fourth group (G4) developed in a very different direction. The question of increasing the number of students with migration backgrounds was primarily discussed in the context of teachers for foreign languages and cultures. Even when the moderator talked about 'students with migration backgrounds' the participants typically used the term 'foreign teachers' because this was their common sense description for the idea of 'students with migration backgrounds'.

## 6. Conclusions

Due to the fact that the Swiss society and its educational institutions are shaped by ongoing migration processes, it is necessary to train teachers in order to deal effectively with the migration-related diversity of their students, and to ensure that they are able to prepare all their students – regardless of their backgrounds – for a globalized diverse world. As discussed in this article, the growing empirical research shows two major findings that need to be considered during teacher training: teacher's professional competences are shaped by content knowledge *and* beliefs. The latter are more successful for teaching a diverse student population if they "entail the idea that group differences and cultural backgrounds should be acknowledged and viewed as enriching" (Hachfeld et al., 2015, p. 46). So they are to be understood in opposition to color-blind-strategies, implying that "people should see beyond 'color' when interacting with people from different backgrounds and cul-

tures" (ibid.). Hence, "teacher education programs should actively encourage teacher candidates to be open to cultural backgrounds of their students" and make them aware "that culture and language matter in all subjects" (ibid., p. 53). In order to reach this goal it is important to consider how Teacher Universities themselves deal with the migration-related diversity of their student population within the meaning as role models (Edelmann, 2014).

In contrast to these desiderata, the results of the DIVAL research project show – at least for the University of Teacher Education St.Gallen – that the idea of treating all pre-service teachers equally regardless of their backgrounds seems to be the preferred strategy. Only a minority of lecturers and students expressed the opinion that it would be beneficial if more students with migration backgrounds enrolled at Universities of Teacher Education. Among them especially pre-service teachers with migration backgrounds pointed out that it could help to overcome stereotypes and prejudices about their group. In addition to articulating fears of matching up with the 'Swiss' students when entering the Universities of Teacher Education, they expressed doubts about their acceptance in the school field.

Against this background, further education trainings for lecturers at Universities of Teacher Education that support effective strategies for dealing with the migration-related diversity of their students has to be pointed out as an essential pedagogical consequence. The goal should be that lecturers can recognize the potential of the diversity of their students in seminars and lectures. It is conceivable, for example, that the following areas are important: What it is like to grow up multilingually, to maintain a transnational family network, to belong to a religious minority group, to grow up with parents who do not know much about the local education system or to experience exclusion and discrimination?

Nevertheless, a reflective approach to dealing with the migration-related diversity is essential since over-emphasizing 'differences', which has been criticized for a long time in the context of intercultural education and cultural studies, leads to processes of 'culturalization', 'othering' and even 'essentialisation' of certain backgrounds (Karakaşoğlu, 2014). On the other hand, ignoring differences in the sense of a lack of awareness and recognition of students' individual national and ethnocultural identity constructions and backgrounds in favor of 'equal' treatment of 'unequal' individuals can ultimately lead to processes of assimilation and discrimination (cf. Edelmann, 2007, 2014). This 'dialectical contradiction' (ibid.) between emphasis and non-emphasis on migration-related differences shows that the issue is strongly related to competences that allow critical and reflective decisions about *when, why, and how* it makes sense to address or ignore the migration-related backgrounds of individuals.

In order to support the cultural process of opening up of the University of Teacher Education – and this is another pedagogical consequence we would like to emphasize – it is crucial that "the cultural and social capital within the university milieu must be recognized, and individuals must be given the opportunity to further develop that capital and make a productive use of it both at the university and with regard to expanded professional prospects" (Karakaşoğlu, 2014, p. 14).

As indicated at the beginning of this article, until now, there are hardly any significant studies in Switzerland on the subject of students with migration backgrounds at Universities of Teacher Education. With the research project DIVAL, an important step towards more empirical based knowledge has been made. However, many questions remain open and more studies are needed, ideally at a national and international-comparative level.

*Notes*

1. For further information see http://blogs.phsg.ch/dival/ (15/05/2015).
2. For further information see http://www.phsg.ch/web.aspx (15/05/2015).
3. For further information see elitesproject.eu/pathways-to-success/switzerland (15/05/2015).
4. For further information see http://www.zg.ch/behoerden/direktion-fur-bildung-und-kultur/phzg/university-of-teacher-education-zug/research-and-development/izb-international-cooperation/reference-projects/teachers-with-an-immigrant-background/#study-teachers-with-an-immigrant-background (15/05/2015).
5. For further information see http://www.phsg.ch/web/forschung/institut-bildung-und-gesellschaft.aspx (15/01/2015).
6. $t(162.4) = 4.52$, $p < 0.001$, two-sided t-test, unequal variances.
7. $t(2164.5) = 11{,}38$, $p < 0.001$, two-sided t-test, unequal variances.
8. $t(58148.16) = 39.8$, $p < 0.001$, two-sided t-test, unequal variances.
9. Prior to the study we focused on a minimum of three students per group. Sometimes for not foreseeable reasons a student could suddenly not attend. Nevertheless we then decided to still carry out the discussion with the present students who made the effort to attend.

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# Professionalism and multilingualism in Greece and Canada: An international comparison of (minority) teachers' views on linguistic diversity and language practices in monolingual vs. multilingual educational systems

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*Abstract*

In this article we present the design of the research project 'Migration-Related Multilingualism and Pedagogical Professionalism' and provide a first look at the material. After a brief introduction, we present our initial thoughts and considerations about pre-service teachers in Germany which motivated us to create this internationally comparative study (2). The following section introduces the research design including our research question and the research fields (3.1), European and Canadian contexts for comparison (3.2), the special situation of German schools abroad in these contexts (3.3), and the methodological framework of the current research (3.4). Afterwards, we provide a first look at the empirical data using excerpts from expert interviews with multilingual (minority) teachers at the German Schools in Athens and in Montreal about their views on migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity and language practices (4). In the context of research trips in 2013 and 2014, we conducted a total of forty-one interviews in Greek and German. In the conclusion, we formulate a hypothesis and a question which we propose to pursue further in our future research (5).

## 1. Introduction

With increasing migration into and within already culturally diverse European countries, there is an urgent need to share more knowledge about the potential and challenges of cultural, social, and linguistic diversity in schools and in pre-service teacher education. In recent years, both OECD (e.g. OECD, 2014) studies and

European comparative reports have identified selective systems and monolingual systems as particularly in need of innovation in this specific field. The 2008 European Union report entitled 'Education and Migration – strategies for integrating migrant children in European schools and societies'[1] aptly illustrates this need: "It is obvious that selective systems contribute *to increasing the problems of minority children* [emphasis in original] and do little to support them." (Heckmann, 2008, p. 21)

Heckmann (2008) also highlights a special kind of selection as a problem area, namely "the absence of minority teachers in schools." This means that there is a lack of pedagogical professionals who are immigrants or who have immigrant parents, in spite of the fact that the presence of such professionals would grant support to minority and multilingual students. To improve the situation, it has been recommended that minority youth in selective and monolingual systems be encouraged to pursue teaching careers. An additional recommendation is the hiring of more minority and multilingual teachers in order to support multilingual students in school:

> Teachers of a migrant and minority background have a positive influence on migrant achievement in schools. … Recommendation: Encourage young people of migration background into teaching careers. Schools should hire more teachers with a migration background (ibid., p. 83).

These discussions are linked to recent deliberations and recommendations in German education policy making. Over the past decade, policy programs in Germany have started to focus on the opportunities and potential related to the presence of minority teachers at school. Multilingual (minority) teachers in particular are generally expected to support multilingual (minority) students. German policy programs discuss the diversity of teachers and pre-service teachers as a major strategy for reducing the educational disadvantages of minority students and enhancing the school system's linguistic diversity and intercultural receptiveness (cf. MSW NRW 2007, 2010).

In this article, we use the term 'multilingual (minority) teachers'. This term is rather uncommon in the German-speaking areas of Europe where the term 'teachers and students with migration backgrounds' is more widely used. To portray the complexity of the issue, we prefer the translated description '(prospective) pedagogic professionals with migration-related multilingualism', but have simplified this to 'multilingual (minority) teachers'. We thereby intend to affiliate ourselves with the international (especially the English-speaking) discourse, which uses – at least in the German reception – the term 'minority teachers' (cf. Heckmann, 2008; Georgi, 2013a). We intentionally add 'multilingual' to the term in order not to reproduce the attribution, albeit often positive, that teachers with migration backgrounds are automatically multilingual; they could as well have been raised mono-

lingually or consider themselves to be monolingual. Furthermore, we deliberately put the term 'minority' in brackets, in order to differentiate between teachers from immigrant families (e.g. the pre-service teachers involved in the study we present in this section) and teachers who are not considered to be migrants according to the German understanding of the term or who do not consider themselves to be migrants although they have lived and worked abroad as members of a national minority for extended periods of time (e.g. tenured teachers from Germany who work at German schools abroad). This differentiation is also crucial in light of our research question (see section 3). We switch between the terms 'with migration backgrounds' and 'multilingual (minority) teachers' whenever we present the respective terminology of a specific discourse in quotes and references or the self-definition of the interviewees.

## 2. Initial results about the views of pre-service teachers raised multilingually in Germany – a starting point for the conception of an internationally comparative project

Based on initial findings we are going to present in this section, we need to question, or rather qualify, education policy makers' optimism that minority teachers contribute to the reduction of educational disadvantages for minority students due to their (innate) multilingual and intercultural competence (for similar findings, see Rotter, 2014, p. 281; Bandorski & Karakaşoğlu, 2013, p. 152; Georgi, Ackermann & Karakaş, 2011, p. 272; Karakaşoğlu, 2011, p. 131). Since 2013, we have conducted peer interviews with 32 pre-service teachers in the context of the teaching-research project 'Diversity in the Staff Room'.[2] These interviews were primarily conducted with (and by) multilingual (minority) students at the University of Cologne, Germany. In the interviews, two students interviewed one another with the help of an interview guide (cf. Friebertshäuser & Langer, 2010; Marotzki, 2006; Schmidt, 2009) about their experiences with language diversity, their language practices, their assumptions about special linguistic abilities of multilinguals, and also about prejudices against migration-related multilingualism (for details, see Panagiotopoulou & Rosen, 2015b; in the following, we also refer to this source).[3]

The data collected in the context of these peer interviews has a special quality: From a methodological research perspective, one may argue that the data is not sufficiently valid having been conducted by students, considered at best semi-professionals. What speaks in favour of this method, however, is that peer interviews may allow a less asymmetric interviewer-interviewee relationship. That can be viewed as more beneficial than a 'traditional' setting taking into account the opportunities of peer learning:

> Peer learning promotes certain types of learning outcomes … [e.g.] Critical enquiry and reflection. Challenges to existing ways of thinking arise from more detailed interchanges between students in which points of view are argued and positions justified. It provides opportunities for formulating questions rather than simply responding to those posed by others. There is evidence to suggest that fostering critical reflection and reassessment of views more readily comes from interchange between peers than even from well-planned discussion sessions with teachers. … Students are often better able to reflect on and explore ideas when the presence and authority of a staff member do not influence them. In peer learning contexts students generally communicate more about the subject area than they do when staff are present. They are able to articulate what they understand and to be more open to be critiqued by peers, as well as learning from listening to and critiquing others (Boud, 2002, p. 8).

Guideline-directed peer interviews encourage students to connect the experiences of their language practices in the context of their everyday environment as well as in educational contexts.[4] In these interviews the students talk about their heteroglossic reality and their complex and dynamic language practices (García, 2009) and assess their migration-related multilingualism differently: The initial results reveal that to some extent the language practices are evaluated negatively as solutions resorted to out of embarrassment or as sidestepping by multilinguals; on the other hand, these practices are described as natural language activities, used primarily in real-life contexts but also in everyday communication among multilingual students. What these views have in common is the underlying notion of *additive* or *parallel acquisition of two languages*,[5] which can be consolidated with the help of the concept of "separate bilingualism" or "parallel monolingualism" (Heller, 1999; cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 105). With the help of this concept the students' *demand for the dichotomy of languages* (in school versus outside of school and in private versus public realms) seems plausible. Only because language practices are not presented as intertwined in terms of "translanguaging" (García, 2009) or "flexible bilingualism" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 108), a strict separation, the switching, between these language practices becomes thinkable and realizable (cf. ibid., p. 105). These views on multilingualism are compatible with noted language ideologies. Building on the "imagined community of the nation," national education systems across Europe tend to enforce the use of a common (national) language in order to integrate all subgroups in the population (cf. Berthele, 2010, p. 2 f.)[6]. According to Berthele (ibid., p. 2), the neglect of all other minority languages or language varieties in this context generally adheres to "a European stereotype of what constitutes a nation (one language, one culture, one people, one territory)." The interviewed and interviewing pre-service teachers argue along similar lines when they legitimate their prospective (imagined) monolingual classroom communities by excluding the (supposedly foreign) minority languages. The (im-

plicit) motto is: *Multilingualism jeopardizes the social integration of subgroups and thus the intended group cohesion*. The experienced *upbringing towards monolingualism* is therefore construed retrospectively *as a task in sensitization and at the same time as a moral obligation*. Additionally, some students postulate such monolingualism as part of their future professional activities.

> [W]ith respect to my school years, … well, so I think that it's important, to um to somehow give the students the feeling, or n- to be sensitive, that when it's when someone's there, who doesn't understand the language, whether it's fair, to speak a language, that this person doesn't understand (…) so as to try somehow; … that it is worth it to speak a language, that everyone understands …

Overall, the analysis of the peer interviews shows that these pre-service teachers describe the experienced (self-)exclusion of their (personal) 'non-German languages' in educational contexts only to a limited extent as illegitimate or discriminating; they barely dissociate themselves from the corresponding strategies of the German school system. In summary, the pre-service teachers endorse monolingual action in the context of the German educational system.

One finding in particular prompted us to devise an internationally comparative research project to compare teachers' views on multilingualism in selective and monolingually organized educational systems, on the one hand, and in educational systems that tend to be inclusive and multilingual, on the other. The educational experiences of multilingual pre-service teachers have proven to be relevant. The students report that their teachers intervened when they used so-called heritage languages and used the supposed, unequivocal right of the German-speaking majority to understand any conversation between members of a minority as an argument. Therefore, these students were required, as one interviewee points out, to "only speak German … even amongst ourselves."

> [S]o we should only speak German, and this also had such a negative influence on me, that even today I still … always try to speak German when Germans, only Germans, are around me. Also even with my son, so that I um also may have been speaking with him in Turkish earlier, and as soon as a German joins us, then I switch to German, because I have the feeling, everyone has to understand me, … this goes back to the time when I was in school because there the teachers there always, truly always, pointed that out to me.

The student describes that she refrains from using Turkish in her everyday life whenever she wants or needs to ensure that she is being understood by speakers of German despite being aware of the "negative influence" of the school system's requirement to speak German. The experienced linguistic discrimination, or 'linguicism' (Dirim, 2010), in this case due to the "German only" strategy, continues to affect these students in their university-level teacher training. "As a teacher I find this a little problematic, how to be able to implement this [referring to multi-

lingualism] now". Multilingual pre-service teachers report that they feel overwhelmed by the expectation of dealing with multilingual children, by figuring out the role their multilingualism may play in this context and how they can promote educational processes.

Our results are consistent with those from previous studies involving interviews with immigrant teachers. These educators report that they apply their multilingualism as a teaching resource only to a very limited degree. They are more likely to use non-German languages to discipline and reprimand minority students, but they do not attempt to "connect with" students who speak the same languages. Above all, they are careful to ensure that the use of minority languages does not generate "incomprehensibility" among the "rest of the students" (cf. Georgi, 2013b, p. 231). With respect to the orientation towards linguistic norms at school among minority and non-minority pre-service teachers, Schlickum (2013) also demonstrates in an explorative manner, by analysing group discussions, that "promotion of the national language at school is [considered to be] an obligation" (p. 115). No students, including those who are of ethnic minority heritage and, as the case may be, who are multilinguals, question the general "requirement to commit to the national language" (ibid.).

## 3. Design of the internationally comparative project 'Migration-Related Multilingualism and Pedagogical Professionalism'

### 3.1 Research question and central notions

Based on the previously illustrated research, we asked ourselves what types of biographical and professional educational experiences pedagogical professionals underwent at multilingually organized educational institutions outside of Germany. At the same time, we wondered whether multilingual (minority) teachers in those systems were better able to use their multilingual resources than multilingual (minority) teachers and pre-service teachers in monolingual German schools.

Thus, our research question is: Do the experiences gained by pedagogical professionals in multilingually organized educational settings interrelate with their views on migration-related multilingualism, linguistic diversity and language practices at school? If so, how?

This question contains several terms and concepts to be illustrated in the following paragraphs. First, what do we mean by "pedagogical professionals in the context of multilingually organized educational settings"?

According to Nittel (2011, p. 42), 'profession' as a category is linked to a specific, academic socialization as well as a practice which generally comprise the "entire professional biography", whereas Niklas Luhmann's systems-theoretical

approach on the conditions of a functionally differentiated society makes this definition appear outdated. Looking at the 'teacher profession' from this perspective, we assume that it remains strongly tied to a specific, nationally established educational system and thus appears inadequate for our project, even more so when taking into account international and transnational developments in educational systems and pedagogics – in terms of Luhmann's system theory, these conditions are summarized under the term 'world society'. For an internationally comparative project that is being conducted in various national educational systems and different educational institutions in addition to focusing on 'non-mainstream schooling', it is important to acquire a comprehensive understanding of professionalism and professionalization, in order to properly take into account the different educational and professional experiences of teachers.

So far, we have conducted our research at 'German Schools' abroad (also known as 'International German Schools' or 'Begegnungsschulen'[7], which are international schools with dual systems) and at so-called 'Complementary Schools'. We do not preclude the possibility of expanding our research to also include mainstream schools in the future. In this article, however, we go into detail about German Schools in Athens and Montreal (section 3.2). It is important to bear in mind that German, along with English and French, enjoys a rather high status as a foreign language that is frequently taught at mainstream schools in Europe, including in Greece. In French- and English-speaking Canada, however, German tends to be considered as a family language ('L1 German') or 'heritage language' like Chinese, Italian, Punjabi, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek and others (cf. Duff, 2008, p. 75, 83 f.). Two-thirds of teachers at 'German Schools' abroad have been socialized and professionalized in Germany. In our sample, however, there were also a few so-called 'local educators' who were not members of the majority in Germany; instead they grew up in immigrant families and were socialized as students with migrant backgrounds or minority children, and/or they were, furthermore, educated as (future) minority teachers at German universities (like the pre-service teachers that were involved in our study mentioned in section 2). This reflects the diversity of professional socializations of the teachers we interviewed. Complementary schools are also called *Heritage Language Schools, Supplementary Schools* or *Community Language Schools*; these are institutions that create an alternative, multilingual space for institutionalized bilingualism and multilingualism (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 104) and employ multilingual (minority) teachers with different (academic) professional biographies. Because we can reasonably expect to encounter a large number of multilingual (minority) teachers in these social realms, we focus on these kinds of schools for the moment.

For these reasons, we prefer the "category: the 'social realm of pedagogical actors'" which Dieter Nittel (2011, p. 51), building on Anselm Strauss' (1990, 1993) social scientific approach of the social world, uses to describe "both pedagogical professional cultures that are materially mostly secure (tenured teachers), extra-professional and freelance teachers (self-employed vocational trainers), teachers who are in precarious contracts and volunteer teachers."

Secondly, what is the underlying professional theoretical approach of our research? Nittel's definition of "professionalism as a genuine problem of action" (ibid., p. 44) and the distinction he establishes following Fritz Schütze, amongst others, is pivotal to our research:

> Professionalism can be defined from two perspectives, specifically competence-theoretically and difference-theoretically … While the competence-oriented approach presupposes a rather harmonious model of professionalism, the difference-theoretical approach assumes a hardly resolvable relationship of tensions between the elements of the competency profile (Nittel, 2011, p. 48 f.).

This tense relationship is demonstrated among other things through pedagogical action in the shape of so-called "contradiction(s), paradoxes, and dilemmas" that can be reconstructed through research. In our future research, we would like to explore the "microcosm of professional action" (ibid.) using comparative ethnography in the above-mentioned fields. Here, we are especially interested in the professional treatment of migration-related multilingualism in these educational institutions. The term *professionalism* is central to our project because "it implies a determined action-theoretical way of viewing specific situations. Professionalism is not tied to the social form of 'profession'; instead, it describes the special quality of a person-related service that goes beyond the institutional complex of the profession" (ibid.).

In addition to these considerations, the competence-theoretical approach is also important for our current project although we do not focus on the skills and competencies, which – considering them from Nittel's perspective – "the professional subject" supposedly needs "in order to fulfill a certain task structure" (ibid.). Instead, we focus on the beliefs that pre-service and in-service teachers consider to be part of pedagogical professionalism (cf. König, 2010, p. 66).[8] In addition to other aspects, such as professional competences, many researchers highlight these views and beliefs as preconditions for dealing with diversity at school (cf. Merz-Atalik, 2014, p. 159). Merz-Atalik substantiates this claim using a central document of inclusion-focused teacher training by the European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education which assigns fundamental importance to the instruction of views and beliefs (cf. ibid., p. 160). In her assessment of the state of research about the treatment of migration-related heterogeneity at school in the German-speaking

world, Bien also emphasizes that "significant importance is ascribed to teachers' attitudes and beliefs when it comes to shaping learning situations in class." With reference to linguistic heterogeneity, she asserts, "when it comes to dealing with [it] in class, they [beliefs and attitudes] should govern teachers' actions even more than scientific theories" (Bien, 2012, p. 134).

While beliefs are considered to be "important by researchers who are interested in teachers' professional actions" (Wischmeier, 2012, p. 184; cf. Bien, 2012, p. 139), minority students present "a major research desideratum" (Wischmeier 2012, p. 175), as does minority-related multilingualism (cf. Bien, 2012, p. 139). Fürstenau and Huxel (2014, p. 1) phrase this desideratum more comprehensively as they do not focus solely on beliefs: So far, there "is hardly any research about teachers' professionalism when it comes to dealing with minority-related multilingualism."

In order to help close this research gap, we would like to reconstruct pedagogical actors' views on (migration-related) multilingualism in various educational institutions by relying on expert interviews. International comparison will be our epistemological strategy in this endeavour.

### 3.2 International level of comparison – European and Canadian educational contexts

We postulate that the reflections about language(s) of pedagogical experts as well as about the ways in which they deal with the heteroglossic reality, the students' multilingualism and their complex and dynamic language practices are embedded in societal and socio-cultural contexts and are therefore shaped by specific moral concepts. According to Maitz (2004, p. 4), these moral concepts can "be understood as assumptions and convictions that are used to explain or justify linguistic circumstances and practices." These views are associated with language ideologies which are often subconscious and unarticulated; they only operate implicitly through "metalinguistic statements" and can thus only "be accessed through qualitative analysis of authentic metalinguistic discourses" (cf. ibid.).[9] Such metalinguistic discourses may also be accessed through expert interviews, especially if these interviews reference current research and particular language ideologies that appear to be relevant for specific societal and institutional contexts (cf. section 3.4 and see the interview guide in the appendix).

So far, we have conducted interviews at German Schools in a non-German-speaking European country, Greece, and in francophone Canada, in the province of Québec.

In Germany, assumptions and convictions about migration-related multilingualism and language practices are determined by the contradiction between the multi-

lingual reality of many students' lives and the dominant ideology about the direct correlation between one (precisely the German) language and one (precisely the German) nation. Recently, educational research about minorities has therefore begun to compare societal and educational policy conditions in Germany and in Canada (cf. Bertram & Dirim, 2010, among others; Löser, 2010). After all, Canada is a country which considers itself to be diversity-conscious and multilingual due to its migration history. This self-understanding is not only expressed in Canada's constitution, but it is also relevant for societal policy because, according to Geißler (2003, p. 21), the concept of multiculturalism has been an established state ideology for decades. This also affects Canada's language policies.

> In Canada, multilingualism is part and parcel of both the multilingual language policy that is determined at the federal level and of the educational policy at the level of the provinces. Canada is a country with two official languages, namely English and French (Schmidt, 2011, p. 81).

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the province of Québec is not the same as Canada as a whole. The aforementioned stereotype of what constitutes a nation, "one language, one culture, one people, one territory" (Berthele, 2010, p. 2), widespread not only in Germany but throughout Europe, including Greece (cf. Fragoudaki, 1987, among others) relates to the ideology of "language nationalism" (Maitz, 2014, p. 5). Québec appears to be a prime example of this. French "is the sole official language" (Barbaud, 1998, p. 193) and, according to Taylor (1993, p. 45), there are a number of ratified 'languages laws':

> One of these laws regulates who is allowed to send their children to English-speaking schools and who is not (Francophone people and immigrants may not); another law determines that companies that have over 50 employees need to use French as their language of operation; yet another law prohibits poster advertisements in any language other than French.

In 2006, the Parliament of Canada voted to "recognize that the Québécois [essentially French Canadians in Québec] form a nation within a united Canada" (Sears, 2012, p. 292). In 2003, Rainer Geißler already described the construct of the "hyphenated-Canadian" as "a hierarchically structured double identity," which also allows for "identification with the heritage language." Here, Québécois are a heritage group. "The hyphenated-Canadian is supposed to be a Canadian first and an Englishman, Scot, Québécois, German, Ukrainian, or Chinese second" (Geißler, 2003, p. 21).

In her sociolinguistic ethnographies, Monica Heller (2006) focused on Francophone Canada and Québécois language policies as well as the language realities of Francophone minorities outside of Québec in "what is now fondly called the ROC (Rest of Canada)" (p. 14). Among other aspects, she determined that

> Linguistic nationalism involves much more than struggles over whether a state and its institutions can be monolingual or multilingual, or whether a people can be a people and speak more than one language. In addition, the imagining of the nation includes ideological struggles about its most central values, and these struggles take place not only with respect to what monolingualism and multilingualism represent but also to the very shape of the language to be privileged. Ideologies of the state are therefore partly constructed through ideologies of language (ibid., p. 10).

Due to these facts and building on İnci Dirim, Katrin Hauenschild and Birgit Lütje-Klose (2008, p. 16), we postulate "national contexts" for this project in order to find an appropriate term for the fact that the "premises and preconditions" (of education) within the respective countries should be considered in a differentiated manner as well. The diversity and language policy of Québec that is particularly relevant for our project is often viewed rather critically by the rest of Canada: "Quebec further argues that only a monolingual state will serve to protect its cultural and linguistic distinctiveness" (Heller, 2006, p. 14 f.).

Therefore, a "thorough context analysis" is necessary, which "also includes the underlying understandings of migration, integration and education, as well as educational policy frameworks, societal expectations and teachers' experiences when it comes to dealing with linguistic and ethnic diversity at school" (Dirim et al., 2008, p. 16 f.). Thus, we understand teachers' experiences as embedded in and generated by societal, educational policy, curricular, and institutional contexts of education. This means we are not simply comparing countries, education systems or institutions; we are comparing the views of pedagogical actors.

### 3.3 German Schools in Canadian and European educational contexts

Contrast, or rather estrangement, as an epistemological principle has helped determine the various research fields that were selected. We decided to focus on a 'special' kind of school because, as a multilingually organized educational institution, it promises to deal with (migration-related) multilingualism and language practices differently than schools that are organized monolingually. For our project, we were interested in German Schools abroad, especially so-called 'Begegnungsschulen' (as well as so-called Complementary Schools for minority languages, but we will not discuss the findings from these schools in this article).

First of all, it should be noted that German Schools abroad are usually private schools, not public schools, and they receive support from Germany (cf. Brüser-Sommer, 2010, p. 13). We can differentiate different types of schools: The two most significant forms are 'German Language Schools abroad' and 'Begegnungsschulen with a bicultural educational objective'. At German Language Schools abroad, children, whose parents live and work abroad as experts, are taught accord-

ing to German curricula and attain the German 'Mittlere Reife' or 'Abitur' (graduation after tenth grade or twelfth grade, respectively), whereas Begegnungsschulen are open both to German students and resident students of the host country. Here, they can obtain diplomas that are both standard in the host country as well as the German 'Abitur', which is the qualifying diploma required for pursuing studies at German universities. For our research question, it is pivotal that the host countries' national language(s) are at the very least (minimally taught) languages of instruction at Begegnungsschulen, while German is the sole language of instruction at German Schools abroad (cf. ibid., p. 12).

In order to introduce the educational system of German Schools abroad, a number of statistics are presented here. Most recent statistics suggest that there are approximately 80 000 students enrolled at 142 German Schools abroad in 72 countries. There are approximately 20 810 students who hold German citizenship and 61 000 students who hold non-German citizenship. These students are taught by approximately 1 340 educators abroad (so-called dispatched teachers who have tenure in Germany) and almost 7 000 local educators (6 835 to be precise) (cf. Borchert, 2010, p. 67; updated with current statistics from 2013 provided by the Bundesverwaltungsamt – Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen, 2014, p. 5). We can summarize that only about a quarter of students have German citizenship, and German teachers abroad make up a sixth of the entire teaching staff.

The three schools we selected and visited do not (yet) have the denomination 'Begegnungsschule'. Looking at the structure of the student population, these schools may very well be considered as such. The German School in Montreal (DSM), for instance, advertises the following program on its website: "More than half of [our] students do not speak German at home – they learn it with us" (see http://www.avh.montreal.qc.ca/eng/about_avh/about_us.html). Although the DSM presents itself as a trilingual, international private school, the "primary language of instruction is German" (cf. ibid.). Both the German School in Thessaloniki (DST) and the German School in Athens (DSA) are engaged in a process of reorganization in order to be certified as a Begegnungsschule. The DSA is scheduled to be officially renamed and restructured in 2015. Here – as well as in Thessaloniki – the existing division (a German department and a Greek department) will be merged into a single unit. DST's mission statement describes this process as follows:

> The DST is a Begegnungsschule with a German department and a Greek department. It aims at creating a sustainable synthesis between the German and the Greek educational systems …. Our overall goal is to facilitate a joint diploma in integrated classes from both departments (http://www.dst.gr/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Schulprogramm_neu.pdf, p. 5).

In summary, these three schools are schools where German is the language of instruction (in their respective German departments) but not necessarily the family language of all students.

So what makes these schools so fascinating for us? They are interesting because teachers at these schools have been professionalized (and tenured) in Germany and they teach students who were identified as part of a special risk group by PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) because their home language is not – or is not primarily – German. Talking about these students, the PISA authors identify the so-called "effect of family languages," meaning non-German home languages are used in explaining the below-average performance of these students to a large degree even after controlling for socio-economic status (Stanat, Rauch & Segeritz, 2010, p. 226). As a result, we encounter a student constellation at these Begegnungsschulen abroad that is similar and comparable to that at standard German schools attended by multilingual students and where German is the language of instruction; the major difference is that the Begegnungsschulen are located in a different setting and in a different national context. Outside of school, both students and teachers perform multilingually.

There is some information about the views of teachers at German Schools abroad in the documentation of a conference titled 'Culture and Educational Activity abroad: Impetuses for educational developments in Germany?' held by the Education and Science Workers' Union (GEW) in 2006. In the working group 'Heterogeneous students at German Schools abroad', four teachers who had worked or were still working at German Schools abroad summarized their experiences and evaluations. They proposed the following statement:

> Teachers from Germany who have had the opportunity to teach heterogeneous student groups for a few years can provide impetuses for educational development in Germany when it comes to integrating students who have different learning abilities and whose parents have different educational backgrounds including ethnic minority heritage (Gotterbarm, 2007, p. 80).

These teachers consider themselves to be engines of educational development in two major ways: on the one hand, when it comes to handling students' different learning abilities, and on the other hand, when it comes to considering the educational and ethnic minority background of families. Their self-evaluation is crucial here. Another example of self-evaluation provided by teachers working abroad which explicitly addresses students' multilingualism is found in a regional paper which reported on the previously mentioned conference. The headmistress of the German School in Paris expressed her opinion in an interview with the newspaper 'Hessischen-Niedersächsischen Allgemeine':

> Multilingualism – meaning handling at least two languages in addition to one's mother tongue – is a matter of course for Dorothea Vogt's students [headmistress at the German School in Paris]. … Schools in Germany would do well to learn from the experiences of how to organize the egalitarian and simultaneous acquisition of different languages (Ländliche Heimvolksschule Mariaspring e.V. & Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW), 2007, p. 162).

This is a report about students who are trilingual at the very least. Here too, the role model function is emphasized, specifically when it comes to migration-related multilingualism at schools in Germany. Building on these two examples, although the data were not collected systematically, we can summarize that the views of teachers who have worked or are still working at German Schools abroad and at 'Begegnungsschulen' encourage us to pursue this line of research. The teachers seem to assume that their professional experiences abroad have prepared and professionalized them to deal with migration-related multilingualism and contribute to intercultural educational development.[10]

### 3.4 Methodology

We have conducted 'theory-generating' expert interviews (Bogner & Menz, 2005) in order to collect the pedagogical professionals' views on (migration-related) multilingualism and language practices at school. The epistemological interest of this kind of interview focuses less on factual knowledge and more on their "interpretive knowledge" (ibid., p. 44), meaning their subjective proclivities to act in certain ways, (implicit) decision-making maxims as well as knowledge constituents and routines which they develop throughout their work (cf. ibid., p. 38). These things are generally considered not directly retrievable; instead they have to be deduced, meaning reconstructed, through communication by which we – building on Bogner and Menz – enter "the field of ideas and ideologies" (ibid., p. 42, 44) as well as the field of language ideologies by way of the thematic orientation of our interview guide (cf. Maitz, 2014, p. 4). Crucial to their expert status is not necessarily any kind of superior knowledge but the power to shape situations that goes along with knowledge, in our case, in the context of educational institutions.

> During the theory-guided expert interview, we interview experts because their action orientation, their knowledge and their assessments structure the other actors' action conditions in certain ways; due to this, expert knowledge exhibits the dimension of social relevance (Bogner & Menz, 2005, p. 45).

The interview guides we used to conduct the interviews are comprised of eleven questions which may be divided into different areas (see appendix).[11] In the beginning, we ask the pedagogical professionals to introduce themselves and talk about their current work at their respective institutions. This invitation to narrate allows

us to collect biographical and educational background information. It is important for us not to utilize a question-and-answer format at the very beginning of the interview. Instead, we want to remain open to the interviewees' emphases. The second question is not related to the issue of multilingualism in order to provide a casual conversational atmosphere and 'warm up' the interviewees. Questions three and four direct our attention to the language practices of multilingual children and youth both within educational institutions and outside of them. We ask the interviewees to express their opinions and observations.

Next, we ask the interviewees to state their opinions about scientific findings and to further elaborate using their own examples. Further, we focus on students at German Schools. This is to encourage the interviewees to talk about different professional fields of action and their actual work across different national educational contexts. This question is also designed in such a way as to encourage the interviewees to narrate and at the same time allow them to interact by addressing them as experts. Questions five through seven introduce certain expectations into the conversation, activating our assumption that the interviewees are familiar with scientific terminology and are able to comment on research results. We assume that our "expected expectations" also at least partially construct the interaction situation during the interview, just like the interviewees "are likely to [make up their minds about] interviewers and researchers' possible expectations based on various pieces of evidence, prior knowledge and general familiarity with communication" (Bogner & Menz, 2005, p. 49). Therefore, it is important to point out that expert interviews are also co-constructions where the interaction situation is partially determined by "the personal perception" and by ascribing competencies to the interviewer (cf. ibid.). We also ask a question about the experts' home language practices in order to deliberately and methodologically "integrate the expert as a 'private person'" and ensure a "substantially rich elicitation" of experts' interpretative knowledge (Bogner & Menz, 2005, p. 44). We conclude the interview guide with questions that invite the interviewees to address issues that have remained untold up until this point but that are crucial from their perspectives. In the penultimate question, we ask them to comment on the current educational policy demand in Germany for diversity in the staff room.

About the interviews: At the three German Schools we visited, 41 pedagogical professionals in total volunteered to talk to the two project leaders (three interviews in Thessaloniki in April 2013, 24 interviews in Athens in October 2014, and 14 interviews in Montreal in April 2014).[12] The interviewees were free to choose German or Greek as the interview language. One interview usually took between 30 to 45 minutes. All interviews were conducted at school: in the staff room, the school library, the cafeteria or dining hall, empty classrooms and so on. Initially, we con-

tacted the schools' head administrators by phone asking for appointments and informing them that we were interested in conducting scientific research at their schools. To follow up after the phone call, we contacted the same administrators via email, providing them with more information about the project and the interview guide. The three schools were very welcoming. After we arrived on site, we talked to the school administrator and were led around campus, received practical tips and informational brochures and were introduced to other people to talk to. Some pedagogical professionals volunteered for interviews beforehand. At school, we received our own office room with keys and coffee cups as well as a 'time table' where the pedagogical professionals signed up for interviews. Sometimes we had to advertise our research, meaning we had to proactively talk to people in the faculty lounge, introduce ourselves and the project, set up appointments and so on. Many of the interviewees helped us recruit other interviewees after they were finished. The longer we were on site, the more volunteers we had for interviews. Our research stays concluded in an additional final talk with the head administrator and in two cases with a school celebration we attended or were invited to. In order to provide the schools with concrete and tangible compensation, we offered to hold advanced training courses either about multilingualism or about the intercultural competence of pedagogical professionals. We sometimes conducted these seminars while we were on site.

On the following pages, we present excerpts from one interview each from two schools, the German School in Athens and the German School in Montreal. We chose these interviewees bearing the minority pre-service teachers in Germany in mind who had been the starting point for this project. Both pedagogical professionals we introduce here are minority teachers or consider themselves as such due to their emigration from Germany.

We have analysed our data according to grounded theory methodology building on Kathy Charmaz (2014), but the analysis is still in progress at the time this article is being written. For this article, we used *initial coding* and *coding incident with incident* (ibid., p. 124 ff.) for selected interviews with minority teachers in order to develop initial ideas and conventionalize these through comparison (ibid., p. 128). On the following pages, we will introduce our initial ideas and conceptualizations and illustrate these by way of examples.

With these excerpts, we would like to give the reader an opportunity to look at the data and at our hypotheses although we are not yet able to present the initial results of our analysis. We do not wish to conclude this article with the research design or by pointing to expected future results. Instead, we wish to give some indications in order to evaluate whether this research design is appropriate for the topic and our research question.

## 4. A first look at the empirical data

### 4.1 Excerpt from an interview with a pedagogical professional at the German School in Athens (October 2014)

Ms. Erbach is one of 24 pedagogical professionals we interviewed at the German School in Athens. She is 45 years old and grew up in a bilingual household in Germany. Her mother was born in Germany, her father in Greece. From the German educational system's perspective, she is a minority teacher. She trained to become an upper secondary school teacher and worked in Germany for a time after graduating from university. For the past eighteen years, she has worked as a local teacher at the German School in Athens. Before the interview, Ms. Erbach reports that her family is German-Greek and that she raises her children bilingually. During the interview Ms. Erbach frequently talks about her familial language practice. For instance, she mentions that her paediatrician in Greece advised her to use the 'one language – one person' strategy, meaning she should talk to her children exclusively in German, whereas her husband should address them in Greek, but she also points out that she did not manage to establish this practice in her family. Talking about language use in class, she states:

> Well, in class we're technically supposed to speak German as much as possible, but that's quite funny, well that, it doesn't really work (…) well it is quite good for them if you also use, uh, both languages in class, a:nd, during my French class, there we often speak four languages (…)
> *and have you seen, that the children, or the the, youth for example start one sentence, in um; Greek and finish in German?*
> Yes; absolutely; of course; and not only within sentences, but also within words, uh themselves, uh there's uh strong mixing; well that there are German endings on Greek words; or we sometimes make a joke of it in French; that we also use this consciously (…). (Ms. Erbach, 45 years old, local upper secondary school teacher at the DSA)

In the following interview excerpt, it also becomes clear that Ms. Erbach is able to use her biographical resources expanding over two generations in her daily multilingual life at school.

> [L]ike I already said, that I myself grew up bilingually;
> ┗*exactly;*┛
> Yes, a:nd this is quite common for us at home that we switch from one language to the next and in the middle of a sentence; in the middle of a word; well I'm familiar with this in my own home, and we always thought it was quite funny, that was never frowned upon at home and never something, that would inhibit our language acquisition, that's why I actually quite like doing this at school too. (Ms. Erbach, 45 years old, local upper secondary school teacher at the DSA)

This indicates that Ms. Erbach transfers her own multilingual experiences and language practices ("switching languages" and "in the middle of a sentence" or even in "the middle of a word") into everyday life at school. She thereby distances herself from traditional bilingual programs which emphasize on separating languages in order to elicit parallel monolingualism. This principle (and its implicit orientation) was also addressed during other interviews at the German School in Athens. Ms. Erbach also highlights that "speaking German" is "technically" compulsory. At the same time, she distances herself from the school's language policy. Ms. Erbach also reports that people are considering introducing rules that would make the use of German during recess and breaks compulsory in order for the students to improve their German. She would be an outsider if she were to speak up against such a rule.

Ms. Erbach's excerpt is by far not representative of the pedagogical professionals at the German School in Athens. We chose this example because we wanted to highlight that the pedagogical professionals in this field have differing views and that we need to reconstruct these views during the remainder of our research. Additionally, Ms. Erbach's example assumes a heuristic position in the beginning of our assessment because it stands in stark contrast to our initial research question, namely minority pre-service teachers' call in favour of acting monolingually at school in Germany. Ms. Erbach's example also stands in (relative) contrast to the statements of a pedagogical professional at the German School in Montreal.

### 4.2 Excerpt from an interview with a pedagogical professional at the German School in Montreal (April 2014)

Ms. Treut is 29 years old and one of 14 pedagogical professionals we interviewed at the German School in Montreal. She grew up speaking German monolingually and trained to become a primary and lower secondary school teacher in Germany. After completing her teacher training, she became a substitute teacher at the German School in Montreal where she now works as a local part-time primary school teacher.

When asked, "we assume that your students use different languages in their everyday lives; in what ways do your students mix languages and does this affect your lessons and teaching?", she replies:

> [I]n class the language should be well with me the children always speak German, if it I have this girl who who sometimes addresses me in English I don't react to that or I tell her very explicitly that one does not speak English with me, um, they generally always speak German with me, but when they talk amongst themselves it takes so much consistency and unbelievable strictness, to make the children speak German. (Ms. Treut, 29 years old, local primary school teacher at the DSM)

In contrast to Ms. Erbach, Ms. Treut advocates monolingualism and tries to enforce it by presenting herself as a German monolingual that can only be properly addressed in German. In further contrast to Ms. Erbach, she rejects heteroglossic reality in class and assumes that the formula 'one person – one language' is didactically legitimate and working. The fact that this contradicts the students' reality may be inferred based on her descriptions. Furthermore, creating monolingualism under these circumstances requires "unbelievable strictness" and effort, as the following excerpt also illustrates:

> [F]or me it is pffff exhausting I can't handle it (…) I'm somewhat of two minds in terms of how I want to fight this fight (…) I always say there is a common language of the heart and, their language just happens to be English and, I don't know I don't feel particularly comfortable calling upon them time and again and telling them you have to speak German now that is (…) difficult. (Ms. Treut, 29 years old, local primary school teacher at the DSM)

Ms. Treut explicitly addresses her discomfort at the institutional insistence on monolingualism and at the same time, she reveals this strategy, which she simultaneously perceives as promoting German, as pedagogically ambivalent. It involves suppressing students from communicating in "their language." This is precisely what characterizes her personal ambivalence. In some way, she distances herself from this educational objective and this institutional logic which she can hardly promote and can only "fight." Ms. Treut expresses her ambivalence even more explicitly by presenting herself as a German teacher at a German School, who nevertheless lives as a German "migrant" in a non-German society:

> I mean it is a German school but nevertheless I am an immigrant, in the end and I'm here now and um here as a German teacher (…) based on my own experience as a student well mhm when it comes to English and French I believe that I can often understand when children make certain mistakes for example or that well that I can um understand the children's studying behaviour because I have experienced it myself. (Ms. Treut, 29 years old, local primary school teacher at the DSM)

In combination with Ms. Erbach and through direct comparison between both teachers, this is an interesting passage as Ms. Treut also addresses her personal life and experiences while studying in Montreal, especially outside of school, putting up barriers between herself and her students. We wonder whether these experiences are the trigger that created her discomfort about language separation at school and the reason she thereby also distances herself from this strategy. We may infer this from her self-evaluation as an "immigrant" who studies one of the majority languages of her current residence and is therefore in the middle of a language learning process. This demonstrates that the illusory monolingualism is pierced by her

personal (emergent) everyday multilingual practices (and not only by her students' practices).

## 5. Conclusion

So far, we have assumed that (future) teachers who were socialized in the German educational system do not consider their multilingualism as a resource for teaching. Instead, they advocate strict separation of languages and support the German educational system's monolingual ideology in terms of "separate bilingualism" or "parallel monolingualism" (cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 105).

We would like to specify this as a hypothesis which shall be investigated further in the future. Our hypothesis is that educators' (emergent) multilingual practices in the context of a multilingually organized and internationally conceived educational institution does not automatically lead them to simply appreciate students' multilingualism. These teachers begin to question the monolingual decree and distance themselves from it; some of them even adopt translanguaging at school (for translanguaging as a pedagogy, cf. García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014). Multilingualism is actively lived in German Schools outside of Germany by the students and by teachers who work there.

A central question we intend to investigate in the future asks which pedagogical professionals distance themselves from the language-ideological prescription of parallel monolingualism (and which do not) as well as how and where they do this, and how they legitimate their views and practices.

After systematically assessing all expert interviews, we will investigate this question (and others that emerge during the process of analysis) using ethnographic field studies in order to relate the views of the pedagogical professionals with observed practices. We thus intend to analyse the various strands of our research in a multidimensional and comparative manner.

This outlook for future research activities may not satisfy readers who expect to find finished research projects in academic publications. Nevertheless, we consider it to be important to illustrate initial insights into ongoing research projects and to disclose how a research design is being developed, especially in the context of research fields that are considered to be new and that have many desiderates. For us, it has been an inspiring endeavour to come to grips with preliminary research results that are documented in a number of articles in the first German collective volume about multilingual and minority (pre-service) teachers (Bräu, Georgi, Karakaşoğlu & Rotter, 2013). In this sense, we hope to provide some suggestions and stimulation for other researchers who wish to turn their attention to this field of research.

*Notes*

1. The NESSE independent team of social scientists supported the European Commission with expertise between 2007 and 2011. Its work included a series of reports written primarily for policy-makers.
2. For the university didactic conception and purpose of the seminar, see Lengyel & Rosen, 2012, and for the further development of the university location Cologne, see Panagiotopoulou & Rosen, 2015a.
3. This refers to questions 4 and 5 from the interview guide which we also used to interview educational professionals (see appendix). We slightly adapted the third question: "Children who are raised multilingually use multiple languages in their daily lives. They also often switch between languages when they interact with other multilinguals." In the context of these three questions we adapted the manner of questioning in such a way that the interviewed were addressed not as educational professionals but as students who are prospective teachers: What are your thoughts on this based on your own experiences in school (having been raised monolingually or multilingually) and in light of your (future) profession as a teacher?
4. The recorded and transcribed data was analyzed using Grounded Theory (according to Charmaz, 2014).
5. The concepts that were generated as a result of the coding are italicized in this passage.
6. All citations of German sources have been translated by the authors.
7. We were unable to come up with an adequate translation of the term 'Begegnungsschule', which could possibly be described as 'international encounter schools'. Hence we'll be using the German term 'Begegnungsschule' for the purposes of this article.
8. In the qualitative project 'Multilingualism as a field of action of intercultural educational development', Fürstenau and Huxel (2014, p. 1) postulate a close connection between the subareas "attitudes and beliefs, knowledge and strategies for action" of professionalism in teachers. These subareas influence each other: "Attitudes and knowledge affect actions and conversely, experienced actions affect attitudes and knowledge" (ibid.).
9. Particularly in the primarily English-speaking secondary literature, scholars tend to assume that both professional linguists and laymen (implicitly) use language ideologies or linguistic ideologies in order to explain and/or justify linguistic reality and language practices. Language ideologies have both an epistemological and a social function and are immediately tied to power. Some of these ideologies may have been passed on without reflection from generation to generation, like for instance the so-called 'Hannoverismus', according to which it is said that the best ('high') German is spoken in and around Hannover; this discredits Southern German dialects and stigmatizes the people using these language practices (cf. Maitz, 2014, p. 4 ff.).
10. It is possible that this group of teachers comprises a special group anyway, not only because they decided to move abroad for an extended period of time. Brüser-Sommer (2010, p. 13), whose dissertation deals with a federal-and-state-inspection about the pedagogical quality management at German Schools abroad, emphasizes one "special element of the school system abroad", namely "that the teachers that were sent to work there are on average better qualified and more motivated than local teachers in Germany." In a footnote, the author additionally mentions that "this statement … is corroborated by his experience at the schools" (ibid., p. 32).

11. The first version of the interview guide was developed in cooperation with the doctoral student Sofia Anastasiadou who used this version in the field twice from 2012 to 2013. She interviewed (1) educators teaching so-called native-language supplementary classes in NRW, Germany, and (2) current and former teachers at the German School Thessaloniki, Greece.
12. The entire sample of our study, including the thirteen English and Greek interviews that were conducted at the Complementary Greek Schools in Montreal, comprises 54 pedagogical professionals we interviewed.

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## Appendix: Interview Guide*

1. Please introduce yourself as a teacher, as someone teaching at this school:
   - How long have you been working as a teacher?
   - How long have you been working at this school?
   - Where did you pursue your college studies, and what subject(s) did you study? What was your major?
   - What are the subjects and classes you teach?
   - What other functions do you fulfill at this school?
   - In what ways did your personal experiences as a student influence your career choice?

2. What are your concerns regarding your students after you enter the classroom?

3. We assume that your students use different languages in their everyday lives.
   - In what way is this also the case in everyday school life?
   - In what way do your students mix languages, and does this affect your lessons and teaching?

4. Do you consider all your students to be multilingual?

5. Research on multilingualism deals with the question whether multilingual children and youth have special language skills.
   - What would you say about this, based on your own experiences?
   - And with regard to the students at this school?

6. On the other hand, there are researchers who claim that growing up with several languages may be a particular challenge for children and young people.
   - What would you say about this based on your own experiences?
   - And with regard to the students at this school?

7. Other studies focus on the relationships between languages of origin and national language in educational institutions. People argue among other things that it is important to spend time learning the national language(s) instead of the respective language of origin. What do you think about this?

8. Do you use several languages in your daily family life?
   - In what way does this also apply to your everyday life at school (with co-workers, students, parents, etc.)?
   - In what way do you mix languages when you teach?
   - Would you consider yourself to be multilingual?

9. Let's assume I am about to become your new co-worker at this school. Is there anything you would like to make me aware of?

10. A certain educational policy demand has gained importance in Germany over the past few years, and it states that teachers who are immigrants themselves can and should assume a prominent role as bilingual cultural mediators and/or models of educational success and social integration. The slogan is: "We need more educators of ethnic minority heritage in our schools." What would you say about this based on your experiences here?

11. Is there anything you would like to add that I haven't asked about, or is there anything that's particularly important to you?

* This is a representation of the interview guide from the expert interviews with teachers; for interviews with other pedagogical professionals such as tutors and educators, we used a version of the interview guide that had been adapted to their respective field of action.

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# Students' perspectives on minority teachers in Germany

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*Abstract*

In recent years, there is an ongoing call to employ more minority teachers in Germany's educational system. Associated with this call is the hope that minority teachers can deal with diversity issues more adequately and professionally. Students with migration backgrounds as well as majority students are believed to benefit from the employment of minority teachers. Up to now, there is little or no evidence to support this hope and previous research primarily examines teachers' perspectives. In order to explore the conditions that make it possible to realize the supposed benefits of minority teachers, the present paper focuses on students' perspectives. It is assumed that a positive effect of immigrant or minority teachers occurs not through their mere presence but through interaction with their students and due to specific constraints and affordances of their classrooms. Relying on group discussions, an ongoing project tries 1) to reconstruct students' experiential knowledge concerning minority teachers and 2) to explore what relevance and meaning they attribute to their experiences with minority teachers. So far, the results indicate that teachers' minority statuses become relevant only in certain situations and this difference dimension seems to be tightly linked to other dimensions (e.g. age, gender, class) that are more salient for students.

## 1. Background: Perspectives on minority teachers in Germany

### 1.1 Expectations

Responding to the results of international assessment studies on student achievement, which revealed substantial difficulties of minority children in Germany, the need to develop a more culturally sensitive school system was expressed. Hiring more minority teachers is considered to be a promising means of dealing with existing difficulties.[1] The hope that employing minority teachers entails more adequate and professional approaches to diversity issues was mainly articulated in the context of educational policy (Strasser & Steber, 2010). Although this hope has been

expressed repeatedly for more than a decade, there still is little evidence that supports it. Only recently educational science has begun to question the underlying assumptions that the call for more minority teachers is based on and to examine the possible effects and conditions of immigrant teachers' professional actions (Strasser & Steber, 2010; Georgi, Ackermann & Karakaş, 2011). In order to explore the conditions for successfully realizing the alleged positive impact, this article focuses on students' experiences with minority teachers. It is assumed that a positive effect of minority teachers occurs not by their mere presence but in interaction with specific constraints and affordances of their professional context. The climate and the interactions with students in the classroom may be of special relevance.

Given the need of providing equal opportunities within the educational system, the call for a more culturally diverse teaching faculty can be based on ethical considerations. Concerning the *empirical* basis for this call, however, there is still little research that corroborates such expectations. Only recently, studies by Edelmann (2006), Georgi et al. (2011), Rotter (2012), Strasser (2013) and Strasser, Waburg and Hummel (2013) have sparked an interest in investigating the specific role of minority teachers. In contrast to the undifferentiated expectations expressed by educational policy, extant research does not suggest a general effectiveness of minority teachers, as the ethnic background of any given teacher does not warrant a general effect (Morris, 2007; Quiocho & Rios, 2000). Nevertheless, it is plausible to assume that minority teachers draw on specific personal experiences that may be useful in overcoming cultural and/or language barriers (Irvine, 1989; Rotter, 2012). Their socio-cultural experiences as well as their potential multilingual competencies (Nieto, 1998) facilitate more deliberate dealings with cultural diversity at schools (Georgi et al., 2011). Minority teachers may also be helpful in establishing constructive relationships between minority parents and the school system (Irvine, 1989; Meier, Stewart & England, 1989; Rotter, 2012). The realization of minority teachers' personal potentials, however, depends on certain context-specific conditions such as school climate, the existence of an inclusive school program and the support from fellow teachers and school administrators (Strasser, 2013). It seems crucial that minority teachers have experience in and engage in different cultural contexts and settings, which may differ in certain aspects from the societal majority. On account of this knowledge about minority culture(s), the demands of society and the educational system, these teachers are seen as 'cultural mediators'. Because minority teachers in Germany have predominantly succeeded in the German educational system, they may be better equipped to understand possible adjustment problems and tensions between the educational systems' demands and specific ethnic cultures. Due to these teachers' educational successes and their status as teachers,

they may serve as role models for ethno-cultural minority students (s. below; Georgi et al., 2011).

Their status as teachers and as representatives of society, however, can also work against the aforementioned goals. For example, there is evidence that minority teachers may develop negative images of their own ethnic groups (Tellez, 1999) and pursue strategies that involve dissociation from their ethno-cultural backgrounds in order to be successful (Strasser & Hirschauer, 2011). The role of social class differences between and within ethnic groups cannot be neglected either (Morris, 2007). Additionally, it is not clear if minority teachers have specific skills and competencies and how these skills may manifest. If there are specific competencies that enable teachers to deal with cultural diversity, all teachers regardless of their background ought to develop these skills. Hiring more minority teachers appears to be a useful measure when all teachers are simultaneously encouraged to become multicultural professionals. It is counterproductive, however, when diversity issues are delegated solely to minority teachers and become their exclusive domains. Recent research illustrates that minority teachers often have to act as 'lone fighters' (Strasser, 2013), and that existing socio-cultural barriers and differences are reproduced due to the seclusion of minority teachers, as Wilkins and Lall (2011) demonstrate for black minority teachers in the United Kingdom.

In 'classic' immigration countries like Canada and the United States, research interest in minority teachers predates that in Germany. In the United States the issue of minority teachers has been addressed for more than two decades (e.g. King, 1993). Researchers unanimously agree that teachers from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds contribute extensively to American education (Easton-Brooks, Lewis & Yang, 2010; Irvine & Fenwick, 2011). A special emphasis has been put on the need for teacher educators to become aware of minority teacher candidates' specific potentials and problems (Kohli, 2009). Hence, there is a wealth of studies that focus on the recruitment and retention of minority teacher candidates (Chen, 2012). Despite the unanimous call for more minority teachers and an abundance of corresponding studies, there is still a limited presence of teachers with diverse cultural, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds at American schools. Current data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2009) illustrates that minority teachers are under-represented, which stands in stark contrast to an increasingly diverse student body. After reviewing the existing research about minority teachers in the United States, Chen (2012) notes that the knowledge about minority teachers and their professional strengths is still very limited. Most of the research focuses on teacher candidates and teacher education programs. Both the actual professional action of teachers at school and the student perspective are rarely addressed.

## 1.2 Students' perspectives – a neglected source of information

Existing studies almost exclusively rely on teachers as the sole source of information. Therefore, teachers' actual classroom behavior and professional action is mostly assessed with self-reports and retrospective accounts. Although the proponents of more minority teachers at German schools argue that this would benefit both minority and majority students, the student perspective has been widely neglected. Taking their views into account renders new sources of information accessible and allows researchers to assess aspects such as classroom climate, processes in the classroom and the construction of collective meanings.

In light of the existing literature about teaching and learning in general, it seems strange that research on minority teachers exclusively focuses their perspective. Self-reports by teachers about their professional actions and instructional strategies are generally viewed as problematic (Clausen, 2002); they tend to be considered relevant only when combined with other sources of information (Ditton, 2002). Observations of classroom processes by external, trained observers in turn are considered to be the most informative method for accessing teaching and learning in the classroom. It is, however, questionable whether the observation of individual classes by outsiders is appropriate when it comes to investigating aspects such as social climate, interaction processes and relationships within the classroom. Furthermore, observation data must not be mistaken for an objective image of reality and actual processes. Thus, there is a long tradition of taking students' judgments and views into account, particularly in studies concerned with the 'ideal' teacher (Holl, 2008). When focusing on the assessment of instructional aspects, students' points of view are incorporated in different research paradigms such as the process-, the product- and the process-product approaches to teaching (Schneider & Bodensohn, 2008). Students' perspectives are seen as perspectives in their own rights on par with those of teachers and external observers.

As students are irrevocably affected by instruction and teaching, their extensive experience and specific views are especially significant and relevant. The validity and potential biases of students' judgments and statements has been a controversial object of discussion (Gerstenmaier, 1975; Marsh, 1977; Marsh & Hattie, 2002; Stolz, 1997; Toland & Ayala, 2005). The argument that such evaluations are primarily shaped by individual preferences and reflect only common prejudices is now regarded as refuted (Ditton, 2002). It has been suggested that it is possible to differentiate two components of students' judgments: the individual view and a collectively shared perspective (Saldern, 1987; Eder 1996). The commonly shared portion of views in particular is seen as a reliable source. Gruehn (2000) demonstrates that students' statements and evaluations of teaching situations in her study correspond with results based on observational data. Bias effects reflecting subjective

preferences proved to be negligible. As Clausen (2002) points out, even if students' perspectives, observational data and teachers' perceptions do not correspond, this cannot be interpreted as judgment error or distortion but is a consequence of the specific perspective. Hence each perspective represents a specific source of validity. Concerning students' perceptions of teaching and classroom processes, it seems to be relevant that their views are closely linked to cognitive and psychosocial criteria (ibid.). These perceptions seem to be, at most, slightly influenced by the personality of the individual student and the structural features of the instructional setting; they are affected much more by the teacher and his/her teaching style and behavior (Ditton, 2002). Following Gerstenmaiers' (1975) distinction between 'love theme' and 'mastery theme', research has differentiated two dimensions or points of reference to describe students' views. The former pertains to aspects like emotional warmth, social competence or individual wish-fulfillment whereas the latter refers to teaching quality, teachers' subject-specific competence and assertiveness (Ditton, 2002).

## 1.3 Minority teachers' importance for students

### 1.3.1 Identity formation and the relevance of role models

Role models play a significant role in subject development and learning. Along with parents, teachers are among the first people in children's lives to serve as role models (Stewart, Meier, La Follette & England, 1989). Research shows that they are more important for ethnic minority students than for majority students (Jussim & Harber, 2005). African-American youths' self-concept, for instance, is more susceptible to teachers' judgment and perceptions (Shade, 1983). In addition to their lower social status and weaker performances, they are more dependent on and more strongly influenced by teacher expectations than white middle-class students (Good & Brophy, 1985). Because teachers tend to expect more from White and Asian students than from African-American and Hispanic students (McKnown & Weinstein, 2008), this susceptibility is highly problematic for certain minorities. Teachers that share the same ethnic or cultural background could serve as role models and thereby counteract the alienation between minority children and the educational system (Fryer & Torelli, 2005). African-American adolescents regard schools as part of a culture they do not belong to and that is not congruent with their personal context and frame of reference. The lack of congruence between the values of people's personal contexts and those appreciated and fostered by the educational system may entail that these students feel like strangers in school (King, 1991). The same holds true for students of Turkish descent in Germany (Strasser & Hirschauer, 2011; Strasser, 2012). Consequently, academic success is interpreted as adaptation to the

majority's norm-system and abandoning one's cultural identity (Ogbu, 2003). Minority teachers hence have the potential to function as examples of how to reconcile academic success and one's ethnic and cultural identity.

There is some evidence (from research in the United States) that suggest that being taught by minority teachers affects minority students' academic performance: They achieve better results on standardized tests, select advanced courses more often, are more likely to go to college and less likely to drop out (Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton & Freitas, 2010). Such evidence is lacking for Germany. Nevertheless, existing studies do suggest that minority teachers in Germany are also particularly relevant as role models as well as for the identity development of minority students. Not only do minority teachers consider themselves as positive examples for academic success, they also feel that their minority status and corresponding experiences help them relate better to their minority students (Georgi et al., 2011; Rotter, 2012). This suggests another dimension of significance for students beyond academic success and identity formation.

### 1.3.2 Students' well-being and classroom climate

It is reasonable to assume that the presence of minority teachers may be relevant for emotional and social aspects of minority students' school attendance. As existing research indicates the well-being of the latter is lower than that of majority children (Chiu, Feldman & Rosenthal, 1992; Roebers, 1997; Sam & Berry, 1995). Teacher judgment plays a decisive role for students' well-being: A teacher's evaluation whether a student is well or poorly adapted appears to be strongly correlated to student well-being and teachers tend to judge minority students to be less adapted (Roebers, 1997). This may be due to teachers' expectations concerning students' acculturation, which are usually oriented towards assimilation strategies (ibid.). The well-being of minority students, however, is positively affected when integrative acculturation strategies are favored (Searle & Ward, 1990; Zheng & Berry, 1991). It remains to be determined whether minority teachers' professional action is oriented more towards integrative acculturation strategies than that of majority teachers. It can nevertheless be assumed that the mere presence of teachers with a similar background and diverse experiences may indicate to minority students that ethnic and cultural diversity is appreciated; this is a basic precondition of an integrative school context, which can positively affect the classroom-climate and individual students' well-being. In settings that embrace cultural diversity, people experience their own minority status as less relevant. This correlates to higher levels of well-being (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann & Randall-Crosby, 2008; Steele, Spencer & Aronson, 2002). This effect also applies to majority students. Not only are they affected by a positive classroom-climate, they may further-

more benefit from a culturally diverse teaching faculty that is open concerning the attitudes towards and knowledge about minorities and a multicultural society (Quiocho & Rios, 2000; Shaw, 1996).

### 1.3.3 Potential challenges for student-teacher relations

Despite the potential positive effects of their presence, there are also specific challenges. It has to be taken into account that a culturally diverse background does not automatically entail appropriate professional action and that ethnic and cultural aspects interact with a series of other potentially relevant difference dimensions in educational contexts such as gender, social class and age (Leiprecht & Lutz, 2005; Weber, 2009; Morris, 2007). Therefore, even if minority teachers and students have things in common, students do not automatically appreciate these commonalities; they may even serve as sources of tension and conflict. Existing research suggests that teachers may expect different things from students with backgrounds similar to their own which strains the relationships between these teachers and their students (Achinstein & Aguirre, 2008). The fact that minority teachers have successfully adapted and assimilated to majority culture, its demands and values makes them suspicious for minority students that oppose the majority (Achinstein et al., 2010). There continues to be little research on the effects of ethnic or cultural 'mismatch', meaning when teachers and students are members of different minority groups. Irrespective of the fact whether their presence has positive or negative effects, minority teachers appear to make ethnic and cultural aspects in the classroom more salient due to their presence. The specific meaning for the specific school and classroom has to be negotiated in any given context (Achinstein & Aguirre, 2008; Achinstein et al., 2010).

The relevance and significance of teachers' minority status in actual instructional and school-related interactions has not been addressed sufficiently. Particularly, it has not been investigated from students' perspectives yet because the majority of research draws on teachers' biographies and experiences.

Considering research on students' views and judgments, it seems more than appropriate to take their perspectives about minority teachers into account. *If minority teachers are supposed to make a difference through their presence, attitudes and professional actions, it makes sense to ask: (How) are these (supposed) features of teachers perceived by students?*

## 2. Method

### 2.1 Goal

The objective of the present study is to reconstruct students' implicit and tacit knowledge[2] about school with a particular emphasis on their experiences with minority teachers. We examined how teachers' backgrounds affected students' perspective and how and to what extent cultural or ethnic differences were negotiated. The collective pattern of meaning of teachers' cultural backgrounds should be assessed without instilling its supposed relevance in advance.

### 2.2 Instrument

In order to study students' perspectives on and experiences with minority teachers, group discussions were carried out. In the German context group discussions are an established research method especially for research on youth and migration (e.g. Bohnsack, 1989; Meuser, 1998; Nohl, 2001). "The method serves to examine collective orientations including the terms and structures of social worlds" (Schittenhelm, 2010, p. 130). Because interview effects are less relevant in discussions than in one-on-one interview situations, the method is considered to be a valuable instrument in cases where participants and interviewers do not have the same background (Herwartz-Emden, 2000); its use seems also appropriate to circumvent the asymmetries of power inherent in intercultural interview situations (ibid.). In light of minority students' experiences with discrimination (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung, 2012), it may be easier for them to express their opinions and speak freely in group contexts where the power is more evenly distributed.

Successfully conducting group discussions for research purposes presupposes that the groups are pre-existing 'real groups', that is, the people involved have to be members of a group that has experiences in a certain setting in common. We chose groups that constituted a school class throughout a school year and that were taught together by a series of teachers. Shared experiences form the basis for collective orientations that are formulated on a group level (Bohnsack, 1995). "The group discussions are conducted in a non-directive manner, thus enabling the group to develop its own reference terms" (Schittenhelm, 2010, p. 130).

In order to assess students' unbiased opinions about their teachers' minority statuses, it was important not to guide the discussion and specifically ask them to talk about issues of cultural diversity. Therefore, the students were asked about their general experiences at school and concerning all their teachers. As a result, the students automatically talked about the minority teachers in all group discussions but they did not always mention their teachers' migration status. This research approach allows us to the relevance of teachers' minority status as it is attributed by

the students themselves. Teachers' minority backgrounds were not explicitly addressed by the researchers until the end of the discussion.

### 2.3 Material and data analysis

The group discussions were conducted in the context of a school project that implemented single-gender learning environments for boys and girls in grades 5, 7 and 9. Two teachers with minority statuses were involved in the school project. Group discussions were held halfway through the school year, in January, and at the end, in July. The discussions were audio-recorded and the verbal recordings were then transcribed. The analysis followed a sequential approach according to the 'documentary method' (e.g. Bohnsack, 2010; Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014). The documentary method distinguishes between an immanent or literal meaning and a documentary meaning (pre-reflective or tacit knowledge) of any given statement. This methodological differentiation results in two work steps: 'formulating interpretation' and 'reflecting interpretation'. "The basic structure of formulating interpretation is the decoding and formulation of the topical structure of the text. … The task of the reflecting formulation is … the reconstruction of the framework of orientation, of the habitus" (Bohnsack, 2010, p. 111). The step 'formulating interpretation' was executed for all eleven group discussions. Those text passages that referred to teachers with a minority status were then further analyzed during the step 'reflecting interpretation'. Repeated comparisons within and between group discussions are an important feature of the documentary method. The following two case studies are the result of these comparisons. The presentation focuses on the main results. Due to the limited space limitations not all interpretative steps that led to these results can be described in detail.

Case 1 focuses on Ms. Kalmer, a female Math teacher of Russian descent. The corresponding material consists of eight group discussions, conducted with four to eight minority and majority students. The empirical material consists of 5 discussions with girl groups in grade 7 (one conducted in January and one in July) and grade 9 (one in January and, two in July) and three discussions with boys in grade 9 (one in January and two in July). Case 2 focuses on Ms. Brecht, a female German language teacher of Romanian descent. The analysis is based on material from three group discussions with girl groups in grade 5, seven to eight minority and majority students (one was conducted in January and two in July).

## 3. Results

### 3.1 Case 1: Ms. Kalmer, a math teacher who is of Russian descent ("She's got an accent")

Ms. Kalmer taught girls in the 7th grade and groups of both girls and boys in the 9th grade. Across all group discussions students talked about subject-specific aspects when describing and evaluating Ms. Kalmers' classes, that is; for the students, her competence as a math teacher was most salient as evidenced by the following statements:

> Honestly, I don't think Kalmer is good; I don't like her teaching style, because she's way too strict, well, she just strictly follows the curriculum (Boys, 9th grade, July, group 1)
>
> well Ms. Kalmer also gives lessons, and she lets the students participate, for instance by interrogating students … and controlling their homework (Girls, 9th grade, July, group 1)
>
> I thought that classes with Ms. Kalmer were more vivid, because we could put our hands up and talk whereas the other teacher Mr. Jehlen, he just reads from his strange transparencies (Girls, 9th grade, July, group 2)
>
> It's good that she always wants to know, what our problem is, and mostly when you presented a wrong solution, she specifically points to the individual error and goes through the task again with you (Girls, 9th grade, January)

The student accounts especially focus on Ms. Kalmers' emphasis on subject content and her instructional behavior. The way she explains mathematical concepts and the way she engages students in classroom discussions and responds to their needs seems to be particularly relevant to the students. The students also take Ms. Kalmer's other characteristics into account, particularly personality traits such as her gender, age and her physical appearance:

> the first impression was, when we first saw her, that she is totally sweet, she was nice, so young and […] curly hair and looks good, is quite beautiful (Girls, 7th grade, January)
>
> She brought strawberries, we ate strawberries in class and she wanted to know about our holiday plans (Girls, 7th grade, July)
>
> I think this makes more sense, she is a female teacher … for girls, and for boys it's the other way round, because they have a similar way of thinking or similar experiences, for instance in math (Girls, 9th grade, January)
>
> Ms. Kalmer in our class, I really believe that she says … ehm … well she is a woman and now has a boys' class and somehow has to prove that she can control boys and that is what she tries with any measure (Boys, 9th grade, July, group 1)
>
> Well Ms. Kalmer is much younger than the other math teacher (Girls, 9th grade, July, group 1).

The students do not focus on Ms. Kalmer's ethnic and cultural background. The fact that she is of Russian descent is only mentioned casually when the interviewer

asks about this aspect and even in these passages the topic is not discussed extensively. Students merely allude to her Russian accent, as in the following passage:

I: Well the other girls from your group they somehow mentioned that Ms. Kalmer is foreign … ehm … does this play any role..
S[3]: Well that
S: Yes with her accent
S: ( ) accent.
Claudia: Yes you notice the accent but she speaks perfect German
S: Yes
I: Well
S: ( )
Miriam: Well she did not yet bring Vodka if that is what you're aiming at. (Girls, 9th grade, July, group 2)

In this passage, students address the question about Ms. Kalmer's background by referring to her accent. Claudia, however, emphasizes that the teacher speaks perfect German; her accent is not seen as a shortcoming and the students do not convey any further meaning beyond the accidental observation of an individual feature. The interviewer's question concerning the teacher's ethnic background seems to strike the students as odd, which is illustrated by Miriam's caricaturing statement. The ethnic and cultural background is associated with 'folkloristic' particularities that – according to the students – are irrelevant for math classes (just like alcoholic beverages are irrelevant in math classes).

In a group discussion with boys, the interviewer asks a similar question, which the boys disregard. They do not address Ms. Kalmer's background at all; instead they talk about her classroom behavior, her instructional style and their own achievements. They furthermore compare her with a male math teacher.

To summarize, according to both boys and girls, Ms. Kalmer is mainly seen in her role as a math teacher. When they talk about her, subject specific perspectives prevail. The questions that are relevant for the students include: Can I learn something from her? How does she teach her subject? Does she respond to the student's individual needs? Is she fair? The students discuss these issues in their assessment of all teachers, not only in the passages concerning Ms. Kalmer. Gender, age and personality traits are as well, but they seem to play a minor role. Ms. Kalmer's cultural and ethnic background is irrelevant to all interviewed groups and to their experiences with this teacher.

### 3.2 Case 2: Ms. Brecht, a German language teacher who is of Romanian descent ("Hello, we all can speak German. What does she want from us")

Ms. Brecht taught German to a group of girls in the 5th grade. Like in case 1, the students focus on different aspects when talking about Ms. Brecht. The first discussion addresses the fact that Ms. Brecht does not only focus on teaching her subject but is also interested in her students in general.

> In German, our teacher is quite nice … so for example we always have some kind of small talk (Girl, 5th grade, January)
>
> I would have liked it very much … I think it would have been better when our German teacher would have come with us (on a school trip); because we trust her more, it is so much fun (Girls 5th grade, January)

The first discussion took place just a few months after the students entered the secondary school ('Gymnasium'). Considering the challenging transition from primary school to secondary school, it becomes evident that social and emotional considerations are relevant to the students. It is important to them to have someone they can trust and relate to in this new environment and context. During the discussions half a year later, Ms. Brecht position as German language teacher becomes more focalized:

> Well, she always talks when there is a test, and she always talks about my mistakes, I don't know why. And then she looks at me, and I just think, oh my God, why does she do that (Girls, 5th grade, July, group 1)
>
> so most teachers learn it from Ms. Brecht, yes do you know Aylin, well she received that school grade … I think this is totally mean (Girls, 5th grade, July, group 1)
>
> Ms. Brecht's teaching … well … for instance Ms. Schiller, the other German teacher explains much better and she somehow does things better, she is nice and does not rant and rave at somebody (Girls, 5th grade, July, group 2)
>
> And Ms. Brecht, she says, well in oral exams she is very strict (Girls, 5th grade, July, group 2)
>
> Yes and Ms. Brecht always expects the best, in my class you have to work yourself totally into the ground, that is what she says (Girls, 5th grade, July, group 2)

Here, the students primarily discuss Ms. Brecht's expectations, her feedback behavior and the way she handles errors. In contrast to the first discussion, the relationship between Ms. Brecht and her students is no longer characterized by trust; instead it is determined by her expectations which are perceived as being very high. The students experience the way she handles errors and failures as shameful exposure.

In addition to Ms. Brecht's teaching style, the students talk about her physical appearance and her social status. They explicitly criticize her tendency to talk about

expensive things she owns and about her extravagant voyages and holiday trips. They perceive Ms. Brecht as vain and pretentious. Her behavior in that respect – which manifests itself, for instance, when she brings expensive objects to class – is described as inappropriate for a teacher. Ms. Brecht seems to emphasize her social status, which is a tendency the students strongly object to. They feel like their teacher tries to set herself apart from them. The students interpret Ms. Brecht's strategy of social distinction in the context of her minority background. It appears that she developed an assimilative stance towards integration. She feels the need to reaffirm her successful integration by pointing to her (material) acquisitions and achievements.

The students address her ethnic and cultural background themselves, without being prompted by the interviewer. According to the students, her background primarily serves an explanative function. They use it to try to explain their teacher's German lessons, as the following passage shows:

I: You already mentioned Ms. Brecht, that is your German teacher, isn't it?
Sen: Yes [several parallel answers]
S: ( ) that she is very special.
I: OK, could you ( )
(Nicole): Yes, I think, she is against foreigners, but
I: Against foreigners [astonished]
S: Why?
S: But she is a foreigner herself (.)
(Aylin): Yes because she I think well, Tijana always has the theory, I don't know, if it's true, because she also is a foreigner and may have had difficulties in learning German and then she said, that she now makes it worse for foreign children, she makes bad, no … how do you say, she wants to make it more difficult for them to learn German
Trang: And she ~
Aylin: ⌊ to be good in German (.)
Trang: ~ And she always mentions, that we have poor language skills, that we are not good and everything
Lotta: she once wanted to forbid Amely that she speaks at home, Amely is from Romania, that she speaks Romanian at home because she, she has that with the „sch" and „s"
S: Wasn't it Tijana?
S: Ehm
Sen: No
S: That was ~
S: ⌊ still that was the same with both?
S: Yes, the same with both (.)
Sen: [mixed-up talking]
Lotta: Then she was, both were hurt by that, because that actually is their mother tongue … and then someone comes around and says you are not allowed to talk

your language anymore … ehm, because otherwise they unlearn it and that is their decision, actually, and after school, no one can demand anything really

I: Mhm

Luisa: Well, ehm I also thought this was mean she once went to the parents of each student and told them: your girl cannot speak German at all … ehm, despite the fact that Tijana for example speaks German very well, in my opinion

S: Sometimes she confuses some

Luisa: ⌞ Yes

S: ~ articles or

Sen: [mixed-up talking]

Luisa: Well, Tijana sometimes confuses the articles or she may confuse some of these words … just because, well, she is from a different country, but I think it is really mean that Ms. Brecht wants to make it so much harder for us foreigners, because … well, OK, my parents are from a foreign country but actually most are … ~

S: But you can speak German really good.

Luisa: ~ Yes, actually most of those who are sitting here, their parents may be foreigners, but they are born here in Germany, except some … but I think it is somehow mean, we also belong somehow to Germany. So, we too are Germans, because we are born here, I have a German passport, thus I also belong to it … and hence I think it is very mean to call me a foreigner

S: Yes

Trang: Once it was, I don't know, that a girl did not know the actual holiday. And then she said, we are in Germany here, you have to know all the German holidays (Girls, 5th grade, July, group 1)

When the interviewer asks about Ms. Brecht, one student mentions that she is "very special", which alludes to the fact that she seems different from other teachers in specific ways. Despite the negative connotation of this statement, the student is reluctant to elaborate. Although there are hints that something is wrong with Ms. Brecht, their nature is not explicitly addressed initially. Only when the interviewer follows up on the question, Nicole explains in her connecting claim: "I think she has something against foreigners." By saying this, she makes a serious accusation and the following mix of voices indicates that some of the students are surprised by this statement. The interviewer wants to know more and another student also demands an explanation. She points out that Ms. Brecht is also a foreigner which calls the accusation into question. At first, the students seem to disagree about Nicole's proposition. Over the course of the following discussion Aylin, however, mentions an absent student's 'theory'. The use of the term theory indicates that the students are looking for an explanation. They are bewildered by the teacher's behavior and try to make sense of it. The 'theory' that Tijana allegedly proposed refers to Ms. Brecht's personal migration history. The theory assumes that she had difficulties

herself when she was younger and that she therefore wants to make the lives of foreign children as difficult.

When they talk about Ms. Brecht's ethnic background, the students do not declare their solidarity with her or emphasize similarities; instead they define her in opposition to themselves. Ms. Brecht's migration history is something of the past ("She *was* a foreigner herself"). Her status as a foreigner is in the past whereas she several times addresses her students as such. The fact that they are repeatedly reminded of their foreign descent makes it difficult for them to sympathize with the teacher. They do not experience the migration history as a common ground but as something that separates them from their teacher. They, furthermore, do not perceive her actions as supportive. Instead they feel that Ms. Brecht deliberately tries to erect barriers that hinder their development. In the course of the discussion, the students find further evidence for Ms. Brecht's supposed xenophobic stance. They perceive the fact that she forbids them to talk their mother tongues at home as a serious transgression of boundaries. Furthermore, they consider it as embarrassingly impertinent that she exposes their poor language skills to anyone – that is, particularly to other teachers and parents.

In the course of the discussion, the students talk vividly and reject the teacher's deficit orientation. They support each other and affirm each other's competencies and strengths. The students and their teacher obviously do not agree about the student's language skills. The students are unable and unwilling to accept their teacher's criticism. They possibly feel that Ms. Brecht does not acknowledge that German is not their mother tongue and that they can actually speak German quite well. Thinking of Ms. Brecht as xenophobic helps them to make sense of the teacher's behavior. Considering findings about the development of the academic self-concept (Dresel & Ziegler, 2006), this may also be interpreted as strategy that helps students protect and maintain their self-concept. If the teacher is xenophobic, her criticism and demands are unfounded and there is no reason for the students to doubt their own language skills.

Over the course of the school year, the students' opinion about Ms. Brecht changes and she is described and judged differently. The students appear to be ambivalent because, even towards the end of the school year, there are favorable statements about Ms. Brecht. Evaluation of her personal teaching style, however, prevails. The ways in which she handles errors and her feedback behavior appear most relevant for the students.

## 4. Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to explore students' perspectives about the ethno-cultural backgrounds of their minority teachers. The starting point was the allegedly positive effect of minority teachers concerning more culturally sensitive schooling. Due to the scale and the exploratory character of the study, we do not want to overstate the conclusions drawn from the presented results. Nevertheless, the two presented cases illustrate different aspects that seem to be relevant from students' perspectives. Although there is little research that takes students' perspectives on this subject into account, the research that does exist suggests that 1) students may consider their minority teachers as role models and 2) minority teachers may foster students' well-being. Nevertheless, 3) certain tensions and challenges in the relationship between minority teachers and students may arise. The manifestation of the last two findings depends on the individual teacher's attitude towards integration and acculturation. General research on students' perspectives about their teachers indicates that they use two points of reference: 'love' and 'mastery'. We will discuss the results of our study in the light of these aspects.

The two cases illustrate that minority teachers do not necessarily meet the high expectations that are placed on them by educational policy. Their minority status and ethno-cultural background is not automatically relevant to their students. In case 1, the students disregard and do not address this "dimension of difference." Indeed, the students mention Ms. Kalmer's perfect German skills, so she could potentially serve as a role model in this respect. It is also possible that her migration background is irrelevant for the groups' framework of orientation. Nevertheless, it could be significant for individual students.

In case 2, the teacher's minority background becomes relevant over the course of the school year and it seems to be closely connected to her classroom behavior and instructional expectations. The students do not see the teacher's background in a positive light and as a marker of difference. Although the teacher could serve as a role model successfully overcoming language deficits because of her personal educational experience, the students are unable to see her as such. This may be due to the way the teacher interact with them and the way she communicates her expectations, which the students experience as an "imposition." We may conclude that teachers' ethno-cultural backgrounds become relevant for students when they assign a function to it, especially when they look for explanations. Hence, they develop 'theories' that explain the teacher's behavior. In other instances, they invoke the teacher's background when they want to differentiate or reassure themselves. It is important to note, that students' perceptions are not stable over time and across groups. This demonstrates that the relevance of teachers' backgrounds is mutually

constructed and depends on the specific context. The cultural background in and of itself hence has no further meaning but gets relevant only in complex interaction processes.

In light of existing research about students' perspective and judgments, this conclusion is not surprising. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that demographic aspects (like gender, age, etc.) alone play a minor role at best (Ditton, 2002). Any given teacher's personal attitudes and preferences are far more important for students' judgments. Their perspectives may evoke two different dimensions which Gerstenmaier (1975) calls the 'love theme' and the 'mastery theme'. The first dimension involves socio-emotional aspects whereas the second is associated with teachers' subject-specific competencies, teaching styles and their classroom management. How a teacher is judged by students is mainly determined by his/her instructional behavior that balances the love and the mastery theme: A good teacher – according to the students – delivers vivid lessons, is knowledgeable in his or her subject, maintains good relationships with students and is fair and just (Ditton, 2002, p. 267).

In the presented case studies, the mastery theme prevails in case 1. The relationship between the students and their math teacher appears undisturbed and therefore, socio-emotional aspects do not need to be discussed. The teacher can be judged based on her main 'function', which is being a competent math teacher. In case 2 the love and mastery themes become blurred over time. This may be due to the teacher's failure to communicate her subject-specific expectations in a way that the students perceive as just and fair. Consequently her subject-specific expectations and instructional behavior – such as exposing students' mistakes and deficits – damage her previously good relationship with the students. While she initially meets the students' social and emotional needs when they are new at the school, this equilibrium is lost later when subject-specific expectations become prevalent. The failure to mediate between 'love' and 'mastery' may be due to the teacher's attitude and personal experiences. Obviously becoming fluent in German is very important to her. Judging by the students' statements, her attitude about integration is assimilative and she favors corresponding acculturation strategies.

It still remains to be seen whether the professional behavior of minority teachers is based on more assimilative, integrative attitudes and if there are systematic differences between majority and minority teachers. Georgi et al. (2011) and Rotter (2012) suggest that minority teachers may use their languages of origin to express a – possibly only domain-specific – assimilative attitude: Although minority teachers may speak their languages of origin in the classroom, this language use is restricted to situations that involve disciplining of students and the clarification of extracurricular issues. Despite the possibility to rely on and use multilingualism,

German is seen as the one and only language of instruction (Georgi et al., 2011). This also seems to be Ms. Brecht's stance. She may be correct in supposing that fluency in German is a precondition for a successful educational career at Germany's higher secondary schools and may also protect students from discrimination, but she is unable to convey her position in a way that is acceptable for her minority students. By identifying her students' mother tongues as the source of their deficits, she does not take their multilingual resources into account. Furthermore, she does not consider students' use of their mother tongues as a resource that has diagnostic and prognostic value. Taking the potential of languages of origin into account is important in order to foster language skills (Gogolin, 2008). Hence, the students fail to recognize Ms. Brecht's intention to help further their German language skills. They feel like their abilities are not appreciated and it is possible that they interpret this as an attack on their academic self-concept[4]. This attack compromises their identity in ways that are only explainable through the supposed xenophobic attitude of the teacher. Although this 'theory' seems to be rather farfetched because Ms. Brecht is of foreign descent herself, it is reasonable to assume that her attitude depends on her biographical experiences to a certain extent. The experience with migration and integration processes does not necessarily entail a uniform stance towards acculturation. According to Berry (1980), we can differentiate four different attitudes and acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, segregation and marginalization. Ms. Brecht seems to favor an assimilative strategy which may have helped her to succeed in the German educational system and become a teacher.

Ms. Brecht's attitude in and of itself does not necessarily determine the students' perceptions; instead they are concerned about the way she translates said attitude into instructional behavior: She has high expectations but does not frame them in an encouraging manner. That minority teachers are able to create learning environments that challenge minority children in particular is indeed an expectation that is associated with the recruitment of minority teachers (Strasser & Steber, 2010). Highly demanding learning environments, however, are only effective when they instill positive expectations in students with respect to their competencies (Jussim & Harber, 2005). By focusing on the students' deficits, Ms. Brecht accomplishes the opposite effect. We can only speculate what has led to this deficit-oriented attitude. The students' theory is backed by existing research which demonstrates that teachers who successfully completed the educational system may have developed negative images of their own minority group (Tellez, 1999). This may be an effective strategy to avoid the effects of negative stereotypes associated with one's group of origin (Strasser, 2012). A study with Turkish students in Germany reveals that setting oneself apart from the Turkish community seems to be a com-

mon strategy of dealing with existing negative stereotypes (Strasser & Hirschauer, 2011). The role of social class and stratification-specific differences between and within minority groups should not be neglected either (Morris, 2007). Ms. Brecht's students interpret the way she behaves as a form of social dissociation. In addition to her assimilative and deficit-oriented teaching style, she does not provide an example of how to reconcile one's cultural identity and academic success. Consequently, following Ms. Brecht's example poses a threat to her minority students' cultural identities (Ogbu, 2003).

It is important to not only take teachers' minority-related attitudes and acculturation strategies into consideration; their classroom behavior may also be profoundly affected by their professional self-concept. When they develop their professional attitudes, it seems important how they deal with the expectations that are placed on minority teachers (Rotter, 2012, 2014) and what role is attributed to them within the teaching faculty (Strasser, 2013). Rotter (2012) differentiates three ways of dealing with expectations towards minority teachers: 1) teachers may embrace the role of being a positive example and cultural mediator; 2) they may accept the role of functioning as a positive example but negate specific competencies associated with their own minority statuses; 3) they may reject the attributed role that is assigned to them and emphasize their subject specific competencies. In both presented cases, the minority teachers seem to represent the latter manifestation because they focus on subject-specific issues. We may argue that this way is dominant at German higher secondary schools ('Gymnasien') because the teachers at those schools traditionally specialize in specific subjects and receive less pedagogical training. Therefore, the type of school the minority teacher work at may be another variable that needs to be taken into account. The relevance and significance of minority teachers may also vary according to the subjects they teach. It may make a difference, for example, if teachers teach subjects that convey the 'culture', language or history of a country or not. These aspects have not been investigated yet. Hence, the presented case studies suggest a series of open questions: How does teachers' practical behavior, their attitudes and the institutional context, composition and characteristics of a class affect students' perceptions? How do teacher's backgrounds interact with other difference dimensions such as gender, social class and generation and in what contexts do they interact in what way? How relevant is it that teachers and students match ethnically and what are the effects of a 'mismatch'? In order to investigate these questions, the complex interplay variables and categories – teachers' attitudes, social class aspects, acculturation strategies etc. – at different levels – individual, school, educational policy, society level – has to be thoroughly modeled because the presence of minority teachers is not necessarily relevant in and of itself. Instead, its relevance depends on multiple conditions, is

different for different groups in the educational system and may change when the rate minority teachers increases. Therefore, even if minority teachers are not as relevant as expected for students' experiences at a group level, they may be important for parents and the school as an institution. Moreover, the teaching faculty should mirror society's population in all its diversity. Nevertheless, the two cases demonstrate that minority teachers may need intercultural training just like majority teachers in order to deal with diversity issues adequately and professionally.

*Notes*

1. In the following, we will use the term 'minority teachers' instead of 'teachers with migrational backgrounds' because the category 'migration background' is rather vague and does not take into account the fact that teachers belong to different minority groups. Minority groups differ with respect to power relations, societal status and stereotypes associated with them. Hence, for example it probably makes a difference whether a teacher is of Austrian or of Turkish descent. Furthermore the term 'migrational background' is primarily used in German-speaking countries. Talking about 'minority teachers' allows us to connect to international research contexts.
2. "This implicit or tacit knowledge forms a sort of structure, by which action is orientated mostly independent from subjective meaning, and has insofar a certain objectivity opposed to." (Bohnsack, 2010, p. 100)
3. 'S': Speaker cannot be identified.
4. Existing research demonstrates that teacher feedback is the main source for students to develop their academic self-concept and that a student's self-concept is jeopardized when a teacher attributes mistakes to this student's abilities (Dresel & Ziegler, 2006). It should be noted, however, that the group discussion design of this study does no assess individual student's academic self-concept and that group processes may also have contributed to students' 'xenophobia theory'.

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Berichte und Notizen

# *Neues aus der Sektion International und Interkulturell Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft (SIIVE) in der DGfE – August 2015*

## Neue Zusammensetzung des Vorstands der Sektion

Im Rahmen der Mitgliederversammlungen im März 2015 haben sich die Vorstände der Sektion und der Kommissionen der SIIVE wie folgt neu zusammengesetzt:

*Vorstand der Sektion:*
Prof. Dr. Marcelo Parreira do Amaral (Vorsitz)
Prof. Dr. Marco Rieckmann
Prof. Dr. Ulrike Hormel

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## Ankündigung der SIIVE Winter School für den Wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs 2015

Die Winter School für den Wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs 2015 findet unter dem Titel *‚Normativität in der Vergleichenden und Internationalen Erziehungswissenschaft. (Selbst)kritische Perspektiven‘*, am 26. und 27.11.2015 an der Technischen Universität Dortmund statt.

Mit diesem Titel greift die Winter School 2015 das Thema der SIIVE-Tagung in Münster wieder auf, da es den wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs in besonderer Weise betrifft. In der Qualifikationsphase wird meist erstmalig in einem größeren Umfang eigenständig geforscht, und jede Nachwuchswissenschaftlerin und jeder Nachwuchswissenschaftler muss sich deshalb mit Fragen bezüglich der Normativität auseinandersetzen.

Die Tagung richtet sich primär an Nachwuchswissenschaftlerinnen und Nachwuchswissenschaftler, die an ihrer Promotion arbeiten oder eine solche planen, und bietet eine Plattform, eigene inhaltliche und methodologische Fragen zur Diskussion zu stellen.

Weitere Informationen zur Veranstaltung und Anmeldungsmöglichkeit werden in Kürze über die SIIVE-Homepage zu finden sein: www.siive.de

## BNE-Nachwuchs freut sich über Zuwachs

Von 19. bis 21. Juli 2015 hat sich die Nachwuchsgruppe der Kommission Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung (BNE) zum Kolloquium in Rauischholzhausen bei Marburg getroffen, um sich über ihre vielfältigen Forschungsprojekte auszutauschen und aktuelle Fragen der BNE zu diskutieren.

Das Entstehen der Nachwuchsgruppe geht auf die im vergangenen Jahr von Marco Rieckmann und Matthias Barth in Vechta veranstaltete Summer School für empirische BNE-Forschung zurück. Aus der dort vorherrschenden dynamischen Arbeitsatmosphäre hat sich ein großes Interesse nach weiterem fachlichem Austausch abgezeichnet, sodass die Nachwuchswissenschaftlerinnen und Nachwuchswissenschaftler beschlossen haben, diese Synergien für den Aufbau eines eigenen Netzwerks zu nutzen.

BNE-Nachwuchs-Kolloquium in Rauischholzhausen

Dem Kolloquium in Rauischholzhausen sind bereits zwei konzeptionelle Treffen vorausgegangen, die der Verständigung über die Ziele der Gruppe dienten. In erster Linie geht es den Mitgliedern um gegenseitige inhaltliche sowie methodische Unterstützung bei ihren Forschungsvorhaben. Grundsätzlich besteht aber auch der Anspruch, BNE ‚neu' zu denken, bestehende Ansätze zu hinterfragen und innovative Impulse zu setzen. In Rauischholzhausen haben sich die Nachwuchswissenschaftlerinnen und Nachwuchswissenschaftler unter anderem mit kontroversen Fragen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Normativität und Machbarkeit auseinandergesetzt und spannende Denkanstöße für künftige Diskussionen formuliert.

Eine zusätzliche Bereicherung für das Kolloquium war die erstmalige Teilnahme zweier Doktorandinnen, die nicht bereits Teil der Summer School waren. Auch zukünftig möchte sich die Gruppe weiter öffnen und lädt interessierten BNE-Nachwuchs herzlich dazu ein, sich in die Gruppe einzubringen und das Netzwerk aktiv mitzugestalten. Das nächste Kolloquium ist schon in Planung und wird voraussichtlich im Frühjahr 2016 stattfinden. Eine Homepage entsteht gerade, bei Interesse kann über E-Mail (orga@bne-nachwuchs.de) Kontakt aufgenommen werden.

Claudia Resenberger & Victoria Miczajka

## Rezensionen

Harber, Clive (2014). *Education and International Development. Theory, practice and issues*. Oxford: Symposium Books, 272 S., 39,25 €.

Das Thema Bildung und (internationale) Entwicklung ist kein neues. Mindestens seit den frühen 1960er-Jahren wird die Verbindung beider Themenkomplexe in der Erziehungswissenschaft stets diskutiert; zunächst vor allem in der Bildungsökonomie in Diskussionen über Humankapitaltheorien, dann in der (Bildungs-)Soziologie im Kontext von Dependenz- oder Befreiungstheorien und nicht zuletzt in der Internationalen und Vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft (IVE) (vgl. Kubow & Fossum 2007). Das Thema ist in den meisten einführenden Werken zum IVE-Feld im Allgemeinen (vgl. Phillips & Schweisfurth 2014; McCowan & Unterhalter 2015) aber auch in spezifischeren Abhandlungen wie beispielsweise zu *Global Policy Studies* (vgl. Verger, Novelli & Kosar Altinyelken, 2012) in den Fokus der Aufmerksamkeit gerückt worden.

Das hier zu besprechende Buch zeigt eindrucksvoll, dass das Thema ‚Internationale Entwicklung', nicht nur in der ‚Peripherie' – sowohl im geografischen als auch im disziplinären Sinne – lebendig ist: Es betrifft zentral die Ausbildung des akademischen Nachwuchses, so der Autor (S. 8). Die bis in die 1990er-Jahre andauernden Debatten um die ‚Arbeitsteilung' zwischen den zwei Zweigen der IVE, wonach dem ‚komparativen' Arm die eigentliche ‚wissenschaftliche' Arbeit im Zentrum der Teildisziplin und dem ‚internationalen' Teil die ‚praktische' Arbeit in der Peripherie zukam, scheinen überwunden (vgl. zur Debatte z.B. Wilson 1994).

Clive Harber ist emeritierter Professor für International Education an der Universität Birmingham. Er bemängelt seit geraumer Zeit, dass es keine Einführung in die ‚Entwicklungsforschung' aus erziehungswissenschaftlicher Sicht gibt, und aus diesem Grund konzipierte er dieses Buch als Einführung für diejenigen Personen, die zwar mit dem Feld der Erziehungswissenschaft vertraut sind, sich jedoch noch nicht explizit mit ‚Entwicklungsforschung' beschäftigt haben. Dies sind vor allem Studierende in Bachelor- und Master-Studiengängen, aber auch alle Forschende, die sich aus unterschiedlichen Gründen in die Grundlagen der ‚Entwicklungsforschung' einarbeiten möchten (S. 8 f.).

Die 272 Seiten des Buches sind in vier Themenblöcke und 17 Kapitel gegliedert. Neben thematisch geordneten Lektürehinweisen schließt jedes Kapitel mit weiterführenden Fragen ab, z.B. „Do you feel you live in a globalised world? Explain why this is or isn't the case" (S. 25). „What are (a) the ideas of Paulo Freire and (b) capability theory for schooling?" (S. 99). Zu jedem Bei-

trag formuliert Harber einleitend die Ziele des jeweiligen Kapitels und in einer Zusammenfassung stellt er nochmal die wichtigsten Aspekte seiner Ausführungen vor. Dies bietet dem Disziplinunkundigen die Möglichkeit, das Buch auch nur selektiv zu lesen und die Thematik dennoch in den Gesamtkontext einzuordnen (S. 9).

Der erste thematische Block bietet *An Overview of the field*. In Kapitel 1 *Education and Development: introductory ideas* wird grundlegend auf die Problematik im Umgang mit dem Begriff ‚Development' eingegangen und im Anschluss aufgezeigt, in welcher Weise Bildung mit dem Begriff ‚Entwicklung' korreliert. Bereits an dieser Stelle wird die Frage aufgeworfen, ob Bildung für die Entwicklung eines Landes zuträglich ist (S. 11 ff.). Das zweite Kapitel *The Nature of Formal Education in Developing Countries: access, quality outcomes and inequality* ist in drei Teile gegliedert. Es beschäftigt sich im ersten Teil mit unterschiedlichen Barrieren, die den Zugang zu formaler Bildung in Entwicklungsländern erschweren. Harber zeigt, dass die Gründe dafür vielfältig sind und macht dies anhand zweier Fallstudien aus China und einer vergleichenden Studie aus Malawi und Bangladesch deutlich.

Harbers Einführungsbuch bietet ebenso einen guten Überblick über die wichtigsten theoretischen Ansätze, wie auch der ideologischen Kontexte, in denen die Verknüpfung von ‚Bildung und Entwicklung' hergestellt wird. Zahlreiche thematische Fragen der Bildung und Erziehung in sogenannten ‚Entwicklungsländern' – z.B. Geschlecht, HIV/AIDS, Korruption und anderes mehr – werden mit Blick auf ihre kontextuellen und praktischen Realitäten in den Bildungsinstitutionen diskutiert (S. 8 ff.). Die Qualität des Unterrichts in Entwicklungsländern wird im darauffolgenden Teil des Kapitels erörtert. Der Verfasser geht der Frage nach, wie Qualität von Bildung überhaupt gemessen werden kann. In diesem Zusammenhang diskutiert er unterschiedliche Faktoren, die für die Qualität des Unterrichts entscheidend sind. Er berücksichtigt dabei wichtige Aspekte, angefangen beim Ernährungszustand der Schülerschaft, über die didaktische Ausbildung der Lehrer, den Genderaspekt bis hin zur räumlichen Ausstattung der Schulen (S. 32 ff.). Im letzten Abschnitt bespricht Harber *Educational Outcomes* in Entwicklungsländern. Er zeigt dabei auf, dass es immer noch große Disparitäten im Leistungsvergleich der Schülerschaft gibt. Dabei ist es auffällig, dass der schulische Erfolg von Schülerinnen und Schülern von einer Vielzahl von Faktoren abhängig ist wie: Stadt-Land, Mann-Frau, Wohlstand der eigenen Familie und vieles mehr (S. 38 ff.).

Der zweite Block des Buches umfasst drei weitere Kapitel und thematisiert Theorien im Verhältnis von ‚Bildung und Entwicklung'. Es werden die nötigen metatheoretischen Grundlagen behandelt, die für ein basales Verständ-

nis von Entwicklungsforschung wichtig sind. So wird in Kapitel 3 – *Economic Development: human capital or dependency and socio-economic reproduction?* – die Humankapitaltheorie beschrieben, da dem Wirtschaftsfaktor Arbeit noch immer ein hoher Stellenwert in der Diskussion um die Entwicklung einer Gesellschaft beigemessen wird. Des Weiteren diskutiert Harber die Dependenztheorie, die davon ausgeht, dass reiche Metropolen arme Länder ausbeuten und dominieren (S. 57). Im letzten Schritt bespricht Harber die generationenübergreifende Reproduktion von sozioökonomischen Verhältnissen durch fehlende Möglichkeiten zur gesellschaftlichen Partizipation; durch das den Humankapitaltheorien zugrunde liegende meritokratische Prinzip werden soziale Ungleichheiten legitimiert.

In Kapitel 4 *Modernisation or the Prismatic Society and Institution?* stellt er einführend die Modernisierungstheorien vor und damit verbunden den Gedanken einer prismatischen Gesellschaft. Prismatisch sind die Gesellschaften in Entwicklungsländern häufig deshalb, weil sie sowohl Traditionen und koloniale bzw. postkoloniale Einflüsse miteinander vereinen (S. 73). Dieser Sachverhalt stellt Harber zufolge nicht selten einen Konflikt dar. Anhand einer Fallstudie aus Uganda zeigt er außerdem, wie spannungsgeladen der Konflikt zwischen Tradition und kolonialem Einfluss für eine Gesellschaft sein kann (S. 75 ff.). Im fünften Kapitel werden die Zusammenhänge von Bildung und politischer Entwicklung grundlegend behandelt. Dabei wird der Prozess der Demokratisierung beleuchtet und problematisiert; ein Augenmerk legt der Verfasser neben dem *Capability Approach* (S. 86) auf Paulo Freires Befreiungstheorie (S. 90). Im letzten Kapitel 6 dieses Blockes diskutiert Harber die Frage, ob Bildung der Entwicklung schadet. Es werden unterschiedliche Formen der Gewalt in Bildungssystemen diskutiert, wie z.B. ‚bullying' oder ‚sexuelle, körperliche und ethnische Gewalt'. Im nächsten Schritt wird die Reproduktion dieser Gewaltformen durch ‚role modelling' (S. 111) besprochen und zuletzt dargelegt, dass autoritäre Schulsysteme ein Mittel zur politischen Kontrolle sind. Harber betont an dieser Stelle, dass „Historically, this was to help to control sections of the population that threatened both the state and the status quo – the working class in Europe and indigenous populations in colonised territories. Post-colonial governments in developing countries have been prepared to use schooling for the purposes of social and political control of populations" (S. 113).

Im dritten thematischen Block *Ideological Goals for Education and Development: 'Ought' Relationships* fasst Harber drei Kapitel zusammen, die sich den normativen bzw. ideologischen Kontexten widmen, in denen ‚Bildung' und ‚Entwicklung' oftmals in einen kausalen Zusammenhang gesetzt wer-

den: kapitalistische, sozialistische, ökologische und religiös-konfessionelle Kontexte.

In Kapitel 7 – *Education, Capitalism and Socialism* – stellt er die beiden im Titel genannten Weltanschauungen vor und erklärt, wie unterschiedlich Entwicklung und Bildung aus der jeweiligen Perspektive diskutiert wird. Darüber hinaus zeigt er eindrucksvoll, wie diese Ideologien die Bildungslandschaft in Entwicklungsländern geprägt haben, aber auch, dass es Gemeinsamkeiten in beiden Bildungssystemen gibt (S. 128).

Im nächsten Kapitel zeigt Harber auf, dass durch Bildung nicht nur nachhaltiges Wirtschaftswachstum in Entwicklungsländern erreicht werden soll, sondern dass ein Ziel auch ist, das Umweltbewusstsein der Schülerinnen und Schüler zu schärfen. Anhand dreier Fallstudien aus Costa Rica, Indien und Madagaskar vermittelt der Verfasser exemplarisch die Realität der Umsetzung ökologisch orientierter Bildung (S. 131 ff.).

Im darauffolgenden Kapitel 9 *Education and Religion* diskutiert der Verfasser die Problematik von Bildung mit Religion in Entwicklungsländern. Religion spielt in Entwicklungsländern noch oft eine sehr zentrale Rolle, und viele Menschen identifizieren sich dort mit den Dogmen ihres Glaubens. Er thematisiert die Schwierigkeit einer Bildungsgesetzgebung im Hinblick auf die Rolle von religiösen Konflikten an Schulen (S. 145).

Der letzte Block des Buches umfasst sieben thematische Kapitel, die unter der Überschrift: *Issues of Education and Development* zusammengefasst wurden. Die einzelnen Kapitel diskutieren Probleme und Aufgaben, mit denen sich die Entwicklungsforschung konfrontiert sieht. Diese Kapitel sind ein bunter Mix an interessanten Themengebieten, mit denen sich Disziplinunkundige weiter beschäftigen können, um ihre Grundlagen zu vertiefen. Außerdem zeigt diese Themenvielfalt wie breitgefächert das Themenfeld *Education and Development* ist. Angefangen bei Genderfragen und der Rolle von Männlichkeit in Entwicklungsländern (Kap. 10; S. 157 ff.), erörtert Harber auch die Notwendigkeit des Erhalts von Bildungseinrichtungen in Krisenregionen (Kap. 11; S. 173 ff.). In Kapitel 12 wagt er den thematischen Sprung zu *Non-state Educational Provision*, also nicht staatlicher Bildungseinrichtungen und diskutiert ihre Vor- und Nachteile (S. 191 ff.). Eine weitere Baustelle für die Entwicklungsforschung stellt der Themenkomplex *Education, Employment and Vocational Education* dar. Dieser Teil des Buches beschäftigt sich mit der Bedeutung von Berufsschulunterricht und Entwicklung (S. 203 ff.). Weitere Aufgaben sind der Zusammenhang von Bildung und Korruption bzw. von Bildung und Gesundheit, die in den Kapiteln 14 und 15 besprochen werden. Natürlich darf in einer Einführung in die Entwicklungsforschung auch das Thema ‚Entwicklungshilfe' nicht feh-

len, denn immerhin ist es eines der zentralen Themen, die Studierende in Deutschland mit dem Thema ‚Entwicklung' verbinden. In diesem Kapitel stellt Harber unterschiedliche Formen der Entwicklungshilfe vor, und erklärt welche Möglichkeiten Entwicklungshilfe in Bezug auf Bildung bietet (S. 245 ff.). Darüber hinaus werden ebenso mögliche Kritikpunkte deutlich gemacht. Der letzte Aspekt *Literacy and Language* erörtert abschließend die Notwendigkeit einer grundlegenden Alphabetisierung aller Menschen dieses Planeten und damit verbunden die Diskussion darum, welche Sprache wann gelernt werden soll. Dieses betrifft vor allem postkoloniale Staaten, die davon betroffen sind, in Schulen die Verkehrssprachen des jeweiligen Landes zu unterrichten bzw. die Sprache der ehemaligen Kolonialmacht (S. 257 ff.).

Das Einführungsbuch *Education and International Development. theory, practice and issues* von Clive Harber bietet einen guten Überblick über die wichtigsten theoretischen Ansätze, wie auch der ideologischen Kontexte, in denen die Verknüpfung von ‚Bildung und Entwicklung' hergestellt wird. Dem Autor dieses Bandes gelingt durch die gut aufeinander abgestimmten Kapitel, eine längst überfällige Einführung in die *International Education* und damit in den Fragekomplex ‚Bildung und Entwicklung'. Als Gesamtüberblick ist der Band ertragreich und kann auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen gelesen werden: Er greift die wichtigsten Themen und Hintergründe auf, die Studierende wie auch Disziplinunkundige benötigen, um einen grundlegenden Einblick in die Entwicklungsforschung zu bekommen. Clive Harber ist ein großer Dank auszusprechen, denn er hilft mit dieser Publikation, die Lücke in der hochschuldidaktischen Literatur zur Internationalen und Vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft allmählich zu schließen.

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Oelsner, Verónica & Richter, Claudia (Hrsg.). (2015). *Bildung in Lateinamerika: Strukturen, Entwicklungen, Herausforderungen* (Historisch-vergleichende Sozialisations- und Bildungsforschung, Bd. 15). Münster: Waxmann, 324 S., 36,90 €.

Die deutschsprachige Lateinamerikaforschung hat sich bisher kaum systematisch mit erziehungswissenschaftlichen Problemen der einzelnen Länder des Subkontinents auseinandergesetzt. Dies liegt daran, dass es vor allem archäologische, geschichtswissenschaftliche und ethnologische Disziplinen gewesen sind, die massgeblich die Lateinamerikanistik als *area studies* geprägt haben; später sind dann – vor allem im Laufe der 1990er-Jahre – wirtschafts- und sozialwissenschaftliche Fragestellungen hinzugekommen, doch Bildungsthematiken und -problematiken lateinamerikanischer Gegenwartsgesellschaften sind bis heute kaum integraler Bestandteil der Lateinamerikanistik geworden.

Dass dem abzuhelfen ist und dass es in den deutschsprachigen Erziehungswissenschaften bereits heute eine beeindruckende Expertise zu den Bildungssystemen lateinamerikanischer Länder und Regionen gibt, beweist nachhaltig und grundsätzlich die vorliegende Publikation. Der im erziehungswissenschaftlich international etablierten Waxmann Verlag soeben erschienene Band ‚Bildung in Lateinamerika: Strukturen, Entwicklungen, Herausforderungen', der von Verónica Oelsner und Claudia Richter herausgegeben worden ist, stellt eine nahezu enzyklopädische Unternehmung dar, auf knappen 323 Seiten einen Überblick über nationale Bildungssysteme, historische wie auch gegenwärtige schulpolitische Tendenzen sowie erziehungswissenschaftlich relevante Zukunftsentwicklungen zu bieten.

Wie die Herausgeberinnen in ihrer Einleitung erläutern, ist es ihnen gelungen, ein gemeinsames Analyseschema auszuarbeiten, das von allen achtzehn beitragenden Autorinnen und Autoren in ihren jeweiligen länderspezifischen Kapitel als ‚roter Faden' ihrer monographischen Darstellungen verfolgt worden ist. Somit enthalten die Einzelbeiträge zu Argentinien, Bolivien, Brasilien, Chile, Ecuador, Honduras, Kolumbien, Kuba, Mexiko, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay und Venezuela allesamt vergleichbare Daten zu folgenden Schwerpunktthemen:

„1) Politischer, sozialer, wirtschaftlicher und demographischer Hintergrund; 2) Historische Entwicklung seit Entstehung des nationalen Bildungssystems, z.B. Rechtsgrundlagen, Strukturen, Indikatoren, die die Entwicklung der einzelnen nationalen Bildungssysteme aufzeigen; 3) Reformen der 1990er Jahre, wie sie die meisten der Länder erfahren haben; 4) Aufbau und Struktur des heutigen Bildungswesens unter Verweis auf Schulpflicht, Verhältnis zwischen öffentlichem und

privatem Sektor, Rechtsgrundlagen und Gesetzgebungskompetenzen etc.; 5) Aktuelle Bildungssituation unter Hinzunahmen einschlägiger Bildungsindikatoren wie Besuchs-, Abbrecher-, Wiederholungs- und Abschlussraten in den verschiedenen Ebenen und Bereichen, Ausstattung und Infrastruktur, Zugang zu den Bildungsmöglichkeiten, Unterrichtsausfall etc. und schließlich 6) Besonderheiten, Stärken und Schwächen des jeweiligen Bildungswesens (historisch und heute)" (S. 11).

Den so strukturierten Länderkapiteln ist ein herausragendes Einführungskapitel vorangestellt, in dem Marcelo Caruso die historischen Bildungsentwicklungen der gesamten Region nachzeichnet. Ausgehend von der ‚Conquista als Lernprozess', analysiert er die dem Kontinent gemeinsamen bildungspolitischen Kennzeichen, die kolonial verwurzelt sind, doch seit der Unabhängigkeitsbewegungen Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts nationale Eigenschaften ausbilden und die verschiedenen Bildungssystem bis heute prägen. Dieser historischen Gesamtschau folgen die erwähnten Länderstudien. Auch wenn der vorliegende Band nicht alle lateinamerikanischen Länder erfassen kann, geben die aus diesem Themenschema entwickelten 13 Ländermonographien einen umfassenden, komprimierten und bisher in dieser Form weder auf Deutsch noch auf Spanisch oder Englisch vorhandenen, handbuchartigen Überblick, der den internationalen Forschungsstand aktuell widerspiegelt.

Doch ‚Bildung in Lateinamerika: Strukturen, Entwicklungen, Herausforderungen' ist weit mehr als ein überblicksartiges Handbuch der lateinamerikanischen Bildungssysteme. In jedem einzelnen Kapitel ergänzen deren Autorinnen und Autoren diese vergleichbaren und eher systematisch-historischen Darstellungen mit einem jeweils abschließenden, spezifischen Aspekt des entsprechenden lateinamerikanischen Landes. So widmen sowohl Verónica Oelsner für Argentinien als auch Stefan Wolf und Felipe A. Hernández Pentón für Kuba ihre jeweiligen focussierten Untersuchungen den Entwicklungstendenzen der beruflichen Bildung, Carlos Felipe Revollo Fernández analysiert die aktuellen Bildungsreformen in Bolivien, Dietmar K. Pfeiffer wählt das brasilianische Universitätssystem als Schwerpunktbereich, Daniela Jiménez und Sandy Taut vertiefen für den Fall ‚Chile' die Diskussion um dessen Lehrer-Evaluationsprogramme, Wolfgang Küper und Teresa Valiente-Catter präsentieren das ecuatorianische Konzept der interkulturellen zweisprachigen Erziehung für indigene Völker, Claudia Richter analysiert für Honduras die schulische und vor allem außerschulische Situation von Kindern und Jugendlichen, Sanabria Mora problematisiert für Kolumbien und Stefan Peters für Uruguay die trotz mehrfacher Reformen anhaltende Bildungsungleichheit in beiden Ländern. Eugenia Roldán Vera fasst den Forschungsstand zur mexikanischen Bildungshistoriographie

zusammen, Michael Rudolph und Jakob Warkentin beschließen ihr Kapitel zu Paraguay mit einer Kurzmonographie eines einflussreichen mennonitisch inspirierten Instituts für Lehrerbildung. Renate Schüssler widmet sich den Dezentralisierungstendenzen im peruanischen Schulsystem, und schließlich analysieren Stefan Peters und Mareike Tarazona das venezolanische Bildungssystem im Kontext sich verändernder Arbeitsmarktstrukturen.

Die bloße Aufzählung dieser Focus-Abschnitte verdeutlicht, dass der vorliegende Band weit mehr als ein Handbuch des bildungspolitischen *status quo* des Subkontinents darstellt. Dank dieser spezifischen Beiträge, die häufig aktueller Qualifikationsarbeiten ihrer Autorinnen und Autoren entstammen, wird der monographisch-vergleichende Teil der jeweiligen Kapitel mit einem höchst aktuellen, den Forschungsstand reflektierenden und problemorientierten Aspekt ergänzt. Die Zusammenschau beider ‚Genres' der jeweiligen Landeskapitel ergibt daher eine attraktive, gegenwarts- und problemorientierte Gesamtübersicht über die lateinamerikanischen Bildungssysteme und deren spezifische Entwicklungstendenzen.

‚Bildung in Lateinamerika: Strukturen, Entwicklungen, Herausforderungen' wird daher nicht nur als erste systematische Darstellung lateinamerikanischer Erziehungswissenschaften in deutscher Sprache zum unverzichtbaren akademischen Lehrbuch, sondern es bietet sich auch als problemorientierte Einführungslektüre für Kurse zu international vergleichender Erziehung und Bildung an. Darüber hinaus handelt es sich jenseits der klassisch universitären Leserschaft um eine attraktive Handreichung für Aus- und Fortbildungsveranstaltungen von staatlichen Trägern sowie auch von nicht Regierungsorganisationen, die in Lateinamerika in der internationalen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, in der Lehrerbildung, der Berufsbildung, der Schul- und Hochschulkooperation sowie in der internationalen Fachkräftemobilität aktiv sind.

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Kiel, Ewald (Hrsg.). (2015). *Inklusion im Sekundarbereich* (Inklusion in Schule und Gesellschaft, Bd. 2). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 165 S., 27,99 €.

Der Sammelband zur ‚*Inklusion im Sekundarbereich*' von Ewald Kiel, Professor für Schulpädagogik an der Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München, bildet den zweiten Band innerhalb der insgesamt 12-teiligen Buchreihe ‚Inklusion in Schule und Gesellschaft', die das Ziel verfolgt, „Wege zur selbstbestimmten Teilhabe von Menschen mit Behinderung in den verschiedenen pädagogischen Arbeitsfeldern von der Schule über den Beruf bis hinein in das Gemeinwesen und bezogen auf

die unterschiedlichen sonderpädagogischen Förderschwerpunkte auf[zu]zeigen“ (S. 5). Der Prämisse der Reihenherausgeber folgend, dass jeder der Bände historische, empirische, organisatorische, didaktisch-methodische und praxisbezogene Facetten des jeweilig zu bearbeitenden Themenfeldes zur Inklusion beinhalten soll (vgl. S. 5), präsentiert Kiel ein Werk, das die vielschichtigen Herausforderungen von Inklusion im Sekundarbereich auf Akteursebene (hier: Lehrerinnen und Lehrer), Unterrichtsebene und auf der Ebene der Schulentwicklung bzw. -organisation thematisiert. Neben einem Vorwort der Reihenherausgeber sowie einleitenden Worten des Autors besteht der Sammelband aus fünf Beiträgen von sieben Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern aus den Bereichen der Erziehungswissenschaft, Schul- und Sonderpädagogik.

Nach dem Vorwort erfolgt in der Einleitung zunächst ein Problemaufriss, in dem *Ewald Kiel* die Schwierigkeiten bei der Umsetzung von Inklusion im Sekundarbereich auf unterschiedlichen Systemebenen darlegt. Zudem stellt er die weiteren Autoren des Bandes sowie die thematischen Schwerpunkte ihrer Beiträge vor. Dem folgend wirft der erste Beitrag von *Sabine Weiß* die Frage nach den Anforderungen für Lehrpersonen in inklusiven Settings der Sekundarstufe auf. Auf Basis empirischer Befunde zeigt Weiß, dass es für eine erfolgreiche Arbeit mit Schülerinnen und Schülern mit Förderbedarf fachlich-methodischer Kompetenzen wie die Schaffung „„lebensnahe[r]‘ und relevante[r] Lernkontexte“ (S. 31), personaler Kompetenzen (z.B. Selbstwirksamkeit) und sozialer Kompetenzen (z.B. Empathie) bedarf. Aus sonderpädagogischer Perspektive müssten diese Kompetenzen durch eine positive, die Defizitorientierung verneinende Haltung gegenüber Schülerinnen und Schülern abgerundet werden.

Im zweiten Beitrag legt *Markus Gebhardt* einen differenzierten empirischen Überblick zu dem Themenfeld „Gemeinsamer Unterricht von Schülerinnen und Schülern mit und ohne sonderpädagogischem Förderbedarf“ (S. 39) vor, in dem neben nationalen auch internationale Forschungsergebnisse rezipiert werden.

*Rolf Werning* und *Ann-Kathrin Arndt* diskutieren im dritten Beitrag die Maximen einer inklusiven Unterrichtsgestaltung im Sekundarbereich. Die beiden Autoren gehen dabei von der Prämisse aus, dass allgemeindidaktische Merkmale und Qualitätskriterien guten Unterrichts auch für inklusive Unterrichtssettings grundlegend sind, weisen jedoch auch auf Spannungsfelder des inklusiven Unterrichts hin, die eine spezifischere methodisch-didaktische Aufbereitung des Settings notwendig werden lassen.

Im vierten Beitrag problematisieren *Barbara Koch* und *Annette Textor* Gelingensbedingungen von „Schulorganisation in der Sekundarstufe I“ (S. 97) in Zeiten inklusiver Schulentwicklung.

Schwerpunktmäßig erörtern die Autorinnen unter Rückgriff auf schulorganisatorische Modelle Möglichkeiten der schulischen Ressourcenverteilung sowie -verortung und geben Hinweise auf Instrumente, die seitens der Einzelschule als Hebel für den Ausbau einer inklusiven Schule genutzt werden können.

Abschließend thematisiert *Bettina Amrhein* im letzten Beitrag des Bandes die Frage, inwiefern eine Lehrerinnen- und Lehrerausbildung der Sekundarstufe, die inklusiven Standards genügen möchte, modifiziert werden müsste. Amrhein spricht sich in diesem Kontext für eine stärkere an die Bedingungen von Inklusion orientierte Professionalisierung von Lehrkräften aus, insbesondere durch die Weiterentwicklung einer (Selbst-)Reflexionskompetenz, die flexible Routinen in inklusiven Settings schult und die eigene Berufsbiographie mit einschließt.

Der schulische Sekundarstufenbereich wurde innerhalb der Inklusionsforschung bislang eher stiefmütterlich behandelt. Mit dem vorliegenden Sammelband greift Kiel dieses wenig beachtete Forschungsfeld in einer thematisch bemerkenswerten Breite auf und liefert ein Überblickswerk, das schlaglichtartig wesentliche Teilaspekte zur Inklusion im Sekundarbereich thematisiert. Ein schneller Zugang zu den jeweiligen Diskursen wird durch eine verständliche Sprache sowie dem logischen strukturellen Aufbau der einzelnen Beiträge erleichtert: Jeder Beitrag wird mit Hinweisen zur Zielsetzung und inhaltlichen Schwerpunkten eingeleitet, die Unterteilung der Beiträge in Unterkapitel dient den Leserinnen und Lesern als Leitfaden in den teilweise recht langen Diskursen. Ausführliche Literaturverzeichnisse mit deutsch- und englischsprachigen Publikationen runden die Beiträge ab. Positiv hervorgehoben werden muss überdies, dass der Sammelband Wege zur Weiterarbeit aufzeigt. Hinweise auf weiterführende Literatur oder gar Online-Material ermöglichen eine Vertiefung der jeweiligen Diskurse. Zudem weist fast jeder Beitrag auf Forschungsdefizite oder Forschungsdesiderata innerhalb des jeweiligen thematischen Feldes hin. Das Überzeugendste an dem Buch ist, dass es keinen normativen Leitfaden in Form eines Rezeptbuches für *den einen* Umgang mit Inklusion in der Sekundarstufe liefert, sondern vielfach eher zur Reflexion über Inklusion und das eigene Handeln in inklusiven Settings anregt (vgl. dazu insbesondere die Beiträge von Weiß und Werning/Arndt).

Während der Band insgesamt überzeugt, sollen jedoch kleinere Kritikpunkte nicht vergessen werden. So erfolgt beispielsweise in der Einleitung ein Problemaufriss über die in dem Buch bearbeitete Thematik. Eine Zielbeschreibung bzw. die Intention, die mit dem Werk verfolgt wird, hätte jedoch präziser formuliert werden können. Zwar werden im Vorwort der Herausgeber das Ziel der Reihe erläutert und inhaltliche Vorgaben für jeden

Band dargelegt, jedoch hätte es zu einem klareren Verständnis beigetragen, wenn diese Hinweise aufgegriffen und explizit für den vorliegenden Band aufgearbeitet worden wären.

Manche Wiederholungen lassen zudem vereinzelte Textteile redundant wirken. Als Beispiel für solche Redundanzen lassen sich Passagen des ersten Beitrags anführen. Die Autorin betont einmal, dass „Anforderungen an Lehrpersonen in der Inklusion, im Besonderen in der Sekundarstufe, … einen ‚blinden Fleck' der Forschung dar[stellen]" (S. 18 f.), macht danach deutlich, dass „[für] den Bereich der Arbeit mit Schülerinnen und Schülern mit Förderbedarf … ein empirisches Forschungsdefizit bezüglich der zu erfüllenden Anforderungen [besteht] … und dies … inklusive Schulsettings ein[schließt], insbesondere in der Sekundarstufe" (S. 20) und hebt schließlich weitergehend hervor, dass „[die] aktuell bestehende Befundlage zu den Anforderungen an Lehrpersonen für die Arbeit mit Schülerinnen und Schülern mit Förderbedarf vor allem in der Sekundarstufe … defizitär [ist]" (S. 21). Als letzter Aspekt wäre eine fehlende Synthese am Ende des Buches anzuführen. Die Leserinnen und Leser bleiben aufgrund der inhaltlichen Breite des Bandes mit einer Vielzahl von Informationen, Eindrücken und Reflexionsanlässen zu dem Oberthema Inklusion im Sekundarbereich zurück. Wünschenswert wäre es jedoch gewesen, wenn zur Abrundung des Bandes in einem abschließenden Kapitel die losen Stränge der Subthemen zusammengeführt worden wären, indem a) zentrale Ergebnisse der einzelnen Beiträge des Sammelbandes resümiert und b) offene Forschungsdesiderata im Sinne eines Ausblicks gebündelt zusammengeführt worden wären.

Trotz der genannten, marginalen Schwächen des Bandes handelt es sich um ein sehr zu empfehlendes Überblickswerk, bei dem die Auswahl und Aufbereitung der thematischen Inhalte überzeugen. Zu empfehlen wäre der Sammelband deshalb nicht nur thematisch interessierten Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern sowie Lehramtsstudierenden, die durch die Lektüre des Bandes eine erste Sensibilisierung für die Arbeit in inklusiven Settings erfahren, sondern auch Lehrpersonen, die schon über Jahre hinweg im Sekundarbereich unterrichten und nun vor der Aufgabe der gemeinsamen Beschulung von Schülerinnen und Schülern mit und ohne Förderbedarf stehen.

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# Vielfalt im Lehrerzimmer

## Selbstverständnis und schulische Integration von Lehrenden mit Migrationshintergrund in Deutschland

2011, 292 Seiten, br., 29,90 €,
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Die sich migrationsbedingt rasant kulturell und sprachlich pluralisierende Schülerschaft in Deutschland findet in der Lehrerschaft bisher keine Entsprechung. Studien aus klassischen Einwanderungsländern legen aber nahe, dass Lehrende mit Migrationshintergrund zur Gestaltung von inklusiven, Mehrsprachigkeit reflektierenden und interkulturell orientierten Bildungsprozessen beitragen können und überdies als Rollenvorbilder dienen. Eine Erhöhung des Anteils an Lehrenden mit Migrationshintergrund erscheint als ein Schlüssel für mehr Integration, Teilhabe und Schulerfolg migrantischer Schüler und Schülerinnen.

Die Studie greift diese Problemstellungen auf und unterzieht sie einer qualitativen und quantitativen empirischen Überprüfung.

WAXMANN