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This report has been proofread by IPC’s Managing Editor Megan Gisclon.
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Diversity and diversification seem to be inevitable in times of accelerating change. However, growing diversity and the blurring of borders through mobility and advanced communication technology are not necessarily cherished as an asset everywhere. Recent EU elections have shown a move to the right, pointing to tensions within pluralistic societies. Moreover, the terminology being employed in public discourse often unwillingly reinforces the politics of otherness, such as in the distinction made between new arrivals versus traditional population or majority versus minority groups. None of these terms do justice to the social reality. In fact, they seem to perpetuate social divides. The reference point against which people, students, and children of many different backgrounds are judged continues to be based on the language of traditional, national, or indigenous. The inherent danger of such exclusionary practices is that it disadvantages groups from lower socioeconomic status and those with a history of migration. This further reinforces negative stereotypes and eventually contributes to perpetuating what has been done for decades and probably centuries: blaming the victims for not integrating, for failing at school, or for taking away job opportunities. What should be called for instead is a counter-narrative in order to transcend positions, which seem to become more and more deeply entrenched. Against this backdrop, a group of international experts and scholars from various disciplines came together in June 2014 for a symposium at Istanbul Policy Center under the Mercator-IPC fellowships of Almut Küppers and Çiğdem Bozdağ to discuss how “Doing Diversity” can be achieved by means of educational practices bringing into focus multilingualism, media, and mobility.

This publication gives a concise overview of the papers presented in the symposium and aims to discuss the practices of “doing diversity” from a critical perspective, offering insights into the practice of different intercultural learning programs and making recommendations for policymakers, educational institutions, and educational NGOs on how to improve these practices to make them more sustainable. The first section deals with the policy framework for intercultural education in the European context and highlights the national context of the EU, particularly in Germany and Turkey. The second section presents several case studies on practices of multilingualism while the third section presents case studies focusing on physical and virtual mobility. The final part will conclude with a general analysis by the editors and policy recommendations.

Intercultural communicative competencies have been hailed around the globe as an answer to overcoming conflicts, dealing with critical incidents, and challenging communicative situations often emerging from differing cultural, ethnic, social, religious, inter-generational, or gender standards of interlocutors. In the private sector, intercultural training has developed into an established – and also very profitable – field of professional education as the new global economy not only requires mobile but also smart and flexible employees who are expected to be able to interact successfully in situations of intercultural business encounters. Hence, here intercultural competencies are very much regarded as a set of skills that need to be trained and applied. In education, however, intercultural learning has been seen as a process of
negotiation, of personality development, and thus, self-discovery. Whereas in the field of intercultural business training the underlying notion of culture often refers to national cultural standards (as in “the Turks” or “the Germans”) and is treated as a bounded set of rules and behaviors, in education the current notion of culture is a dynamic, fluid concept of hybridity – much influenced by cultural studies and postcolonial theories, for instance, Homi K. Bhabha’s Third Space. While much has been discussed, theorized, and written about intercultural learning and intercultural communicative competencies in the past couple of decades, the aforementioned symposium set out to explore and discuss the dimension of interaction in intercultural education. The following have been our guiding questions:

• What does doing diversity look like in educational settings?

• Can intercultural learning and communication be achieved in the learning environment of schools? If so, how?

• As the notions of “culture” and “diversity” have been highly influential across disciplines and borders in the past, how much of the “cultural turn” has found its way into formal and informal education?

• What about the teachers in the classrooms? Are they left alone to deal with the challenges of teaching intercultural competencies?

On the micro-level of classroom teaching, intercultural education aims to raise “critical cultural awareness” in learners.\(^1\) It is generally acknowledged that the development of such awareness is not only a matter of cognition and knowledge but is also related to the affective and behavioral levels of learning. What does it mean to interact in a culturally sensitive and, thus, appropriate way? This remains to be the most challenging teaching objective of all as it implies changing communicative practices and internalized routines, which at times seem to be almost innate. A change of perspectives, of perceptions, and elaborated skills of self-reflection are therefore regarded to be at the center of critical cultural (self-) awareness. Moreover, communication is for the better part non-verbal. Most of what we say is information transmitted through body language, gestures, and facial expressions. Only about 20% of the messages we communicate are carried by the choice of words, their emotional impact, intonation, or speed while employing them. Hence, expressing openness, for instance, is a very holistic task that cannot convincingly be achieved by subjecting learners to a literary text or multiple choice questions. Educational systems, which traditionally rely on cognitive learning and knowledge transmission through print and texts, have been challenged by the need to develop task formats and exercises that promote intercultural competencies holistically and, what’s more, to test them. We simply cannot assume that intercultural competencies develop automatically.

Putting people in touch with each other does not “naturally” increase their intercultural understanding. Intercultural learning, no matter whether at the classroom level, through exchange programs, or mediated technology, needs to be embedded in a pedagogy of reflective practice that aims to develop self-awareness in order to prepare learners on how to interact with more sensitivity. In the field of language education, innovative teaching practices point to the effectiveness of applied drama and theater methods for a holistic development of intercultural communicative competencies.\(^2\)


On the macro level of communities, different terms have been employed to map out conceptual frameworks for dealing with diversity in society. One prominent term is the concept of “multiculturalism,” which has also been influential in the field of education. Multicultural education “seeks to actualize educational equality for students from diverse groups, and to facilitate their participation as critical and reflective citizens in an inclusive national civic culture”\(^3\) and has been a dominating paradigm in Canada and the United States. In comparison, the scope of “intercultural education,” which is the term more widely used in Western Europe, is broader and deals with similar issues such as the representation of diversity in educational content, knowledge construction about different cultures, reduction of prejudices, and equal chances for students of different backgrounds: It also explicitly includes language education. However, more emphasis is put on the need for interactions between different cultural groups in society.\(^4\)

On the policy level, different frameworks and measures are introduced by supranational entities and different nation states to put the idea of intercultural education into practice. In the wake of current European policymaking, the powerful new paradigm has been “inclusion,” which in some countries like Germany has led to a process of gradual opening of the educational system towards diversity in a very broad, inclusive sense. Other countries have restricted measures that have been introduced before, as in the example of the Netherlands where native language courses for children of immigrants have been abolished in schools. Countries like Turkey, however, still lack any kind of comprehensive policy framework to deal with issues of diversity in education. What remains striking, however, is a sharp gap between the overall rhetoric of inclusion and ideals of European policymaking on the one hand (as cherished in concepts such as “Multilingualism,” “Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)” and “Translanguaging”) and the lack of recognition and practice of cultural and linguistic rights on the national level on the other.

The contributions compiled in this publication focus on social reality in different contexts. In reality, experiences of diversity more often diverge from political and academic discourses. Based on different practical case studies, issues of intercultural competencies and intercultural learning will be approached from different yet altogether popular viewpoints: Multilingualism, Media, and (Communicative) Mobility. It will be asked if and how mobility projects, web-based communication platforms, and multilingual school programs contribute to the development of mutual understanding, respect, tolerance, and empathy, as well as appropriate interactions, when it comes to intercultural encounters. The questions will be raised as to what impact such programs have not only for the development of intercultural competencies but also for identity development and social cohesion. What are the social, economic, and cultural challenges faced in various programs that aim to support intercultural learning? Which examples of good practices can be applied to other learning environments, and what kind of measures can be taken by educational actors in order to enhance the outcome of such projects?

Kutlay Yağmur sets out to analyze the broader framework of EU-policies with a focus on linguistic diversity in education. He deliberately contrasts the ideals of European language policy with two rather irritating court cases taken from the national Dutch context. Yasemin Karakaşoğlu scrutinizes the German context and demonstrates how intercultural education has become a crucial element of the German education system throughout the country’s history. Çiğdem Tongal gives an overview of the

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\(^4\) Ibid., 14.
Turkish context and addresses the challenges of the education system due to the country’s cultural and linguistic diversity. Viv Edwards looks at strategies for how bilingualism in Wales has been marketed and how Welsh language has been revitalized. She discusses the relevance of the Welsh experience for doing diversity in other contexts such as the Turkish one. Müge Ayan Ceyhan concentrates on multilingualism in Turkish schools and argues that bilingual and plurilingual students attempt to include their languages and identities in the school context in different ways despite the restrictive discourses on minority languages. Her findings call for a more inclusive education system. In contrast to and complementing Ayan Ceyhan’s study, Almut Küppers presents a promising case study from Germany that illustrates how a bilingual program can be introduced to enhance mutual understanding and intercultural learning. This powerful ground-up push for pluralism can be seen as a best practice example of how to unlock the potential of multilingualism in a school context. From a historical perspective, Roberto Ruffino deals with the relationship between mobility projects and intercultural learning and gives examples from the evaluation processes of such mobility projects. Similarly, Søren Kristensen also looks at mobility projects and provides a critical insight into the outcomes of student exchanges at different levels and argues that these projects need to be coupled with a profound understanding of the pedagogical issues and methods at stake to support intercultural learning. Mirjam Hauck presents findings from the INTENT project, an analysis of telecollaboration projects in European Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). As part of INTENT, tools and a platform that support telecollaboration in European HEIs have been developed and strategies for the integration of online exchanges into HE curricula identified. Çiğdem Bozdağ also analyzes the potentials of telecollaboration projects in schools based on a qualitative case study of projects in Turkey and Germany and discusses the promises and boundaries of such projects for intercultural learning.
DEALING WITH SUPER-DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION: THE DEEP GAP BETWEEN DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE IN SOME EUROPEAN SCHOOLS

KUTLAY YAĞMUR

The European Union and its institutions have taken a leading role in the development of policies that promote multilingualism within member states. Adhering to its standards for human rights and language as a resource perspective, the EU recommends that European schools should teach at least two additional foreign languages to all students from a very early age. In various recommendations, suggestions, and communications from the Council of Europe and the EU, multilingualism is identified as an asset in Europe. The EU motto for multilingualism is “communication in mother tongue plus two languages.” At the policy level, if implemented by the nation-states, the suggestions and recommendations of the EU would secure the linguistic rights of all children living in EU territory. However, the gap between democratic ideals in European nation-states and the daily educational experiences of immigrant minority groups in schools continue to challenge nation-state ideologies. The EU has solid visions regarding multilingual practices; however, to what extent do these visions represent reality? In many cases, there are large discrepancies between EU policy and nation-state practices.

Since the formation of the European Economic Community, multilingualism has been at the heart of the European project. The European Union (EU) and the Council of Europe (CoE) have been supporting multilingualism since the 1980s. The establishment of the “European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages” has been a crucial step towards promoting participation, diversity, and democratic citizenship. In the late 80s, several mobility programs were set up such as Erasmus for higher education in 1987 and Lingua in the area of foreign languages in 1989. In order to support language learning and linguistic diversity, a White Paper was formulated. The central idea of the White Paper had been the notion that European citizens – through national systems of compulsory schooling and vocational education – should acquire three languages. Since the turn of the millennium, various frameworks and programs have been proposed for more inclusive policies. The Lisbon Strategy in 2000 and Barcelona European Council decisions in 2002 pleaded for the equality of all languages. Moreover, the EU has taken more concrete and supportive decisions regarding language teaching and learning. The Framework Strategy on Multilingualism brought many of these developing tendencies together in a comprehensive strategy for the new millennium. EU policies so far have emphasized education as the major vehicle for promoting multilingualism. Through learning languages and understanding other cultures, it is believed that European citizens will understand each other better: Europe will become a more tolerant place where there is mutual respect for each other, and a multifaceted “European” identity can be created.

In spite of these beautifully worded European policies, the reality in some European schools is different. The diversity of languages and cultures at school is seen as a problem, and in many cases there is pressure for multilingual students to shift to the dominant language as soon as possible. The developments at the European level regarding multilingualism are very positive, but the developments at the national level often conflict with European
principles. On the basis of two recent court cases in the Netherlands, I will critically analyze the gap between the European discourse for promoting linguistic diversity and the Dutch practice.

**Policy developments in the Dutch context**

The European credo “unity in diversity” has been shared and cherished by the official discourse in the Netherlands since the 1970s. Until the early 2000s, various Dutch governments had taken measures to support ethnic minorities in maintaining their cultural and linguistic values. An integration policy was pursued by the Dutch government that focused on combating educational disadvantage as well as maintaining the cultural identities of ethnic minorities. However, in the late 1990s, cultural pluralism, the maintenance of collective cultural identities, and the teaching of immigrant languages came to be seen as a threat to the process of sociocultural integration of immigrants into Dutch society.6

In the 1970s, the Dutch government offered home language instruction to immigrant children with the aim of maintaining ethnic languages and cultures. No connection between the acquisition of their first language and Dutch was assumed. Schools even offered five hours of home language instruction per week to immigrant children. In addition, schools received extensive support for offering extra help to immigrant children. On the basis of the financial resources they received, schools could employ bilingual specialists, offer home language instruction in several languages, and provide extra-curricular activities. Most importantly, schools could offer smaller and much less crowded class sizes. All of these incentives created a sphere of remarkable pluralism and facilitated respect for languages and cultures of minority children. In the 1980s, combating educational disadvantage became part of a combined approach to the social disadvantage of ethnic minorities. Schools received proportionately more facilities for ethnic minority students in order to remedy their greater disadvantage. In a model called “weighing factor,” schools received twice the amount of money for immigrant children compared to native Dutch children. In addition, intercultural education was offered for all students. Education in the student's own language and culture was continued in the 1980s with an increasingly clear connection to integration. Policymakers believed that by increasing the self-esteem of immigrant children and by paying positive attention to their heritage, language, and culture, they could improve the school success rates of immigrant children so that they could benefit from educational opportunities in Dutch society.

After having realized that most immigrant groups were settling permanently in the Netherlands, policymakers introduced a new understanding of integration. Educational integration policies focused on combating the disadvantages of immigrant children. Policymakers believed that instead of investing in the learning of home languages and cultures of immigrant children, the attention needed to be focused on learning Dutch. As the cultural component was dropped from the policy, the language objective was complemented by adding support for learning Dutch. The focus of home language instruction was not on the intrinsic reasons (i.e. identity development) but on the auxiliary benefits (i.e. facilitating the acquisition of Dutch). The policy was now completely aimed at the full participation of minority children in the Dutch educational system. The notion of “preserving a group’s own language and culture” eventually disappeared because it was seen that one's own culture is something private that could potentially be a risk for integration. As a consequence, in the late 1990s, policymakers and opinion leaders in society started associating the learning of an immigrant language

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with an incomplete learning of Dutch. They suggested that holding onto one’s own identity and learning a language other than Dutch would block the path to successful integration. As a result, home language instruction was fully abolished in primary schools in 2004.

**Speaking a language other than Dutch in the school is forbidden**

As opposed to the inclusive policies of the EU, the Dutch policy has become assimilationist over the years. Speaking heritage languages is seen as an obstacle with regard to the integration of immigrant children. School managements take extreme measures against the use of other languages in schools. One such incident is the dismissal of a young Turkish student from Cosmicus Montessori Lyceum in Amsterdam. The reason for dismissal is shown as “speaking in Turkish in the school building and distributing a flyer in Turkish” to other students. This student took his case to court, but the Court of Justice upheld the school’s action. The court defended the language ban and claimed that the school has the freedom to establish rules and regulations and that students have to obey those rules. If languages other than Dutch are not allowed to be spoken in the school, students simply cannot use them.

In the second court case, some immigrant community organizations took the Dutch government to the Court of Justice with the claim that the Dutch government did not obey international agreements regarding the rights of immigrant children. They demanded mother tongue instruction for immigrant children attending Dutch schools. But again, the Court decided that the Dutch state is not obliged to offer instruction to immigrant children in their native language in primary schools. The court has also decided that the State is not acting against various international treaties and European law by failing to support mother tongue instruction.

These two court cases supported the widespread public opinion that speaking in languages other than Dutch would undermine the sovereignty of the state and the social cohesion in society, which will legitimize the ongoing language bans in schools where immigrant children are not allowed to speak in their mother tongues. Looking at these two court cases in the context of a very liberal, democratic, and tolerant society like the Netherlands, courts defending language bans in schools are surprising. Next to such practices, the European Union’s discourse on linguistic diversity remains very superficial and cut off from reality.

**Recommendations for policymakers**

In the 21st century, discrimination on the basis of language and banning languages is unacceptable. Instead, the European Union needs to take concrete measures to promote real multilingualism in member states. States should consider the right to speak in one’s mother tongue as evocative of the most basic right to freedom of speech. Instead of considering minority languages as a threat to social cohesion and stability in society, these languages should be seen as the basic means for social and cultural integration.
INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN GERMANY – GERMANY’S LONG JOURNEY FROM A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON EDUCATION TO A MORE GLOBAL AND INTERCULTURAL APPROACH

YASEMİN KARAKAŞOĞLU

Introduction

As the notion of intercultural education is highly dependent on the national framework, this article will focus on the German case. By focusing on school education, this paper provides an insight into Germany’s long way from a national(istic) perspective on education towards a more global and intercultural approach, which culminated in a recently published policy paper of the “Council of German Ministries for Education” (KMK) in 2013. The recent KMK paper recommends “Intercultural Education” as the mainstream framework for education in all schools. Because of the diversity of educational policies in different German federal states, the KMK is quite an influential council as it sets the minimum standards at the national level. Some of these aspects of intercultural education might be useful for a comparative perspective on the developments in this field in Turkey.

In a society of immigration, education is very important for both social integration and the acquisition of official certificates and qualifications, providing access to positions and resources in a society. The German understanding of intercultural education has been strongly influenced by the Canadian approach, which combines successful measures to support school performance of immigrant children (as proved by PISA) with an overall multicultural approach in education directed at all students and teachers.

Situation of immigrant students in the German education system

Major international school achievement studies over the past 13 years (PISA, TIMSS, and PIRLS) have identified that the educational opportunities of children and youths of immigrant families in Germany are not only much lower than those of students without immigrant backgrounds but also that the gap between these groups is bigger than in other countries.

After PISA 2001, the widespread misconception of the “standard” German student coming from a middle class family with educated parents led to a public discourse calling for a more differentiated look at the “real performance” of German students. Migrant students were accused of being responsible for the bad performance of the German school system proved by the PISA results. In the following years, possible structural effects of the German school system on students’ performance, such as tracking system and extension of school time, began to be discussed intensively.

Performance in German as a second language was discovered as the highest barrier not only for new international migrants but also for native offspring of former “guestworkers.” One reason for this has been seen in the lack of educational and financial resources of the families, whereas other reasons have been identified on behalf of the schools themselves, which are often lacking the necessary support system to offer German as a second language courses or tests.

German public discourse still assumes that the differences in school performances between ethnic Germans and children with a migration background are mainly related to their cultural, ethnic, or religious background. Contrary to these stereotypes,
education and upward mobility is valued in many Turkish families. However, studies show that it is much harder for students from immigrant families to be successful in the existing system of formal education and point to the importance of parental support at home. New immigrants such as ethnic Germans from former Soviet Union or Poland are able to fulfill the expectations of the schools often much better than other immigrants as their parents have accumulated cultural capital in their countries of origin.

The long way from compensation for immigrants’ deficits to a key competency for all

When it became clear in the mid-1970s that a relevant share of foreign nationals would stay longer than expected, the series of previous ad hoc measures associated with the concept of so-called “Ausländerpädagogik” (“foreigners’ pedagogy”) were extended, such as providing German students with additional information about migrant communities and creating a profession for teaching German as a second language. Following the 1980s, it was generally accepted that there should be efforts to improve the integration of resident immigrants and avoid new immigration. However, the collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe enabled massive new migration. Particularly the immigration of more than two million ethnic Germans in the early 1990s challenged the idea that foreigners’ education was an appropriate concept. While having a claim to German ethnicity and citizenship, these new citizens often had little command of the German language and were perceived as foreign by local populations.

Around this time, “Intercultural Education” started to develop as a new sub-discipline in the educational sciences and related school disciplines such as the foreign language subjects. Ingrid Gogolin’s 1994 study on “The monolingual habitus of the multicultural school” showed evidence that the reality of multilingual students was widely neglected in German schools’ everyday practice. As the concept of intercultural education was slowly being put into practice, preparatory classes for foreigners were abolished, and language and cultural differences were no longer regarded as a hindrance but as a resource.

In 1996, the first recommendations of the KMK were published in order to implement intercultural education in schools. Intercultural encounters/experiences were declared as a means:

- to foster self-awareness (change of perspective);
- to learn with and from one another;
- to develop anti-racist education;
- to prepare for living together in Europe;
- for joint integration of Germans and non-Germans;
- for getting familiar with newly developed migrant cultures in Germany.

These recommendations were not obligatory, and only some of the German Länder (federal states) started to establish an overall roadmap in order to implement intercultural mainstreaming. This mainstreaming included measures to support the integration of new migrants and their children linguistically and culturally and to change persisting discriminating structures (institutional discrimination) in the education system.8

The biggest paradigm shift with regard to interculturality and a multicultural society took place with a proposal of a more inclusive citizenship law after the year 2000, accompanied by debates about German “Leitkultur,” the dominant or leading

culture. Discussions focused on, firstly, Muslim headscarves at schools; secondly, Islam being or not being part of the new German culture; thirdly, German as the state language (it is not mentioned as such in the German constitution); and fourthly, restrictions on the use of other languages in schools. Migrants were discovered as a main target group for educational measures to overcome social and cultural exclusion. This led to both the re-invention of special classes, separate language tuition, etc. and to a general questioning of the effectiveness of the current education system.

During these discussions, much attention was drawn to the Canadian model. In contrast to Canada, where bi- and multilingualism are generally appreciated and mother tongue courses are an integral part of the multicultural education concept, this was a controversial issue in Germany. There was polarized debate among politicians and social scientists about whether family language acquisition supported or hindered the acquisition of German as a second language. Whereas some scholars like Karim Fereidooni were in favor of the Canadian multilingualism model, there were many other scholars who promoted a German-only curricula. For example, the German sociologist Hartmut Esser advocated the “time on task hypothesis” and argued that German language acquisition promoted fitness for the German labor market; in contrast, immigrant language support promoted “wellbeing” but would have no value in the job market or as a competency for integration.

The policy of recognition is based on the main idea that acquiring a family language is not only a matter of welcoming and wellbeing, but it can also positively affect school achievements. Concrete measures to support language acquisition of family languages and involving parents in school activities through parenting centers are embedded features of the Canadian policy of recognition. However, unlike in Canada, in Germany there are only a few small minority languages legally protected (e.g. the Danish speaking minority in the North and the Sorb minority in the East) whose speakers’ right to education in the mother tongue is recognized. There is no connection between the discourses about Germany’s cultural diversity due to immigration and the experiences with minority laws for the autochthonous groups and specific educational measures linked to them.

A more positive perception of Canadian experiences has been promoted by some scholars and institutions such as the Bertelsmann-Foundation – a financially strong and very influential foundation with substantial impact in the field of education through funding of educational research and comparison and promoting success stories.

Current understanding of intercultural education in Germany as a concept for education in countries of (im)migration

One of the main reasons why intercultural education seems to be a necessary general paradigm in a society that is influenced by continuous migration such as the German society is the identified imbalance between the educational opportunities of children and youths of immigrant and native background. Intercultural education focuses on the element of “reflection” of cultural patterns in relation to societal circumstances, calling for a critical exploration of the circumstances, forms, and impacts of ethnic, cultural, and religious ascriptions and identifications as much as with their social, political, and individual meaning.\(^9\)

Intercultural education is about the overall understanding of education for all children in a country of immigration, where in some schools located in the big German urban areas like Cologne, Berlin or Frankfurt more than 50% of the children who

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begin school do actually have a family history of migration.\textsuperscript{10} Hence, as a consequence, Germany’s national system of education has to change from a system with a focus on ethnic nation building into an education system for a “super diverse”\textsuperscript{11} society: This must change not only along ethnic, cultural and religious lines but also in terms of gender, age, social status, sexual orientation, and ability.

**Conclusion**

In Germany, migrant communities have been seen as a threat to national unity and the integrity of the nation. Integration of immigrants has been regarded as a problem for a long time. Germany is only recently on its way to accepting that immigrant children are not an alien factor but rather a part of society. It is increasingly acknowledged that although language acquisition is also an important factor for school performance, it is also one’s socio-economic background that plays a major role in educational achievements.

Last but not least, we should not underestimate psychological and pedagogical findings that stress the idea that the feeling of being accepted influences one’s individual identity, wellbeing, and formal performance in schools. The introduction of the intercultural education approach at different levels in the school system can give minorities and children of migrants the feeling of belonging to society and, hence, increase their performance in school by increasing their feeling of wellbeing.

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**INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN TURKEY: FROM THE RHETORIC OF “CULTURAL MOSAIC” TO THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DIVERSITY IN CLASSROOMS**

ÇİĞDEM TONGAL

Turkey is known to be a dynamic country with tremendous potential for growth and openness to change. Indeed, in education one would not be wrong to claim that the country has witnessed dramatic changes since its foundation. However, since 2004, the structural changes, as well as content changes, that have been introduced have redefined the educational landscape in Turkey. These changes have had an effect on the entire country as Turkey has a very centralized education system, i.e. education policies are created by the government and implemented by the Ministry of Education through provincial directorates. Thus, in each and every school, the central policy is enacted—from south to north, from east to west—with little difference. On the contrary, the cultural landscape is far from being such a monolithic bloc; often Turkey’s cultural landscape is depicted as a “cultural mosaic,” a metaphor for the diverse cultures Turkey hosts. Although Turkish is the most commonly spoken language (84%), almost 10 other languages are also spoken within Turkey’s borders,\textsuperscript{12} meaning it is home to numerous cultures, practices, and class tensions.

There have been a number of policy interventions in the last decade tackling various levels of educational challenges. Most importantly, Turkey has significantly increased access to education in the last decade. However, there are two main challenges that still lay ahead: quality and equality.\textsuperscript{13} In this short contextual introduction, issues such as the


lack of necessary infrastructure, teacher training policy, and appropriate course content will be briefly analyzed in order to identify the lack of a systematic policy in multicultural education in Turkey.

Turkey’s education system in a nutshell

Turkey’s initial challenge has been in tackling regional differences within the educational infrastructure. Over the last 10 years, the Ministry of Education has mainly targeted access to education through various programs and projects, and Turkey has indeed achieved tremendous success in increasing its enrollment rates in primary education. In the 2013-2014 academic year in Turkey, the net school ratio for primary schools was 98.86%, 93.09% for junior high schools, and 70.06% for secondary education. However, a number of problems still remain.

There is an average number of 24 students per classroom in primary schools, 45 in junior high schools, and 21 in secondary schools. These average figures still lag behind international benchmarks, especially compared to the 2011 OECD average, where the number of students per classroom in primary education in public institutions was 21 and the number of students in lower secondary public institutions was 23.4. In addition, regional divergences also hinder access to education within certain districts. For example, in some districts class sizes can vary from 20 to 100 students.14

Parallel to the infrastructural challenges, the Ministry of Education also aims at raising the quality of education. In this sense, Turkey has undergone a number of fundamental system changes that have carried with them a number of solutions as well as problems. As of 2012, Turkey’s education system has consisted of pre-primary education, 12 years of compulsory basic education (4+4+4 years) and higher education institutions. Putting aside the structural changes that have been offered, increasing the number of years of compulsory education to 12 is one of the most positive outcomes of the 2012 reform. However, as the 4+4+4 bill has been hastily passed within parliament, the Ministry did not spare adequate time in adjusting to the new system, which caused significant problems at the school level as each school had to rearrange its class hours in an ad-hoc manner. The Ministry also redesigned the course schedules with the introduction of various elective courses on the following six subjects: (i) Religion, ethnicity, and values, (ii) Language and expression, (iii) Foreign Language, (iv) Science and Mathematics, (v) Arts and Sports, (vi) Social Sciences.

Diversity in the classroom

As an ideological tool “Education” has been a way for the government to implement nationwide policies promoting Turkish cultural values, Turkish language, and the unity of the nation since the foundation of the republic.

In all textbooks, Turkish citizenship was defined on the basis of Islam and Turkish language. Hence, in 1998 when human rights issues were integrated into citizenship education, an important step towards an understanding of plurality was made.15

From a research perspective, language has been the key issue when it comes to defining challenges of intercultural education in Turkey. A compilation of current research in Turkey that investigates the disadvantages of children whose mother tongue is a language other than Turkish points to several negative outcomes of this phenomenon such as high dropout rates, low achievement in science tests, etc.16

As an example, The Economic and Social Research Center at Bahçeşehir University’s (BETAM) study on regional inequality points to the fact that the science scores in the TIMMS 2007 are significantly lower for those students who live in a home where the language spoken is different than Turkish. An analysis of TIMSS data from 2011 by the Education Reform Initiative shows that this is still the case; if Turkish is never spoken at home, students’ achievements are dramatically lower. The difference can be up to 80 points in Mathematics and 100 points in Science.

Despite these obstacles in the classroom, Turkey has witnessed some promising developments. As such, it is only in recent years, in the 2012-2013 academic year more specifically, that an elective course entitled “Living Languages and Dialects” (Yaşayan Diller and Lehçeler) has been introduced for 5th graders. This elective course can be selected in middle school institutions. In the 2012-2013 academic year, 21,432 students took the course.

Teachers

Teachers are appointed according to the scores they received in a central civil servant examination. The 2011 Ministry of Education Teacher Appointment Statistics show that 62% of the teachers are first appointed to North, Central, and Southeast Anatolia, where only 24% of the student population lives. These are regions where it’s common that the children’s mother tongue is a language other than Turkish. Especially in the rural areas, children have no knowledge or very limited knowledge of Turkish.

Newly graduated and relatively inexperienced teachers who do not have the necessary skills to “handle” the cultural and socio-economical differences in the region fail to offer their students proper language acquisition, let alone soft skills such as communication. In the same vein, multicultural education and multilingual education, i.e. dealing with diversity in the classroom, necessitate skills that are not acquired in pre-service teaching institutions. A quick overview of the in-service training plan of the Ministry of Education also demonstrates how strengthening teachers in these areas is neglected; there is no single course on multicultural education or related issue among the 215 courses offered throughout the country.

Lack of policy

In a nutshell, the problems and discrimination that have grown from the general “lack of policy” described above are also reflected in the most popular national textbooks. According to an academic investigation on textbooks, discriminating discourse and the understanding of a homogenous nation are two ideas that can still be observed throughout educational institutions in all levels within Turkey.

As detailed by Muge Ayan Ceyhan in this report, beyond the textbooks discriminatory behaviors in the classroom and in the school environment are also a common phenomenon within Turkey.

18 ERI, 2013.
23 See section “Potentials of multilingualism in education in Turkey. Insights from ethnography.”
CASE STUDIES ON MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

DIVERSITY LESSONS FROM WALES: HOW MARKETING BILINGUALISM CONTRIBUTES TO LANGUAGE SHIFT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

VIV EDWARDS

Introduction

Wales is one of the constituent nations of the United Kingdom. While sharing much of its political and social history with England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, it has retained a distinct cultural identity. In particular, over 560,000 people, a significant minority of the population of 2.2 million, speak Welsh, a member of the Celtic family of languages, and the country is officially bilingual. In this paper, we will look at attempts to maintain and grow the number of speakers of the language and at the relevance of this development for speakers of minority languages in other settings.

The context and the problem

During the twentieth century, English language hegemony in Wales posed a serious threat to the survival of the Welsh language. At the beginning of the century, 49.9 percent of the population was able to speak the language; by the time of the 1991 census, this proportion had plummeted to only 18.7 percent.

Several developments from the mid-twentieth century onwards, however, have raised the profile of the language and greatly improved the long-term prognosis.24 These include legislative measures to ensure progress towards equal status for the English and Welsh languages, Welsh language broadcasting, and changes in the education system. Their impact is reflected in the statistics on Welsh speakers reported in the 2001 Census, which showed that the numbers were rising, and the 2011 Census, which suggests that the gains were being maintained. One of the most interesting features of the recent developments is the marked increase in the number of young people who speak the language, particularly in the densely populated areas of South-East Wales where it is several generations since Welsh has been used as an everyday language of communication.

The burgeoning of bilingual and Welsh-medium schooling has clearly played an important role in this process, with growing numbers of English-speaking parents choosing this form of education for their children. In 2002, one in five primary school children was being taught in classes where Welsh is used either as the main medium of education or for teaching part of the curriculum.25 However, it would appear that many children who have received a bilingual education make a clear division between their school and social lives and switch to English when they leave school.26

In an attempt to address the dangers of over-reliance on education, increasing attention has been paid to the use of Welsh in other domains and to influence two key groups: parents of young children and young people. Various policy and discussion documents underline the importance of marketing and advertising activities in promoting the value of Welsh and encouraging its use.27 One high profile campaign has involved the distribution of a small

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25 National Assembly of Wales, Welsh in Schools (Cardiff: Statistical Directorate, National Assembly for Wales, 2003).
26 See Williams, Language Revitalisation.
Figure 1: Facebook page promoting Welsh medium education

Figure 2: Twf Facebook page targeting parents of children under 5 (See also Appendix)

Wyddoch chi bod

cyflwyno Cymraeg o’r
cychwyn cyntaf yn...

Did you know that

introducing your

baby to Welsh right

from the start...
pamphlet on *8 good reasons to introduce Welsh from birth* via midwives and in the so-called Bounty packs of free samples offered to all women giving birth in hospitals (see Appendix). Videos available via Youtube include one addressed specifically to parents that features a young father expressing gratitude that his parents brought him up bilingually and his determination to do the same for his own child, even though his wife speaks only English. Heavy use is made of social media. Take for instance Facebook pages on Welsh medium education (see Figure 1) and the Twf project targeted at the parents of children under five (see Figure 2).

**Implications and challenges for schools**

It could be argued that Welsh is a special case of only limited relevance to the wider discussion of “doing diversity” that formed the focus for this symposium. It is certainly the case that the marketing of the Welsh language has clear implications for what are sometimes called “indigenous languages”: a term that includes both “established languages” associated with a particular territory such as Basque or Irish and aboriginal languages such as Cree in Canada, or Maori in New Zealand. But there is no reason why it should not be used in raising the visibility of languages that have achieved minority status more recently, such as Turkish in Germany or Panjabi in the UK. The initiatives described above remind us that language is a commodity that can be marketed like many others and that the careful targeting of key groups with messages that underline the value of bilingualism can have considerable impact. Most importantly, such initiatives have the potential to bolster speakers’ confidence and sense of self and to contribute to intercultural understanding in the process.

Many of the messages conveyed as part of the marketing of the Welsh language are targeted specifically at the parents of young children. However, the issues they address are of equal importance for teachers working in a mainstream schooling context, particularly since most teachers are also parents. The *8 good reasons to introduce Welsh from birth* (see Appendix for some examples) neatly encapsulated many of the key messages: the benefits of bilingualism not only for the individual but also for the wider society.

The challenges, of course, are multiple. Developments in Wales are the product of six decades of grassroots political activism. Against the backdrop of a financial crisis deemed to be the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s, significant moves in North America, Australia, and Europe in the areas of multiculturalism and anti-racism in education are meeting considerable resistance from right-wing movements with nationalist agendas—as demonstrated, for instance, in the 2014 European elections and the comments of political parties such as UKIP, the Front National in France, and Golden Dawn in Greece. Progress in countries where debates around “doing diversity” at an embryonic stage raise even bigger issues. The Welsh experience, however, reminds us of the Chinese proverb: “A journey of a thousand miles begins with one small step.”

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28 [www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeWgQ9TAgcM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeWgQ9TAgcM).
Curricular programs and textbooks in Turkey are produced so as to reflect the monolingual and mono-ethnic perspective of the Ministry of Education. Correspondingly, educational practices are constructed in the context of an unresponsive education system, which systematically devalues local knowledge, experience, and practices, as well as the first languages of students belonging to non-dominant groups, i.e. non-Turk, non-Sunni, non-Muslim groups. Languages of minoritized students and the local knowledge they acquire at home and from other out-of-school social spaces in which they participate are devalued and/or excluded, if not directly treated with open discrimination within the school premises. Consequently, institutionalized discriminatory discourses created by teachers and other actors in schools are legitimized by the state-run centralized education system whose norms are set from above by the Ministry of Education through curricular programs. Çayır conceptualizes the exclusion of these minoritized groups throughout the curriculum with the Bourdieuan notion of “symbolic violence”: non-recognition of these groups leads to symbolic wounds and a feeling of bitterness experienced and expressed by Kurds and non-Muslim groups in Turkey.

A rather relevant ethnographic incident is in the lesson section of a 7th grade Turkish lesson book on “national culture” in which the teacher invites the students to a question-and-answer session on “What happens if we do not preserve our national culture?” It elaborates on the question by citing the following:

“They asked Confucius ‘if you would like to exterminate a country what would you do?’ How did he answer? ‘I would exterminate its language,’ he said. Why? ‘If I exterminate peoples’ language they would not be able to communicate. Thus generations would not be able to communicate.’ Then what happens? How do we learn about our culture, our customs? We learn about it from our elders, don’t we? If we are not able to communicate, then we forget our culture and customs. What happens next? Society falls apart. That is to say language keeps people together. And here we are trying to learn our language.

At this stage it needs to be noted that throughout Turkish republican history, the state has attempted to eradicate the Kurdish language through various assimilatory and oppressive practices such as banning the use of Kurdish in public space. Through numerous repressive methods, such as enforced disappearances, persecution, and forced migration, the state has attempted assimilate the Kurdish peoples into the Turkish nation. We do not know whether the teacher produces this discourse inten-
tionally or whether he merely wants to elaborate on the preservation of the Turkish language. In any case, there is more to this lesson section than a complete disregard of the students’ languages. Within the highly politicized atmosphere of the neighborhood which they inhabit, almost all of the multilingual students in the classroom have experienced state violence in their immediate social context, and the teacher’s expectation of students’ participation followed by the contextualization and the references he gives can at best be interpreted as symbolic violence exerted towards the students.

As “ecological micro-systems,” classrooms host local interactions that are linked to the socio-political ideologies at large. The “situated and localized classroom practices” demonstrate that despite all the “ideological and implementational challenges,” multilingual students attempt to include their languages and ongoing processes of identification in the school practices in various ways. A relevant ethnographic incident observed during a 7th grade Turkish class illustrates such an attempt initiated by Zafer, a Kurdish boy. During a 7th grade Turkish lesson on “The importance of our language,” a Kurdish boy spontaneously asks: “Which language?” The teacher replies with the same spontaneity: “Turkish.” And the lesson goes on. This ethnographic incident typically depicts how multilingual students may try to open up certain interactional spaces, which teachers can actually take advantage of and reciprocate through furthering them into inclusive, “ideological and implementational spaces.” Nevertheless, this attempt, which I would choose to interpret as the “carving out of a transnational space wherein multilingual practices could find place,” is ignored by the teacher, who apparently and habitually reflects the restrictive schema of the one nation-one language ideology. It is also worth hypothesizing on the potential implications of an alternative lesson on “The importance of our languages” and discussing the different frames of reference addressed by two conceptualizations: “the importance of our language” and “the importance of our languages.” The former assumes that Turkish is the sole language spoken in the country—and in the classroom for that matter—so as to exclude the ethno-linguistically of non-Turks, whereas the latter implies an inclusive conception in which all the languages spoken in the country find a place, which arguably is a basic prerequisite of equal citizenship.

The attempt of the student cited in the ethnographic incident above offers an opportunity for social justice. Arguably, likewise attempts initiated by the students need to be interpreted as a call for more inclusive education practices, which, if acknowledged and well-received in the education system, would potentially open up spaces for a more just society. Local knowledge, as well as the mother tongue, that the multilingual students bring with them to their monolingual schools opens up a transnational space: a space which transcends the ideological borders of the restrictive conception of the socially constructed nation-state. An enabling potential towards the achievement of social justice can be found lodged in that resourceful space.

33 For an account of the neighborhood see Ayan Ceyhan and Koçbaş 2011.
Recently, an important paradigm shift has been executed on the policy level in formal education in Germany: Multilingualism and (linguistic) diversity are seen as a resource for individuals and society alike and should no longer be regarded as a problem (see also Karakaşoğlu in this report). But still, the educational reality paints a different picture. Plurilingual children who grow up in families that once immigrated to Germany still do not have the same chances to succeed in the selective German school system. Besides institutional discrimination and structural barriers, German schools have tended to become more and more segregated. Against this backdrop, the research focus of the Mercator-IPC study presented here has been investigating the question of what happens if an otherwise much stigmatized minority immigrant language gets integrated into a school curriculum and, thus, upgraded.

The school under investigation is located in a multicultural neighborhood that used to be a working class quarter where predominantly immigrants from Turkey settled down. Hence, Turkish has been the dominant community language besides German. Ten years ago, the school had been given a bad reputation as “the school for the Turks” and, subsequently, suffered from massive white flight: German middle class families as well as Turkish middle class families unregistered their children from the school as they feared a) violence on the school premises and b) their children could not develop their full potential in this environment. Consequently, the school has been highly segregated and still operates under challenging conditions with many poor, single parent, and migrant families. However, a remarkable process of school development sparked off when an unusual idea emerged during a parents’ evening: Why couldn’t monolingual children from German families participate in Turkish heritage language classes? They could. The idea was not dismissed as being “crazy” but taken up by the new principal, and soon afterwards Turkish as a foreign language was introduced in a bilingual fashion. The most outstanding feature: The program was implemented with the aim to promote intercultural learning/understanding and to achieve an opening towards the neighborhood. Balanced (school) bilingualism has not been an acclaimed objective of this program.

Two bilingual classes per year are attended by Turkish-speaking children, as well as native speakers of German and other languages. Turkish and German are taught in a coordinated literacy education approach, and Turkish is also used in content areas like math, science, or the arts, i.e. as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). Alongside the unusual language program, the school introduced a number of other structural changes that have made the concept more sustainable: an all-day school structure with teaching times from 8am to 3pm and hot meals for all students, abolishment of homework and integration of autonomous learning supported by trained personnel, language sensitive teaching across the curriculum, and youth welfare workers and social workers working closely together with teaching staff in year groups. Moreover, the school tries to set up close working relationships with parents as partners to support the educational progress of their children.

38 The case study in question has been funded by Mercator Foundation and has been carried out as part of the Mercator-IPC Fellowship Program 2013-14. The study is embedded in an ethnographic monitoring framework and investigates the social-cultural impact of a bilingual German-Turkish program at an urban elementary school. See the interim report Alternative Change Agents in Language Education Policy by Küppers and Yağmur 2014.
Ground up push for pluralism

Albert-Schweitzer school in Hanover can be seen as a best-practice example that provides empirical evidence of a remarkable ground-up push for pluralism and which contributes to a highly controversial debate on one of the most pressing issues in the German educational system: Namely, the academic achievement of immigrant children in the selective and increasingly segregated German school system. Whereas in the public discourse there is a strong tendency to ethnicize problems surrounding children who fail in German schools, the case study in question shows how interrelated the factors are that contribute to school failure. Hence, the school’s success challenges the public discourse of blaming the victims for their own failure and points instead to the necessity to fight structural barriers and institutional discrimination within the school system.

Ten years since the school development process has set off, the school has developed into an acknowledged model school that cherishes diversity, valorizes Turkish for cognitive learning, and distributes equal educational opportunities more evenly amongst children. The bilingual German-Turkish program has attracted middle class families as it is regarded as an enrichment program for their children. Subsequently, white flight has been reversed and social cohesion improved; native and non-native German-speaking children are taught together, and plurilingual children mix with native role models. Power differences between children do not develop (as much), and monolingualism is not established as the superior language (as much). Identities are negotiated in a more holistic way, and plurilingual students improve self-confidence. Academic achievements have improved, especially in the bilingual classes where the foundations are laid for language (learning) awareness, an important basis for life-long language learning. Moreover, monolingual children who attend the bilingual classes can also discover the communicative value of the language that is spoken in the neighborhood and carry a more positive image of Turkish and Turkey into their families and society.

The school and its unusual multilingual approach can be seen as a model for German/European elementary schools at large as this institution begins to explain the paradigm shift that has just recently been executed in top-down educational (language) policy in Germany. In general, diversity should be cherished as a resource, and the multilingualism/plurilingualism that students and their families bring to the school should be acknowledged and developed. For the past ten years, the school’s credo has been to deal with each other as equals. The bilingual Turkish-German program has been a means to implement the school ethos into everyday life. By strongly communicating that Turkish belongs to the school and the neighborhood, the school has opened up room for intercultural encounters and provides space that is not only used for academic learning but also for learning from each other and for learning how to value diversity as a common feature of everyday experiences. Policymakers, politicians, media, teachers, and the educational establishment should gain insight from the work at this school. Instead of looking for causes of school failure in ethnicity, religion, culture, “insufficient integration levels,” and languages spoken at home, the impact of this

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41 See the introduction by Bozdağ & Küppers and the contribution by Karakaşoğlu within this report.

42 KMK, Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule.
school tells a different story. It shows that segregation can be fought when an immigrant language gets upgraded and is used in a CLIL program. Academic achievements of immigrant children can improve.

Unresolved challenges

The bilingual Turkish-German program has started as a grassroots project without academic support. To the day, it is almost impossible to find teachers who are adequately qualified to teach the Turkish part in the bilingual classes (which are team-taught by a German native teacher and, for five lessons per week, by a Turkish native colleague). At best, Turkish teachers have been trained to teach Turkish as a foreign language, either qualified in Turkey or Germany.43 Hence, the teaching methodology for the Turkish CLIL program has had to be developed “on the job,” depending on the quality of the teaching of the individual teachers and, thus, lacks a certain degree of continuity. Likewise, materials used for the bilingual classes that have been developed by the teachers are tailor-made for the bilingual groups; some have been adapted from existing sources provided for heritage language classes (aka mother tongue instruction). Moreover, the so-called Turkish heritage language classes provided by the Turkish consulate are not yet integrated into an overall language-concept at the school – although the lessons already take place as part of the school curriculum and are not just added as after school offers. Both Turkish language offers (bilingual classes and heritage language instruction) lend themselves to being attuned.

Dealing with challenges and supporting good practice: Policy recommendations

Instead of hanging on to old-fashioned submersive education models that ignore immigrant family languages and rely on parents as support teachers at home, various forms of bilingual education in combination with all-day school structures need to be adopted more widely at an elementary level in Germany and Europe. The presented case study can clearly be seen as a best-practice example for a school that uses a bilingual CLIL program for the promotion of intercultural understanding and mutual respect. First findings from this case also point to the following desiderata:

1. Mapping out a new multilingual CLIL approach, which is based on the principles of diversity education and deliberately integrates minority immigrant languages for the promotion of intercultural learning. Unlike in mainstream CLIL settings (where English is often used in an immersive fashion in rather homogenous groups of learners), it seems of high importance to conceptualize a teaching methodology that

A) serves the needs of two rather diverging groups: real beginners of the CLIL language and learners who speak the CLIL language at home;

B) consequently has at its center a strategy that focuses on the literal meaning of the word “bilingual”;

C) develops strategies on how to valorize the CLIL language, which is at best a community language spoken in the neighborhood;

D) at a later stage of language learning, English also gets integrated into the program.

2. Setting up Language Education Centers (Sprachbildungszentren) at the level of teaching practice that integrate various fields of expertise

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such as German as a second language, foreign language teaching methodology, CLIL didactics, as well as language across the curriculum approaches and language-sensitive content teaching. If existing offers facilitated by local and regional providers could be pooled under one roof, Language Education Centers could generate synergy effects and cooperation, overcome compartmentalized thinking about language education, and provide individual, tailor-made support for schools.

3. Both recommendations also needed to be translated into teacher training modules in order to provide in-service offers for teachers, preferably foreign language teachers, who speak the respective immigrant language as a (second) family language.44

44 Ibid.
Student exchanges since World War II

At the end of World War II, international exchanges were designed exclusively for university students and were limited in number. Since then, bilateral cultural agreements between nation states and the policy of national cultural institutes abroad have evolved and have favored intercultural activities, although the focus has remained on “selling” their national culture abroad.

There have been several programs established at the governmental level such as the establishment of the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges in the United Kingdom in 1948 and, in 1963, the French and German Governments opening of the Franco-German Youth Office. However, intergovernmental organizations have been more active in this sector. Since WWII, UNESCO has offered a neutral platform where institutions and NGOs can meet and discuss issues of international education. The “Travel and grants scheme for youth and student leaders” has been in existence since 1951, and the Associated School Project was launched by UNESCO in 1953 to promote programs for international understanding and facilitate exchanges of teachers, students, and materials across borders. For decades, the Yearbook “Study Abroad” by UNESCO was the only source of information on what was available in the world for foreign students.

The work of the Council of Europe has been equally relevant. The first “Convention on mutual recognition of school-leaving qualifications for university entrance” was promoted by the Council of Europe and signed in 1953. At the European Youth Centre in Strasbourg, the topic of youth mobility gained great attention. The “In-service training programme” for educational staff created opportunities to share good practices among teachers also in the area of student exchanges.

The European Union has played a major role supporting youth mobility in Europe, starting with an exchange of young farmers in 1964 and another for young workers in 1977. Later it developed a large exchange of university students (such as the “Erasmus” program in 1985), young professionals and trainees, and teachers and educators through the programs “Leonardo,” “Socrates,” and “Gruntvig,” and currently the “Lifelong Learning Programme.”

Schools have embraced mobility more and more from the 1980s on with the support of funding from European, regional, and local authorities. Learning a skill or practicing a foreign language was the initial motivation for these projects, which were mainly for groups or classes.

However, worldwide individual student exchanges were really “invented” and promoted by a handful of NGOs that chose to operate in the field of educational exchanges: AFS Intercultural Programs, EFIL/European Federation for Intercultural Learning, Experiment in International Living, Youth for Understanding, Rotary International and – for a limited period of time – International Christian Youth Exchange.

Intercultural learning: At the heart of an exchange experience

Learning a skill or a language of great international value was the main reason why the United States,
Great Britain, France, and Germany were the key destinations and players in the mobility scene in Europe 50 years ago. However, the reasons for spending a period studying abroad have changed from the post-war period to today.

Intercultural education began to emerge as a leading theme in educational exchanges in the 1970s, and it became a leitmotiv of any international activity involving youth and education in Europe. Educational exchanges were also perceived in the context of peace studies: “How to create the conditions for a peaceful and constructive dialogue between different ideologies?” was the question at the center of the work of Johan Galtung and his team at the Peace Research Institute in Oslo. One of the earliest studies on the effect of mobility on university students was published by one of Galtung’s co-researchers Ingrid Eide and called “Students as links between cultures.”

During the same time, intercultural aspects started to become more prominent in the private sector, too. Geert Hofstede researched cultural variables in organizations and worked on his first international survey on organizational culture. Hofstede’s research tried to measure several cultural variables, such as individualism vs. collectivism, masculine vs. feminine, power distance, and uncertainty avoidance.

The intercultural research of the 1970s dwelled on values and value systems, concepts of acculturation, assimilation, adaptation, and ethnocentrism. Edward Hall contributed to a greater understanding of the notion of the intercultural through a series of best-sellers. In his works such as *The Silent Language* and *Beyond Culture*, he introduced concepts that have also been highly influential within the discourse on intercultural education, namely high context and low context cultures, as well as monochronic and polychronic cultures.

In the 1980s, a definition of intercultural learning had been introduced within the European context that underlines the process orientation and the importance of self-awareness in situations of intercultural encounter:

> A new learning situation where learners of different cultural backgrounds are helped to see their differences as resources to draw from and to gain a greater awareness of self, rather than as deviations from established norms: one where each culture is explained in the context of others, through a process that stimulates doubts about oneself, curiosity for others and understanding of the interaction between the two. Such a process should involve the learners intellectually as well as emotionally.

This understanding of intercultural learning is still very much valid in the present day. The experience of learning things by doing is central for the approach of intercultural education. For example, one’s own culture cannot be appreciated if it was never seen from the outside and its reality never experienced. In the context of mobility studies, an intercultural experience is seen as the removal of people from their familiar environment and their placement in a new environment. This puts the participants in a “minority situation” or “marginal situation” (minority or marginal in comparison with the culture of the host country). In a situation

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45 The first major colloquium on this theme was held at the European Youth Centre in Strasbourg in 1978 (“Youth Mobility and Education”) under the initiative of EFIL, the European Federation for Intercultural Learning.

46 See also I. Eide, *Students as links between cultures* (Universitetsforlaget: Oslo, 1970).


where an individual tries to behave in an acceptable way in a new environment, emotions and intelligence are equally involved, and differences become challenges to any traditional way of thinking and acting.

However, in educational contexts across Europe, schools tend to refrain from this complex approach and look at intercultural education simply as a new “subject matter” that needs to be included in the curriculum. But intercultural education is not just an add-on or a new field of subject knowledge that can be added to what we already know. Rather, intercultural education can be seen as a new attitude towards learning. Hence, at best, and with reference to the Greek understanding of “metanoia,” it can be seen as a conversion of mind and a new way of looking at the world. In this sense, intercultural encounters not only foster self-awareness about the cultural determination of our being in the world but also widen the horizon and encourage learners to develop loyalties beyond their homes and nations and to acquire a sense of belonging to other groups and larger communities such as Europe or the world.

**Empirical evidence**

Fundamental research on the results of student exchange programs was conducted in 1982-84 by Cornelius (Neal) Grove when he was the head of the AFS Centre for the Study of Intercultural Learning. His “impact study” involved 323 secondary school students who had spent a year abroad and a control group of 160 that had remained at home. The study identified several areas in where – on a scale of 100 – those who had been on exchange scored three points or more above the control group:

- appreciation of the host culture
- foreign language appreciation and ability
- awareness of international matters
- non-importance of material comfort
- adaptability
- understanding of cultural differences
- appreciation of own family
- independence and self-reliance

On the basis of these results, he defined the skills that students may acquire through an intercultural experience and grouped them under four areas of growth and change:

- personal values and skills
- interpersonal relationship-building
- intercultural knowledge and sensitivity
- global issues-awareness.

In 2002, AFS launched a study on the development of intercultural knowledge and sensitivity that may occur within an adolescent during a year abroad (the third area in Cornelius Grove’s scheme). The three-year independent study was conducted by Mitchell R. Hammer (professor of International Peace and Conflict Resolution at American University in Washington). It involved 1,400 students from nine countries and a control group of 650. The study was concluded and presented in 2005.

According to Hammer’s findings, international student exchanges at the secondary school level may play a critical role in building bridges across cultural differences. Students return home with improved abilities to navigate across cultural boundaries.

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The study shows that a year program abroad helps young people develop their intercultural sensitivity and to:

- become more competent in crossing cultures.
- lower the level of anxiety when interacting with people from other cultures.
- build more friendships with people from other cultures at home.
- become fluent in a foreign language.
- know more in general about the host culture.

Hammer’s work underlines the importance of preparation, both in terms of materials and of timing of orientations. He suggests that the primary efforts should take place a short while after the participants arrive in the host country, when they have the context they need to understand the concepts of intercultural learning.

**Guidelines for good practice in mobility projects**

The “European Quality Charter for Mobility” was approved in 2006 and has since been a starting point for school-based exchanges in Europe and elsewhere. The principles that it outlines and the experience gained through many years of exchange operations has provided a framework for defining the professional practice in the field of educational exchanges and a code of good practice for people involved in mobility projects.

**Guidance and information:** Potential candidates for mobility should have equal access, at either the national or regional level, to reliable sources of guidance and information on mobility opportunities and their requirements.

**Learning plan:** A learning plan, with special emphasis on linguistic preparation, should be drawn up and agreed to by everyone involved, including the sending and hosting organizations and the participants. The plan should outline the objectives and expected outcomes, as well as how these would be achieved and implemented.

**Personalization:** Mobility undertaken for education or training purposes should fit in as much as possible with the personal learning pathways, skills, and motivation of the participants and be designed to develop or supplement them.

**General preparation:** Prior preparation of the participants is essential and should be tailored to their specific needs. It should include linguistic, pedagogical, practical, administrative, legal, personal, cultural, and financial aspects, as necessary.
**Linguistic aspects**: Mobility arrangements should include language assessment and the opportunity to follow courses in the language of the host country and/or in the language of instruction, if different, before departure. Likewise, linguistic support and advice should be provided in the host country.

**Logistical support**: Adequate logistical support should be provided: information and assistance with travel arrangements, insurance, residence or work permits, social security, accommodation, and any other practical aspects, including safety issues relevant to their stay.

**Mentoring**: The hosting organization should provide a mentor who will be responsible for helping the participants with their effective integration into the host environment and will act as a contact person for obtaining further assistance.

**Recognition**: If a study or placement period abroad is an integral part of a formal study or training program, this fact should be stated in the learning plan, and participants should be provided with assistance to facilitate recognition and certification.

**Reintegration and evaluation**: Upon return to their home country, participants should be given guidance on how to make use of competencies and skills acquired during their stay. Appropriate help with reintegration into the social, educational, or professional environment of the home country should be available to participants returning after long-term mobility. The experience gained should be properly evaluated to assess whether the aims of the learning plan have been met.

**Commitments and responsibilities**: The responsibilities arising from these quality criteria should be agreed to by the sending and hosting organizations and the participants. They should be confirmed in writing so that responsibilities are clear to all concerned.

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**MEASURING THE UN-MEASURABLE: EVALUATING YOUTH MOBILITY AS A PEDAGOGICAL TOOL FOR INTERCULTURAL LEARNING**

**SØREN KRISTENSEN**

Studies show that well-designed and carefully executed mobility projects are excellent opportunities for intercultural learning. However, sometimes – and perhaps even more often than we like to think – mobility projects have the opposite outcome of what we intend for them to achieve. Stereotypical thinking is not challenged, and instead of being broken up, clichés about another culture are reinforced.

It is not unusual as an evaluator to encounter the more or less implicit assumption among project organizers, as well as those who are funding the activities, that youth encounters across borders and bridging the cultural divide are good things per se and that a positive outcome is a foregone conclusion once administrative and practical problems have been eliminated. This assumption is sometimes given a pseudo-scientific basis referred to as “the contact hypothesis.” However, those who assume the inevitability of this outcome are often oblivious to the fact that the author of this term, the Israeli psychologist Yitzhak Amir, actually posited a number of very important conditions for youth encounters if they were to inspire positive intercultural learning.51 More specifically, Amir saw the following points as crucial for a successful intercultural learning process:

- **Equality in terms of status**, i.e. that both parties in the encounter must share a roughly similar socio-economic status to allow them to identify with one another;

- **Convergence of aims**, i.e. that both parties must

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have at least a degree of shared aims and interests to ensure that contacts between them develop;

• **Appropriate attitudes prior to implementation**, i.e. that there are no overly negative attitudes towards people from the other culture beforehand;

• **Appropriate contact intensity and length**, i.e. that the contacts should last for a certain period and must not be superficial in nature;

• **Low cultural barriers**, i.e. that cultural barriers are not so high at the beginning of the actual encounter that interaction is made impossible;

• **Social and institutional back-up**, i.e. that the encounter is organized in the framework of an integrative institutional framework and a climate of mutual back-up exists;

• **Appropriate preparation**, i.e. that participants are given adequate linguistic and cultural preparation before the encounter.

Amir’s precepts can be complemented by a more process-oriented conceptual framework that operates within four basic processes (and related interventions) that must be taken on board and addressed in any mobility project in order to underpin intercultural learning processes.52

• **Immersion**: that participants must be subjected to a real encounter with the culture and mentality of the host country and not a superficial and/or over-sanitized version

• **Relativization**: that the issues addressed and the tasks undertaken are relevant and recognizable to both groups, so that culturally determined differences between ways of organizing and doing things become visible and can be compared and discussed

• **Perspectivation**: that participants are engaged in a process of reflective learning and that the necessary support for this process is available both before, during, and (especially) after the event.

The two models are partly overlapping and focus on similar problems from different perspectives, but taken together they provide some very useful angles of approach in both formative (process-oriented) and summative (output-oriented) evaluation work. The core message they convey is that any mobility project needs to be carefully designed with regard to the target group, hosting environment, and duration. Furthermore, projects should be accompanied by a number of pedagogical interventions before, during, and after the stay abroad in order to allow the learning potential to unfold. Thereby, these processes furnish us with practical ways of coming to grips with the perennial problem of evaluations of transnational mobility activities: namely, how to “measure the un-measurable” and determine the effect in terms of learning outcome in a way that is practically feasible even for small-scale projects.

We know from research projects that transnational mobility projects, when properly designed and executed, constitute a very potent instrument for intercultural learning. However, to ascertain whether this potential has been realized in an individual activity is a very complex task that requires sophisticated and time-consuming methods (longitudinal studies with a mixture of qualitative

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and quantitative tools) on a scale that is usually way beyond the resources of the average project. What we can measure, however, is the design and the execution of the pedagogical interventions that the above models point to, which are conducive (indeed essential) to the learning process. If these are satisfactory and the necessary aspects covered, then it is a good project, and participants are likely to have improved their intercultural understanding.

When evaluating a particular project, it is therefore first and foremost important to try and determine the extent to which the pedagogical intentions (learning objectives) are in harmony with such variables as duration, planned contents, nature of the target group, capacities of the hosting environment, and the overall project context. Secondly, when looking at the pedagogical interventions, it is not just the stay itself that must be in focus; what is equally important is what goes on prior to the departure (in terms of recruitment, selection, and preparation of participants) and after homecoming (follow-up).

To ascertain whether such a holistic perspective has been adopted and implemented, the evaluator must look into the various aspects of each of these phases (before, during, after) to see to what extent they are underpinned by the proper interventions. For preparation, this involves not just practical and linguistic preparation but also how cultural, pedagogical, and psychological aspects are covered. During the time abroad, it is important that participants are properly monitored and that they are provided with ongoing support for the learning process (mentoring). In the follow-up phase, participants must be given the possibility to identify, digest, and interpret their experiences together with qualified facilitators. They must be provided with proper guidance on how to grow from their achievements.

Of course, even when scrupulously adhered to, these conditions can never amount to a 100% guarantee that a participant in a given project will return with increased intercultural understanding – much in the same way as eight to ten years of formal education do not necessarily ensure that a person can read, write, or calculate numbers at a functional level. What they do guarantee, however, is that the learning framework for the acquisition of the skills and competencies that form the constituent elements of intercultural understanding have been the best possible under the circumstances.
ONLINE COLLABORATION AND INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

MIRJAM HAUCK

The INTENT group (Integrating Telecollaborative Networks into Foreign Language Higher Education) carried out a 30-month project that aimed to raise awareness of the advantages of telecollaboration as a tool for virtual mobility in foreign language education among students, educators, student mobility coordinators, and (senior) managers at the university level. The project also aims to achieve more effective telecollaboration integration among university institutions in general. Foreign language telecollaboration, or Online Intercultural Exchange (OIE), engages groups of foreign language learners in virtual intercultural interaction and exchange with partner classes in geographically distant locations. These exchanges most often involve bilateral projects between classes in two different countries each learning the other’s language. However, they can also develop more complex, multilateral projects involving language learners from many different countries working together online using a lingua franca, such as English, as a means of communication.

Telecollaboration has received little support in university contexts to date, whilst primary and secondary school teachers interested in running OIE projects have been supported by major networks and virtual platforms such as ePals (www.epals.com) and the European Union’s Etwinning platform (www.etwinning.net), which is analyzed in this report by Bozdağ. Our project has shown that telecollaborative projects can offer a great many advantages to a wide range of different stakeholders in Higher Education. Telecollaboration offers an effective tool in the development of students’ foreign language skills, as well as for their intercultural competency and other transferrable skills. It is also an excellent form of preparation for physical mobility and is a viable alternative for those students who cannot participate in physical mobility programs for personal or financial reasons.

Structure of the study

When the INTENT project was started, it first initiated a survey in order to gain a representative overview of telecollaborative practice amongst European universities. The survey identified the characteristics of telecollaborative practices currently undertaken by European university educators and explored the barriers that practitioners encounter when organizing online intercultural exchanges. The project team also gathered the views and opinions of European students with different OIE experiences in regard to the impact that participating in online exchange has had on them. Complete responses were obtained from 210 university educators in 23 different European countries and 131 students with experiences in telecollaboration.

In the second part of the study, the project team also collected various case studies of universities, partnerships, and telecollaborative networks, which would provide a representative, qualitative picture of the type of online intercultural exchanges that are being carried out around Europe and which have achieved a certain level of integration in their institutions’ study programs. The case studies involved exchanges taking place between universities in Ireland and Germany, Italy and the UK, Sweden and the United States, and Latvia and France, among others. The collection also included

53 This paper is based on the executive summary of the INTENT Project report (2012) that was prepared by Sarah Guth, Francesca Helm & Robert O’Dowd. Contact the INTENT project team: intentproject@gmail.com. Visit the project website: http://intent-project.eu/.

54 This report and its related project have been funded with support from the European Commission. It reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.
an example of a telecollaborative network of various exchange partners working together, as well as the description of an Italian university that had staff involved in multiple projects.

Principal findings of the study

The combination of the teacher and student surveys within the collection of case studies enabled the project team to shed light on the current state of telecollaborative practices in European Institutions of Higher Education. These findings are outlined here briefly:

Survey and Case Study Findings:

• The majority of exchanges involved the use of English as a foreign language. However, a considerable number of teachers of French, German, and Spanish as well as teachers of less commonly taught languages, also responded. This demonstrates that OIE is an activity that can be of value to teachers and students of any language.

• Most practitioners have given priority in their exchanges to the development of students’ intercultural competency and foreign language skills. However, the objectives of developing students’ online literacies and learner autonomy were also mentioned regularly.

• Most OIEs currently involve classes from European universities collaborating with partner classes in U.S. universities. There are currently few exchanges between universities in European countries, and there are also few connecting Europe and the so-called “developing world” or emerging countries/economies.

• Foreign language educators rarely find telecollaborative partners through institutional partnerships such as Erasmus. Instead, most establish exchanges with colleagues from their own academic networks or from contacts made at conferences. OIEs are strongly believed to have the potential to support physical mobility by engaging learners with students in their future host institution before departure and, also, by supporting learners during their period abroad. However, there are very few examples of such exchanges currently being carried out.

• OIEs are generally carried out by highly motivated educators who believe strongly in the positive outcomes of these exchanges. They have often had experience in OIE as part of their training and may also have a research interest in OIE. Educators who have had experience in OIE are likely to repeat the experience.

• The most frequently used tools in OIEs in Europe are email and virtual learning environments. However, now there is also a considerably high use of audio/video conferencing, which until recently was not so widely available. The main difficulty reported in using audio/video conferencing was organizational, due to the difficulties in working with partners in very different time zones.

• Lack of time and the difficulty in organizing online exchanges are seen to be the main factors hindering other educators from taking up new projects. In many cases, the lack of institutional recognition and support was also a factor.

• Telecollaboration can involve different levels of integration into study programs. Most practitioners assess the intercultural and communicative learning outcomes of their exchanges. However, participation in OIEs does not always bring students academic credit, and their work is not always institutionally recognized. The more these exchanges are “recognized” and awarded academic credit, the more likely they are to be considered of value by students and faculty members.
• Whilst there is general agreement that it is not a problem if participants disagree with one another in OIEs, all practitioners do not feel comfortable addressing potentially sensitive topics (such as religion or terrorism).

• The impact of participating in OIEs is seen by students who have participated in projects to be educationally significant. Many reported that participating in a telecollaborative exchange led them to become more open to others, accepting and understanding of difference, and to realize that their own points of view are not necessarily “the best or only ones.” Many students reported establishing long term friendships with their telecollaboration peers, keeping in touch once exchanges are over and some even visiting one another. OIEs are often an incentive for students to engage in mobility.

• Telecollaborative exchanges are recognized by many universities as valuable activities for internationalization and for the development of student mobility. However, institutions are unaware of the extra time and workload that such projects require and are either unwilling or unable to provide adequate support to staff who want to organize such exchanges.

• Telecollaboration not only benefits students’ learning but can also contribute to educators’ academic careers by establishing connections to new academic networks and engaging in staff mobility visits with other universities, etc.

• Telecollaboration is seen as a useful “first step” on the way to developing physical mobility exchanges between institutions.

Strategies for integrating telecollaboration in university institutions

The report also identified different strategies that have been used by practitioners around Europe to integrate telecollaborative projects more seamlessly into their institutions and classes. They are outlined briefly here:

• By maintaining the same exchange partners over long periods, telecollaborative exchanges are more likely to become integrated into an institution’s activities.

• The support of department heads is vital for the successful integration of exchanges. Their support ensures that exchanges continue even when particular staff members change institutions.

• An exchange agreement or memorandum of understanding should be signed between practitioners to provide partners with a sense of security when planning exchanges and drawing up course guides for the coming academic year.

• A further key strategy for integrating OIEs is to ensure that students will receive credit for these courses.

• Prestige and importance can also be gained in exchanges by winning academic awards and holding press launches to announce the exchanges to the general public.

• Regular contact between educators is another key to success. In order for exchanges to be successful, teachers need to be motivated to believe in the value of the exchange and be willing to engage in regular virtual contact with their partner teacher.

Recommendations based on the study

Based on the findings of the report, the INTENT project team would make the following recommendations to decision makers working in Higher Education Institutions around Europe and to those working in the areas of education and student mobility in the institutions of the European Union.
Recommendations for university senior management

- Encourage educators to use existing Erasmus agreements to set up online intercultural exchanges. By making use of staff mobility, educators could visit each others’ institutions and establish personal connections with colleagues in order to better understand each others’ contexts and collaborate in planning exchanges: thus overcoming some of the challenges that online exchange involves.

- Draw up models of Erasmus agreements specifically for virtual mobility programs. These would require partners to make a commitment to the project, could initially allow for staff mobility in order to set up the exchange, and/or for educators to also teach different groups of students. Subsequently, these could be expanded to include new physical mobility agreements.

- Support the establishment of OIEs for students prior to their period of physical mobility. With the training and support of the international office and language center staff exchanges, these “pre-mobility exchanges” could improve the quality of physical mobility by promoting the integration of Erasmus students in host universities.

- Integrate OIE in teacher education programs, as this will encourage future educators to integrate telecollaboration into their practice. It is also vital to provide incentives and support for educators embarking on their first experience in OIE.

- Provide a technical and administrative infrastructure that will support educators in their telecollaborative activity.

- Do not consider telecollaboration as an activity only for “pure” foreign language students but also as a valid activity for students majoring in any subject and studying or using a foreign language.

Recommendations for European decision makers

- Address the 80-90% of university students who do not participate in learning mobility by supporting the mainstreaming of online intercultural exchange between students at European universities.

- Establish European grants for virtual mobility to help cover the organizational costs. If telecollaboration is to become an established practice in European universities, it is necessary to invest in staff and infrastructure. A small contribution from the EU towards these costs in the form of a virtual mobility grant would assist universities in promoting virtual mobility.

- Find systems of awarding academic credits (ECTS) for students’ participation in OIEs. Alternative ways of awarding credit, such as explicit mention of the activity in the European Diploma Supplement, should also be supported.

Conclusion

This report has demonstrated that while the activity of OIE is proving increasingly popular and is being used and integrated in a myriad of ways around European universities, its long-term success depends on its wider recognition and greater integration in European university education as a whole. There is also a need for increased information and support for educators who may be potentially interested in taking up the activity.
INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE IN SCHOOLS THROUGH ICT: PROBLEMS AND PROMISES

ÇİĞDEM BOZDAĞ

Context of the study

Today, intercultural exchange through mobility is not only possible through physical exchange programs but also through so-called “virtual” or “communicative” mobility via the use of information and communication technologies (ICT). Online exchange refers to the state of being connected to distant places through the use of different media technologies. This case study deals with online exchange projects between schools in Germany and Turkey.55

There are different projects around the world that aim to support collaboration between students and teachers in different countries through the use of ICT such as Skype in the Classroom, Exchange 2.0., ACES, and eTwinning, among many others (these are also discussed in this report by Miriam Hauck in relation to virtual exchange in higher education). These projects provide teachers with a network for finding partners and often include a web space and various web tools to carry out collaborative projects. The aims and outcomes of such a project can be compared to physical mobility projects, namely increasing intercultural understanding by creating opportunities for intercultural encounters.56

eTwinning, which is the largest web-based school network around European schools and was initiated by the EU, will be discussed here as an example. The network is coordinated by a European Support Service (ESS) as well as a national support service (NSS) in each member country. These support services maintain the network, offer technical support, and periodically national and international training workshops for teachers. The website offers various tools such as blogs, social networking, and chat tools for collaborative projects. The projects are carried out on a voluntary basis and are shaped by the teachers.

In this qualitative case study, a project (between secondary state schools in Germany and Turkey) was analyzed in depth through participant observations, interviews with the coordinating teachers, and focus-group interviews with the students. Besides this, the study included (both in Turkey and Germany) participatory observations in teacher training programs, qualitative interviews with teachers who are carrying out eTwinning projects, and expert interviews with members of NSSs.

Potentials of the online intercultural exchange projects for doing diversity in schools

In comparison to physical mobility projects, the low budget of the online exchange projects enables ICT-based exchange projects even in the smallest schools. In this sense, online exchange projects can enhance the chances of students and teachers in rather disadvantaged schools to be involved in intercultural networks. Hence, there were some cases among the interviewed teachers who were in small towns or cities in which they were able to carry out successful projects despite the limited resources of their schools.

Most of the interviewed teachers indicated that they started doing eTwinning projects because they were searching for new teaching methods that would be more interesting for themselves and for the students (e.g. use of ICTs, collaborative projects); ICTs offered them possibilities for this in the form of telecollaborative projects. Furthermore, they reported that through the exchanges in eTwinning they learned about teaching cultures and methods in different countries and started to adapt some

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55 This research project is carried out in the framework of the Mercator-IPC fellowship program at Sabanci University.

of these methods themselves. The coordinators of eTwinning in Turkey and Germany, as well as the teachers themselves, indicated that the more experience they acquire, the more advanced and creative methods they use in their eTwinning projects.

Another promising aspect of eTwinning is its possibilities for peer-learning. This takes place on the one level through the exchange among students within the classroom: for example, through the preparation of a collaborative video, a music clip, a text, etc. On a second level, there is an intercultural aspect of peer-learning through the exchange among students in different countries. Putting the students from different countries in joint teams during eTwinning projects contributes to this type of intercultural learning considerably, as one of the interviewed teachers reported. However, as will be discussed, not all projects support students’ participation.

All in all, through the online exchange projects teachers and students encounter different cultures. The eTwinning projects are for many students (in the Turkish schools especially) the first opportunity to meet someone from another country and to overcome their fears about “foreigners.” In some cases, as the interviewed students reported, this even leads to long-lasting exchanges through social network sites, etc.

**Challenges for online intercultural exchange and learning**

Although online exchange projects offer possibilities for new teaching and learning methods as already mentioned, the old habits of teachers die hard in terms of their teaching practices. Some teachers attempt to censor the content of the communication among the involved peers in the project. However, this often prevents direct exchange between the students, which might be essential for them in order to truly get to know each other and find a connection. As the interviewed students in the case study also indicated, when the project is dominated by the project teacher, they feel bored and detached from the project.

Intercultural learning and exchange is emphasized as one of the goals of eTwinning and is also included in the description of many projects. However, there are sometimes differences in the perception of intercultural learning. As a result, some teachers tend to perceive cultures and cultural boundaries from an essentialist perspective in their projects and lead students also to focus on differences between cultures and to continuously make comparisons. However, intercultural education should emphasize the dynamic and complex nature of culture and also focus on commonalities between people of different cultural backgrounds in spite of their differences.57 One of the reasons behind this problem is the lack of professional support and training for teachers on the issue. Teacher trainings often focus on technical issues and the planning of a project and only focus a little on the issue of intercultural learning.

eTwinning projects are mostly carried out in English, which is a foreign language for most of the participants. This presents another challenge for teachers with limited foreign language skills. Hence, it is often the English (as a foreign language) teachers who initiate eTwinning projects. The language skills of the students are also very important for the implementation of the projects and, especially in younger ages, the lack of foreign language skills make more advanced intercultural exchanges among students not possible.

Another problem that was mentioned by the teachers and students in the case study concerned the deficits in technical infrastructure. The schools’ equipment (internet connection, computers, smart boards, cameras) and resources vary widely both in Turkey and Germany. This infrastructure also

limits the boundaries of the projects and might lead to problems in the exchanges in ongoing projects, as interviewed students reported.

Although online exchange projects offer the possibility to enhance students’ and teachers’ chances to be involved in intercultural networks as already mentioned, the socio-economic backgrounds of the students influence the potential exchange between them. As one of the teachers in the case study indicated, students might be overwhelmed by the socio-economic environment of the other schools and students that they are doing the exchange with. Socio-economic differences and inequalities remain to be one of the biggest challenges for both physical and online exchange projects. There is no easy or short-term solution to this problem, but educators should be aware of these differences as they are planning such projects.

**Recommendations**

The lack of technical equipment is still an important challenge behind the integration of ICT in education. Various projects are carried out to improve this (Fatih project in Turkey, Schulen an Netz in Germany), but the differences between the individual schools remain to be substantial, as the interviewees reported. In addition to the investments in infrastructure, it is important to support teachers in terms of enhancing their media literacy and invest in the development of pedagogical approaches to use ICTs in the classroom.

ICTs and projects like eTwinning bring about chances for implementing new teaching methods in schools, for example, more possibilities for student-centered learning as well as peer-learning. However, more emphasis should be put on the involvement of the students in the projects and more attractive web tools should be included in the websites of the projects to increase students’ interest in intercultural exchange with other students.

As also discussed by Ruffino and Christensen in this report, intercultural encounters do not automatically lead to intercultural learning in terms of deconstruction of prejudices and stereotypes. The participants should be prepared for such an exchange, especially in the case of web-based exchanges, and learn about the complexity and dynamics of the concept of culture. Teachers should prepare the students in the case of online exchange projects; however, they often lack the necessary background information to do so. Teacher trainings for projects like eTwinning should go beyond the introduction to technical aspects and should offer not only a more comprehensive discussion about the issue of intercultural education but also the integration of practical advice on how to deal with the (intercultural) pitfalls of communication through technological interfaces.

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CONCLUSIONS / OUTLOOK / RECOMMENDATIONS

HOW TO APPROACH “DOING DIVERSITY”
Changes bring about waves of uncertainty, which pave the way for potential conflicts and unrest. Deep divides in modern societies are tangible almost everywhere. Often inflamed by the media, scapegoating and pigeonholing seem to be common features in communication, public discourse, and everyday interactions. This is especially the case in societies who wish to perceive themselves as pluralistic and democratic and whose institutions have hailed diversity and intercultural competencies as acclaimed objectives. Yet, as long as the rhetoric of diversity and inclusion remain symbolic commitments in the realm of academia but are not institutionalized more instinctively within society, the larger diversity discourse will continue to deflect from nasty incidents of racism, from institutionalized discrimination, and from subtle forms of exclusion.

Istanbul Policy Center’s symposium on “doing diversity” brought together international experts and scholars from a variety of disciplines in summer 2014. The symposium aimed to explore the role of education in times of growing diversity from three different perspectives: namely, multilingualism, media, and mobility, with an explicit focus on educational practice. It has been the declared aim to learn from practical examples and to work on policy recommendations that will help to improve educational practice. In the following, a brief summary will be given, and recommendations will be mapped out in two different sections: multilingualism and mobility & media.

MULTILINGUALISM
Societies in the 21st century have become increasingly intermingled within super-diverse urban centers. Inevitably, nation-states have slowly come to embrace the idea of multilingualism, which had been suppressed by decades of nationalist, monolingual rhetoric. Due to intensified mobility, powerful ICT technology, the new global economy, and also constant flows of immigration, the multilingual paradigm has brought about a huge language industry with a variety of job offers for language professionals in many fields. Hence, on the one hand, multilingualism seems to be a much acclaimed neoliberal asset for the privileged class of the mobile global elite. On the other hand, however, migration induced linguistic diversity - especially in the urban centers of European immigrant societies - seem to put the illusion of the conspicuously “monolingual” nation-state under fire. As Müge Ayhan and Almut Küppers show in their contributions on ethnographic school research carried out in Turkey and Germany, even in the present day the outworn ideology of “one nation – one people – one language” reaches deep into the classroom, where the monolingual habitus of the underlying ideology reveals its subtle but powerful impact with far-reaching consequences for identity development and school success. In countries like Germany, one in four school kids grow up bilingual, and in large urban centers, sometimes well over 50% of all first-graders speak a family language other than German at home. However, multilingualism in the context of formal education shows two trends. First, we find an overarching dominance of English as the Goddess of modern foreign languages used as a de-cultured lingua franca. Studies show that this is a global phenomenon, especially true within the competitive market of global education amongst universities. When “multilingualism” and “diversity” are praised on the way to “internationalization,” what often plainly happens is an “Englishization” of institutions. Second, the portfolio of languages available as modern foreign language
subjects in formal European education, such as in Germany, remains slim and basically Eurocentric. The popularity of languages such as Chinese and to some extent Russian and Japanese are only slowly increasing; however, a paradigm shift is on the way that will speed up this transformation in language education and namely look at diversity and multilingualism as a resource, not as a problem. Yasemin Karakaşoğlu describes in her historical account how this paradigm shift came about in Germany. If this change of perspective is to be taken seriously, an understanding of multilingualism needs to be established and institutionalized that transcends the limited European perspective and integrates minority and immigrant languages in the formal curricula as modern foreign languages open for all children. Languages like Turkish in Germany, Punjabi in Great Britain, or Kurdish in Turkey seem to be hidden treasures in our societies. To take notice of their value in formal education and to unlock their potential—not only for mutual understanding and intercultural learning but also for more educational and social justice—is of high importance for both individual learners and for society as a whole.

Based on arguments for human rights and for language as a resource, the European Union and its institutions have played a leading role in the development of policies that promote multilingualism in its member states. Kutlay Yağmur illustrates in his article how cut-off from reality the beautiful Euro-speak prose on multilingualism appears in spite of irritating court verdicts in member states like the Netherlands where schools are allowed to ban immigrant language use from its premises. Hence, the wide gap between a glowing overarching European rhetoric on multilingualism and a rather more gloomy reality calls for concrete measures to be taken in order to transcend the nationalistic / Euro-centric perspective on multilingualism. Many Europeans nowadays grow up bilingual and learn various combinations of languages. Moreover, when it comes to the promotion of reality-based multilingualism, it is important not to completely rely on educational institutions but to also see the necessity of involving other societal institutions, such as the health sector or media, in order to communicate the benefits of multilingualism for individuals and society to a wider public. In her account, Viv Edwards tells the rather impressive story of how language revitalization and language shift in Wales were achieved based on allied societal forces integrating the health sector and public marketing strategies.

**Policy recommendations**

- The formula 1+2, according to which European citizens are trilingual and should speak two other languages besides their mother tongue, needs to be revised and adjusted to reality-based multilingualism. New formulas like 2+1, 2+1+1, 2+2, etc. can raise awareness for and value the existence of migration induced bilingualism and plurilingualism.

- Within the framework of “inclusion,” European and national attention and funding should go into the development of multilingual approaches that explicitly integrate immigrant and minority languages.

- Certain minority and immigrant languages like Turkish in Germany should be developed into fully-blown modern foreign languages open for all learners.

- The European flagship program CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) should be extended into CLIL multilingual programs, in which English should no longer be put center stage but rather used as an additional language. Instead of focusing on additive school bilingualism, such programs could promote the development of multiliteracies based also on migration induced multilingualism.
Multiliteracy education needs to start in early childhood and preschools in order to merge into lifelong language learning. Consequently, forces need to be allied in order to raise awareness and develop programs for “language development along biographies” approaches.

In cooperation with the private sector, foundations, and NGOs, the value of multilingualism for individuals, as well as for society, needs to be communicated by devising marketing strategies and campaigns.

Additionally, image campaigns, in particular for heavily stigmatized immigrant or minority languages, should be devised with the help of European, national, or regional funding and in cooperation with the private sector.

In cooperation with pediatricians, midwives, gynecologists, hospitals, and youth welfare, the value of bilingualism and advice on how to deal with multilingualism in families should be communicated and targeted especially at young families and parents to be.

**MOBILITY AND MEDIA**

As contemporary cities are becoming super diverse, new demands in terms of intercultural learning and multilingualism in education are arising. Along with rapidly increasing worldwide connections and encounters between people through globalization and developments in transportation and media technologies, “doing diversity in education” has become a crucial aspect for today’s educational frameworks. Mobility programs had originally been initiated in the aftermath of WWII in order to provide participants with an intercultural experience, as Roberto Ruffino mentioned in this report. The rationale behind these programs had been the idea that first-hand experience with people from diverse cultural backgrounds would be beneficial in order to gain a better understanding of each other.

For this purpose, different mobility programs have been introduced since the 1950s by different groups, including NGOs and state institutions. For example, two of the flagships of the European Union are the Erasmus and the Lifelong Learning programs. These programs aim to contribute to the development of exchangees’ personal values and reflective skills, interpersonal relationship-building skills, intercultural competencies, and awareness of global issues.

Physical mobility programs aim to provide their participants with valuable intercultural experience, which can contribute to the development of their intercultural competencies. However, as Mirjam Hauck points out in her article, more than 80% of the students do not have the means to participate in mobility programs. For those who do not belong to the privileged, global mobile elite and, thus, are excluded from these programs, online communication tools provide an opportunity to experience intercultural encounters at very low costs. As Hauck and Bozdağ analyze in their articles, various online networks initiated by NGOs, private institutions, and state institutions aim to realize the potentials of online-based exchanges in schools and higher education institutions (HEIs). Most practitioners of such projects aim to improve their students’ intercultural competencies and foreign language skills, as well as digital literacies, through these exchanges. Online exchange tools also provide opportunities for new teaching and learning methods, for example, different forms of autonomous learning, peer-learning, and mobile learning. In some cases, online exchanges also lead to offline meetings and initiate longtime friendships between teachers and students who participate in the exchange. Some schools and universities turn their online projects into physical exchange projects, or others who participated in a joint physical exchange project continue their collaboration through online exchanges. In combination, this can be a very
fruitful way of having a more profound intercultural exchange.

Both physical and virtual mobility programs open up spaces for intercultural encounters. However, being exposed to different cultures does not automatically result in a better intercultural understanding amongst the participants. In some cases, as Søren Kristensen argues in his article, intercultural encounters as part of mobility projects might even be counterproductive as stereotypes can get reinforced and old clichés can remain untouched and unchallenged. In order to avoid stereotypical thinking and perception, the necessity of a reflective approach to intercultural learning is widely acknowledged. Participants of online or physical exchange programs need to be well-prepared if intercultural encounters are to transcend intercultural learning experiences. As Kristensen indicates, an exchange should be seen as a process that includes pre-, post-, and during exchange phases. Throughout these phases, participants should be provided with meetings and trainings embedded in a reflective practice approach in order to develop a critical cultural self-awareness and prepare learners on how to interact sensibly. Many physical exchange programs, such as the AFS and partially the Erasmus program, provide some kind of preparation and support before, during, and after an exchange. Presently, in contrast many online exchange programs offer only very limited support when it comes to preparing intercultural online encounters and instead often focus too much on the technical side of the project. If intercultural encounters are mediated through the interface of technology, the probability of possible misunderstandings, critical incidents, and distorted communication increases significantly, especially if body language does not support comprehensive communication processes. Consequently, as a precondition intercultural online encounters need to be embedded in a pedagogy of reflective practice.

Another problem that is evident in both types of exchanges, physical and online, is the dominant use of English – a tendency that further fuels the increasing dominance of the English language, earlier referred to as “Englishization.” The INTENT project, as perceived by Hauck in this report, has shown that hardly any languages other than English are used in online projects. On a more positive note, the INTENT findings also point to an added value if other languages are in fact used in exchange projects. Presently, however, the true potential for the promotion of multilingualism through intercultural encounter projects – online or offline – has not yet been taken notice of despite the ever-expanding space for intercultural encounters in a faster connecting world.

Furthermore, both in schools and HEIs, online intercultural exchange programs are not yet recognized as an instrument for doing diversity. Therefore, participation in these projects is not officially recognized as an achievement for the students, and in most cases the teachers are not rewarded for organizing and monitoring these exchanges.

Policy recommendations

- Both physical and online mobility programs need to be embedded in an educational approach of reflective practice. Tailor-made planning and accompanying support programs before, during, and after the exchange are likewise necessary. Policymakers should introduce incentives to improve these supporting mechanisms.

- Online and offline exchanges have a great potential to promote multilingualism. Other languages should be deliberately integrated in different mobility projects, not just besides English but also instead of English.

- Special funding should be provided for online and offline exchanges that aim to integrate the use of minority and/or immigrant languages.
Expanding transnational educational spaces seems to be most apt for the introduction of multilingual exchange programs.

- Online exchanges in European HEIs have been mostly set up with universities in the United States. New programs are needed to support and encourage exchanges among other universities around the world, in particular within expanding transnational spaces.

- Both in universities and schools, there is a need for the improvement of technical infrastructure (internet connection, available computers, cameras, etc.) in order to meet the needs for a broader use of online exchange programs.

- Teacher training and education is key, especially for school mobility programs. The integration of online and offline exchanges in teacher education is a necessary requirement, and future teachers should become familiar with different ways of integrating online mobility and mobile learning methods later on in their classrooms. Furthermore, the complexities of intercultural interactions and the dynamics of culture should be addressed in trainings for coordination of exchange programs (both for teachers and other instructors) in order to avoid essentialist approaches to culture throughout the exchange projects.

- Combinations of online and offline exchanges should be supported and developed as these can create opportunities for long-term relations between teachers and students in different countries.

- Last but not least, assessment of exchange projects should be a crucial element in order to understand the problems and promises of these programs and improve them further. Hence, more time and resources should be invested in qualitative and quantitative analysis in order to research the impacts of these programs.

Doing diversity, or, in other words, the ability to interact sensitively in situations in which we encounter differences, requires the readiness to question and challenge one's own cultural self-determination. It is significant to realize, however, that the central term “intercultural” needs to be understood in an all-encompassing sense, as our determinations are not just defined along cultural lines but also along linguistic, ethnic, social, political, economic, religious, lifestyle, age, or gender-based lines. Diversity is unfolding rapidly in times of global connectedness, and borders are dissolving through the entailed shrinkage of time and space. Apparently, mobility seems to fuel homogenization (i.e. “McDonaldization”) but it also exports increased intercultural complexity to all corners of the globe. Hence, the sensitivity on how to deal with diversity in personal encounters is not just a prerequisite for people on the move but also for those who stay put and welcome newcomers. However, intercultural competencies cannot be seen as a set of skills that can be learned and applied like math formulas. Intercultural learning in its broadest sense is identity negotiation and, therefore, not a fancy add-on subject to school curriculum. It should rather be seen as a new attitude towards learning that needs to be implemented across the curriculum. In many countries that have integrated intercultural education into their school curricular, the most apt places for the development of intercultural competencies are the language subjects, in particular and quite rightly so the foreign languages. Learning a new language pushes students to look at the world through a different frame and challenges one of the most common misconceptions, namely that we assume that other people see – and this means understand – the world in the same way that we do. This might sound commonplace, but ever so often we tend to forget exactly this. No matter whether we speak with locals in our hometown and home language or with people from abroad in another language, communication is often a wearisome
struggle in understanding. Hence, what we find at the heart of intercultural education is the claim to develop a critical cultural self-awareness based on reflective powers and the linguistic (repair) skills to mediate in situations that are challenged by misunderstandings, conflicts, and critical incidents.

Within Europe, many nation-states have had to accept that they have developed into immigrant societies; however, the necessary conversion of the respective educational systems is on the way but far from being accomplished. In the same respect, Turkey has come a long way in its gradual opening and recognition of her hidden linguistic and cultural treasures; however, there is still a long journey ahead. Many reforms in the field of education have been put into practice, many more are scheduled, and others have yet to be initiated in order to grapple with the heritage of the one-dimensional nation-state approach to education. Integrating intercultural education into the school curricula and as a compulsory requirement into teacher training is becoming a prerequisite for all schools in super-diverse societies and will help to better prepare the future generations for the demands of a rapidly connecting world.


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Cymraeg o’r crud
Welsh from birth

1
... gosod sylfaen
gadarn i blentyn ddod
yn ddwyieithog
... lays firm foundations
for your child to
become bilingual

Sgiliau dwyieithog
Bilingual skills

5
... rhoi cyfle gwell
iddyn nhw gael
swydd pan fyddan
nhw’n hŷn
... gives them a
better chance of
gaining employment
when older
Cymru Ddwyieithog
Bilingual Wales

... cynyddu eu gwerthfawrogiad o ddwy iaith a diwylliant Cymru
... increases their appreciation of Wales’ languages and cultures

Ehangu gorwelion
Widen horizons

... cynyddu eu gwerthfawrogiad o ddiwylliannau ac ieithoedd eraill
... increases their appreciation of other cultures and languages
DOING DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION THROUGH MULTILINGUALISM, MEDIA AND MOBILITY

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ISBN: 978-605-9178-01-3