Intercultural education in industrial societies
Reflections on Comparison and Evaluation

Sigrid LUCHTENBERG
Universität Essen I - Germany

School, language and multi-cultural society
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1 Introduction

Intercultural education is usually defined as a pedagogic reaction to a society that has become a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural one due to migration (cf. HÖHMANN 1989, PORCHER 1979, 1980). Though there are great differences in the industrial multi-ethnic countries with regard to the ethnic minorities, their status and the school systems, intercultural education can be regarded as a trans-national concept in spite of differences in terminology and main efforts (cf., e.g. LYNCH 1986).

In order to give an overview of main contents of intercultural education, intercultural education in Germany is taken as an example. It can nowadays be characterized by the following:

- Intercultural education addresses all children in a school, i.e. minority children as well as majority children. Furthermore, it includes all members of a community (cf. FRIESENHANN 1988; HÖHMANN 1989).

- Intercultural education aims at changes in the contents and methods of all subjects where intercultural education is to be implemented as a “principle” (cf. PORCHER 1979; REY 1986).

- Intercultural education is a child-oriented approach resuming the experiences of all children in a class. It refers to the actual cultural environment, i.e., migrant culture and the actual majority culture represented by the majority children. Culture is regarded as a dynamic notion (cf. GÖTZE/POMMERIN 1988).

- Intercultural education emphasizes mutual acceptance and cultural exchange by getting to know each other and each other’s cultures and fighting the barriers which hinder these goals. There are two different concepts in the German discussion: one that emphasizes mainly ways to get to know each other, and another that demands equal chances as an assumption to mutual understanding processes. The latter is close to the anti-racist concept which is more discussed in the Netherlands and Great-Britain (cf. HÖHMANN 1989, LYNCH 1986).

- Curricular conceptions are mainly still to be developed. There exist some approaches in social sciences, history and sciences in Primary
School that refer mainly to mutual knowledge of differences and common ideas and try to initiate a change of perspective (cf. Auernheimer 1990).

Intercultural education as a trans-national concept has been developed due to similar processes of migration in industrial countries. It has also been supported by activities of the Council of Europe and the EC both of which have initiated projects in the field of intercultural education that have led to comparative studies further on (cf. e.g. Hommann/Luchttenberg/Nieke 1992; Lynch 1986, Porcher 1979, Rey 1986 and Reich 1990a for a comparative evaluation of EC-projects). Extra/Vallen 1989 give a survey on comparative studies in the field of intercultural education.

In the following, four questions are to be dealt with: the main topics in the inter- (or trans-)national intercultural research shall be resumed (2) in order to show similarities and differences in (3). In section 4, language awareness is shown as an example for the possibilities of adopting concepts from other countries after comparative studies. Evaluation is still a task within intercultural education as far as mutual learning procedures are concerned, while evaluation has been done within the fields of improvements of achievements of minority children. In section 5, possible ways of evaluation will be discussed.

2 Main Topics in International Intercultural Education

There are several topics within intercultural education that are discussed in most multi-ethnic and multi-cultural industrialized countries in order to improve the school situation in a changed society. In this section, we discuss these questions from an educational point of view. Four topics are focused on in this section: achievements of minority children, bilingual education, intercultural education with local and with international perspectives and measures against ethnocentrism. It can easily be seen that the first two items refer to educational programs especially for minority children in order to improve their achievements in the mainstream curriculum as well as to develop their special abilities. The last two items deal with the common education of all children in a multi-ethnic classroom. This shows at the same
time a kind of "double" objective of intercultural education since it aims at mutual education as well as at minority children's education at the same time. This can be explained by the history of intercultural education which began with the need to "integrate" minority children whose parents had migrated into the industrialized countries as workers. The German expression "Ausländerpädagogik" indicates clearly its characterization as a pedagogical programme for minority children. When it became soon obvious that the changed situation (the development of multi-ethnic, multicultural societies) demanded changes within the educational systems and the mainstream curricula, intercultural education began to deal with the education for all children without neglecting the special needs of minority children.

2.1 Improvements of the Achievement of Minority Children

Intercultural education deals in all industrialized countries with improvements of the school achievements of minority children since they turned out to be less successful than the majority children (cf. Boos-Nünning/Hoßmann 1989 with regard to Germany, Costa-Lascoux 1989 with regard to France and Eldering 1989 with regard to the Netherlands. The improvements cover different fields:

- Language (i.e., the majority language): Different models have been developed to give minority children access to the standard version of the majority language which is acquired for school success. Second language teaching has been offered (and still is taught) in different kinds of classes for minority children, especially for those who come in school age from the country of origin (cf. 3.4 for further details). Furthermore, second language teaching differs in methods (communicative, audio-lingual, grammar-oriented etc.) and aims (communicative competence up to written and specific language competence). Second language teaching is in general regarded as a first step to successful participation in the mainstream school curriculum.

- Social and school behaviour: Many minority children - especially those, who come to a "receiving country" after having attended a school in
their country of origin for a certain time, and those who attend a primary school without having been to a kindergarten - lack the usual social and school behaviour (or parts of it) that is demanded in schools. Examples are the correct use of a pencil, the usual rituals and routines in teacher-pupil-interaction, verbal conflict-solving strategies, etc.

- Needs in different subjects: though second-language is in general regarded to be the most important help to improve the achievements of minority children, other subjects are sometimes included in remedial programmes. This holds especially true for mathematics. Difficulties of minority children in subjects like social sciences, history, sciences, etc. are often connected with lacking abilities of special language and especially its written version. On the other hand, cultural differences are supposed to be a reason for school failures. After a period of assimilative attitudes, intercultural education pointed out that a child-oriented approach that integrates the - sometimes different - experiences of minority children would give them a better chance to take part in the mainstream curriculum.

- Work with parents: it turned out to be necessary to involve parents in the process of improving minority children's achievements at school though mistakes have been made by wrong assumptions in the beginning, e.g. when parents were asked to use the majority language when speaking to their children! Parents are responsible for a main part of a child's socialization and behaviour so that school (i.e., teachers) had to address parents in order to change behaviours that would hinder a school success such as long television watching in the evening, too much homework to be done by girls, etc. Parental work could also help teachers to understand the social and cultural environment of a minority child.

It is obvious that these measures to improve the insufficient achievements of minority children were partly based on a deficit-hypothesis and therefore inappropriate to meet the needs of minority children. When the deficit-hypothesis was replaced by a difference-oriented approach, measures of improvement were integrated in a holistic concept where the knowledge of minority children was accepted on the one side and help to get along with the demands of the mainstream school curricula was given on the other side.
Improvement of the achievements of minority children is also discussed in connection with the acceptance of minorities in the majority society and their access to professional and political rights.

### 2.2 Bilingual Education

Bilingual education is regarded as another tool to improve minority children's achievements, but there exist many different programmes within the concept of bilingual education (cf. NCC 1991 for different proposals for the UK) which range from transitional use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction (especially in the first year at a school) to maintenance bilingual (ethnic homogeneous) classes (like, e.g., in Sweden). Since bilingual education normally also means separate education (from the majority and children of other ethnic backgrounds), a discrepancy is sometimes seen between intercultural and bilingual education. Solutions are to be found in integrated bilingual education where minority children are partly taught in bilingual classes and partly in a regular multicultural classroom (cf. DICKOPP 1982 for an example). In the recent years, programmes of bilingual first-grade courses have been developed in Germany in order to teach reading and writing in two languages simultaneously (cf. NEHR ET AL. 1988). “Bilingual education” is often reduced to mother-tongue-teaching some hours a week. Mother-tongue-teaching is regarded as important for the achievements in school is seen because of several reasons: since the development of a linguistic system (in L1) is not finished when school begins, the transition to instruction in L2 (only) would cut the linguistic procedure of developing a notional system with consequences especially for specific language learning (cognitive style). Another reason is the hope to give bilingual children a time of positive experiences by teaching them in their mother tongue. This is connected with the question of motivation: a child whose mother tongue and cultural experiences are acknowledged, will be more motivated to learn than one that feels excluded and forced to accept a mainstream curriculum. There exist, of course, further relevant reasons for mother-tongue teaching besides the improvement of the achievements by a continuous linguistic development and higher motivation:

- Communication with one's own ethnic group: Even if most members of a family are able to speak the language of the majority, it is still
necessary to speak the language of origin in order to communicate with other members of the ethnic group, with members of the ethnic group in other "receiving" countries and in the country of origin itself.

- Professional reasons: In a Europe that becomes closer in many aspects, linguistic qualifications will be of greater importance than ever due to economic exchange and human mobility. This can easily be verified in studying the national efforts to improve the linguistic qualifications of the majority children where even bilingual education (for majority children!) becomes more and more popular.

- International agreements guarantee the right of one's mother-tongue as long as a person (or the family) wants to use it (a person can, of course, decide to change his or her language which leads to a language shift).

For a long time, a possible return to the country of origin was regarded as the main reason for bilingual education. It was even demanded to prepare minority children to a possible "re-integration" in the school system of their country of origin. This holds, of course, only true for those minorities who came as "guestworkers" and who were regarded as non-permanent residents. "Return" is also emphasized in the EC guideline 77/486 of July, 25th, 1977, where the participation of minority children in the school system of the receiving country and their right on mother tongue education is manifested. As shown above, bilingual education or at least mother tongue instructions are concerned as valuable due to other reasons meanwhile (cf. Miller 1983, Baker 1988 for further aspects).

2.3 Multicultural Education

Multi- or intercultural education has been the main concept which has been discussed in multi-ethnic, multicultural societies in order to adjust education to their demands. The notion "multicultural" is preferably used in the English literature, while "intercultural" is to be found mostly in the French and German one. The notion "intercultural" is used in more contexts than the one equivalent to "multicultural", i.e., in nearly all situations of communication and contact between members of more than one ethnic group including business as well as youth exchange or city partnerships. In this section, the
notion "multicultural education" is used in the sense of intercultural education that mainly aims at mutual understanding and communication (i.e., in contrast to anti-racist education).

Multicultural education in the sense of an education for all children in multi-ethnic schools has been developed in a local and in an international concept with regard to the curricula. Both are obliged to a child-and situation-oriented didactical approach. Local multicultural education refers to the concrete situation in a classroom or at least school and builds up a curriculum on the experiences of the children in that specific classroom, while international multicultural education tries to include a wider perspective, e.g., third world questions. Both can refer to child- and situation-orientedness, since many examples and studies in the life of children show that the direct environment has become a multicultural one due to migration into industrial societies, but children participate also in a wider "environment", since they travel with their parents in foreign countries, they consume products from all over the world and they are confronted with other countries, cultures and languages in television and other media. In this sense, also an international concept of multicultural education is child-oriented.

The advantage of the international concept is especially seen in the fact that all children are confronted with another culture while the local concept might lead to a kind of instruction where one group studies the culture of the other from a dominant viewpoint. On the other handside, it is certainly easier to provoke a change of perspective and to lead to a mutual understanding when two (or more) groups can communicate and exchange their impressions directly. It becomes obvious that the methods of multicultural education are of great relevance. Another advantage of the international concept of multicultural education can be recognized in the chance to avoid a new kind of ethnocentrism when not only the ethnicities and cultures of a class are taken into account but a wider range. Otherwise a feeling of "we" could again lead to the exclusion of "them" (cf. Neumann/Reich 1989).

As mentioned above, intercultural education is in general regarded as a principle underlying all subjects and curricula and even influencing the life in a school (cf. also Jeffcoate 1979). There exist only very few examples to establish a subject "intercultural education" (cf., e.g., Kroon/Pagel 1989 for an example at a comprehensive school in Berlin). Therefore, intercultural education shows mainly in the themes and examples that are chosen within a given curriculum, and in the way how they are treated (method).
2.4 Anti-racist Education

Besides the concept of multicultural education as a concept that addresses minority as well as majority children in order to lead them to a mutual understanding, acceptance and finally enrichment, anti-racist education is first discussed as a necessary response to the unequal situation between minority and majority in industrial societies that holds also true for schools and education and secondly as a concept to reduce prejudices, stereotypes and ethnocentric ways of thinking. Both concepts address mainly the majority either with regard to politicians, or with regard to majority children in school, teachers and head teachers, textbook producers etc. Of course, parts of the secondly described part of anti-racist education can be used in general since most groups and individuals do have stereotypes and prejudices towards other groups and persons though a majority can use them in a different and more threatening way than a minority.

A main part of anti-racist education deals with the development of criteria to judge instruction, lessons, curricula and mainly textbooks with regard to ethnocentric items. This is done by researchers, practitioners and special organizations like, e.g., PAREL in the Netherlands.¹ A similar work is also done with regard to children and juvenile books. A further step in this work is, of course, to change the contents in lessons, curricula and textbooks and create multicultural ones instead of the old ethnocentric ones. Doing so, one can reject a curriculum or textbook completely and demand a better one, or one can try to remend or interprete the existing curriculum or textbook in an intercultural sense.

Furthermore, training courses have been developed to make teachers learn about their own stereotypes and how to fight against them, but also to recognize so-called institutionalized racism (cf., e.g. Twitchin/DeMuth 1981). Within anti-racist education, the danger is mainly discussed to replace one form of ethnocentrism by another one (cf. above); e.g., the implementation of an European dimension in the curricula of European countries could lead to a form of Eurocentrism which would exclude large parts of the world.

¹ = Project Anti-Racistische Evaluatie van Leerhulpmiddelen, i.e. = Project of an anti-racist evaluation of textbooks
3 Similarities and Differences

In this section, similarities and differences with regard to seven aspects of intercultural education in European industrialized receiving countries shall be shown in a preliminary comparison that may also help to prepare a later analysis of possible reasons. The aspects to be dealt with are the grade of acceptance of intercultural education, the grade of curricular integration, the role of the Mother Tongues of minority children, the implementation of language(s) awareness, the role of the European dimension, teaching materials and teacher training (cf. also SLEETER/GRANT 1987 for a very detailed and systematical overview of approaches to intercultural education in the literature).

3.1 Acceptance of Intercultural Education

Though minority children whose families have migrated from another country attend regular (mainstream) classes in all industrialized European countries, the official status of intercultural education is different. This is the more astonishing since the Council of Europe has supported intercultural education already since the seventies (cf., e.g., PORCHER 1979, 1980; REY 1986), and research on a national as well as on an international level has shown the importance of intercultural education in a multiethnic and multicultural society. The following table demonstrates how intercultural education is implemented in the national systems of education in some countries:

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<th>GB</th>
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<tr>
<td>Intercultural education officially accepted</td>
<td>Directive 1984</td>
<td>Rijksdag directive 1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>Implemented on a lower level</td>
<td>LEAs</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILEA</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Curricular Implementation</td>
<td></td>
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<td>In some länder</td>
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Only the Netherlands and Sweden have formally accepted intercultural education as the general form of education (at least on the primary school level), while in Germany in some länder intercultural education is at least mentioned (e.g., in the guidelines for Primary Education in Northrhine-Westfalia, cf. DER KULTUSMINISTER 1985). The importance of intercultural education can also be shown by regarding the teacher training programmes (cf. 3.7).

Though intercultural education is not officially accepted in many countries, there are a lot of schools and teachers who show excellent intercultural teaching. This is possible since most curricula do not explicitly exclude intercultural education. Even official guidelines may deal with "linguistic and cultural diversity", yet avoiding the notion of intercultural education. Cf. NCC 1991,1 for Great Britain:

"Many children in English schools regularly speak a language other than English and about 200 different languages are used by pupils in the classroom. Such linguistic diversity is asset. It provides an opportunity for pupils to gain firsthand experience, knowledge and understanding of other cultures and perspectives. It also helps to prepare pupils for life in a multicultural society by promoting respect for all forms of language. Variety of language is a rich resource which schools should use as they implement the National Curriculum."

3.2 Curricular Integration

Official acceptance (by governmental laws or decisions or proclamations) need not lead to curricular changes immediately while on the other side, intercultural teaching can be mentioned in curricula or curricular guidelines in countries which have not officially accepted intercultural education. The latter holds, e.g., true for some "länder" in Germany. In Northrhine-Westfalia, the guidelines for the primary school read, e.g.:

"Veränderungen für die Arbeit in der Grundschule ergeben sich auch daraus, daß heute Kinder unterschiedlicher ethnischer Herkunft mit verschiedenen kulturellen Normen und Traditionen
zusammen leben und lernen. Hierbei geht es ... darum, das gemeinsame Leben und Lernen für interkulturelle Erfahrungen und Lernprozesse zu nutzen."

In Sweden, where intercultural education has been officially accepted by the parliament in 1985, the 1980 Compulsory School Curriculum (Läroplan för Grundskolan) has not been changed, but teachers are informed that this curriculum is compatible with intercultural education (cf. NBE 1987). As already mentioned above, most curricula allow an “intercultural interpretation” since they are mostly not too specific and do not exclude intercultural education. If the curriculum, e.g., demands to read a juvenile book, a teacher can choose one that deals with migration and the life in a target country or a text from the migrant literature (cf., e.g., LUCHENBERG 1989 for examples). The book can then be presented in an intercultural manner. Examples for this kind of interpretation can easily be found for national curricula with help of some fundamental questions: “Which does this mean for all children in a class? Which experiences can be found? How can a theme be treated so that cultural diversity becomes aware for all children? Are there ethnocentric elements in the way the topic has been presented until now?” (cf., e.g., NBE 1987). Here again, a connection to teacher training (cf. 3.7) can be shown since the competence to such a way of interpretation has to be developed.

3.3 The Role of the Mother Tongues in the Education

In 1977, a directive has been passed by the EC (cf. 2.2.) that binds the member countries to offer mother tongue education to the minority children whose parents came as migrant workers in the countries. Yet, the pressure of the guideline was not too strong since it was to a certain extent dependent on the respective country's possibilities and measures.

In a recent study, REICH (1990) has shown the differences in mother tongue teaching in different countries. He discriminates three different ways how countries (and their educational systems) may deal with the mother tongue education of minority children:

- Leaving the responsibility for organization of mother tongue education to the ethnic communities (partly in Great Britain)
- bilateral agreements between sending and receiving country (mainly in Germany and France)

- Full responsibility of the receiving country's education authorities (mainly in Sweden and the Netherlands).

Differences can also be found with regard to the contents and aims of mother tongue education, also depending on the responsible institutions developing teaching materials and concepts (curricula) for mother tongue education. An important difference can be stated between those which are oriented towards the life in the migration country, and others which are oriented towards the country of origin.

As Reich (1990) points out, Mother Tongue Teaching still lacks a coordination with the mainstream curriculum, but positive developments are to be expected due to the European process of approaching, and its need of languages. An integration of Mother Tongue Teaching in the mainstream curriculum includes also a wider spectrum of languages to be taught for all children. Tendencies in this direction can be found, e.g., in Great Britain, where, e.g., Asian Languages can be included in the mainstream curriculum and chosen by whoever wants to do so.

3.4 Further Language Aspects

Differences exist also with regard to the education in 1.2, i.e., the language of the receiving country, and with regard to the way in which the linguistic diversity is dealt with in schools and classes. Especially the latter question is, of course, closely connected with curricular aspects.

Second language education has been regarded as the main and most important way to help minority children to succeed in a mainstream classroom. This position has meanwhile been supplemented by the insights of intercultural education that the acceptance of language and culture of each child also attributes the school achievements. Yet, this supplement does not replace the importance of language education.

Different forms of second language training have been developed in different countries and often several types of instruction have been used within one educational system (cf., e.g., Levine 1990):
• Special classes for minority children who have just arrived from their
country of origin. These classes can be homogeneous or heterogeneous
with regard of language and ethnicity. These "preparatory" classes
shall normally be attended for one year, sometimes 2 years.

• Withdrawal methods to train minority children in the language of the
majority: children with insufficient language (= L2) competence are
taken out of the regular classroom during either the respective language
(e.g., English lessons in Great Britain) or during a lesson which is
regarded as less important (like music or sport). During these hours
of instruction, a systematic training in the language of the majority is
given. Children from several classes learn in general together.

• Team Teaching or Second Language Teaching in the regular classroom:
the Second Language teacher attends lessons in the regular classroom
and works in little groups with the minority children or gives different
kinds of help if required.

• Additional lessons, e.g. during the Christian religious instructions for
Moslem children, or before or after the regular amount of lessons.
Again, children come in general from different classes at a school.

• Regular second language training: Second language lessons are at-
tended by minority children instead of participation in the respective
classes for majority children.

The NCC 1991, 3 recommends, e.g., to establish a specialist language
support staff with flexible and individual possibilities of language support,
i.e. English as a second language (cf. also EXTRA/VALLEN 1989 for a com-
parative study with regard to second language provision in the Netherlands,
Flanders and the FRG.

Linguistic diversity in the mainstream curriculum can be relevant in sev-
eral lessons: in all language classes for reasons of comparison in manifold
contexts, in sciences in order to explore the linguistic situation of the school
and the surrounding district and city, in geography when pronouncing the
names of cities, mountains or rivers, in history by learning about migrations
and conquests and their linguistic consequences, etc.
In the Netherlands the method of "interkulturelle Sprachbetrachtung" has been developed in order to implement linguistic diversity. A textbook for schools is available (cf. RASENBerg, which shows the idea to deal with languages, their differences and similarities with regard to pragmatics, functions, cultural implementations, etc. In Great Britain several projects have led to remarkable examples that show how linguistic diversity can be treated in a mainstream curriculum. Though they are not implemented in the National Curriculum, there is a tradition in Great Britain that can easily help to deal with linguistic diversity: The language across the Curriculum-approach. Kroon (1990) has shown examples from several schools where the approach has been transferred into a "linguistic diversity across the curriculum"-approach (cf. also Houlton 1985 for a British example).

3.5 The European Dimension

Though intercultural education due to the presence of minority children is officially not estimated in many European industrialized countries, a very similar educational approach has recently become of high importance since with 1993 coming closer, the need is seen to train children to be competent in the new Europe, cf. Thürmann 1991, 8 who describes the "competence to live in and with Europe" as a key qualification to be taught in schools.

A directive of the EC in 1988 has proposed to make sure that all national curricula get an European dimension, i.e., that European aspects in the contents to be taught have to be found and taken into consideration when the respective subject is dealt with in the classroom. It has to be asked whether the European dimension can be regarded as part of intercultural education which would officially allow for intercultural education even in countries that have not implemented intercultural education in their curricula but focus on the European dimension like, e.g., Great Britain and Germany. Though the "The European Dimension" mainly focuses on the EC-Europe, education needs not accept this limitation, but can state that a European diversity already exists in many schools, and, furthermore, that the existing diversity includes more cultures and languages than Europe (cf. Thürmann 1991, 9, who demands to create Europe in one's own country, i.e., to give migrant languages equal rights as other languages, to renew textbooks and curricula and to fight nationalism and racism). The above mentioned EC-directive also focuses on language learning and recommends further learning of the
languages of other member languages. Yet, it does not mention the different languages already spoken in many schools. An integration of these languages in the mainstream curriculum would certainly add to the European dimension.

The connection between intercultural education and the European dimension is, e.g., shown by Antonouris 1990, who presents in two Activity Books in teacher training the "Intercultural European perspective".

3.6 Teaching Materials

Teaching materials are focused on in two ways within intercultural education: the need is felt to produce new textbooks for all subjects in schools that allow for intercultural teaching and learning and stimulate an intercultural interaction in classrooms.

On the other hand, it is regarded as necessary to overview the existing textbooks in order to show possible ethnocentric components, stereotypes or prejudices.

Comparing countries with regard to the development of intercultural teaching materials has also to consider the differences in the way how textbooks are produced, evaluated and accepted. In Germany, e.g., textbooks have to be admitted by the ministry of education (of the länder), since textbooks have to be compatible with the curriculum.

Besides textbooks, especially in a classroom, where the teaching is based on an intercultural approach, teacher-made materials or materials that are produced by resource centers are often used.

It is also of importance with regard to teaching materials whether the intercultural approach refers to the international or local part of intercultural education (cf. above).

3.7 Teacher Training

The implementation of intercultural education is mainly a task of teachers in their classrooms and can certainly not be successful if they are not aware of the main questions and willing to learn. Therefore, it is important to examine teacher training processes in order to judge the possibilities for intercultural education. Secondly, it would be necessary to list the knowledge, attitudes and didactics that a teacher should have learnt in order to teach in
an intercultural manner. The comparison between this list and the present stage of teacher education will show what is still missing (cf. also GAY 1986; TEUNISSEN 1983).

Different levels of intercultural teacher training can be differentiated (cf., e.g. KRUMM 1988 for the German situation):

- Teacher training curricula which include or are based on intercultural education (cf. Sweden).

- Within the teacher training curriculum, some obligatory courses on intercultural education are demanded (and additional compulsory courses may be offered). This holds true for some German universities.

- Teacher training institutions offer special post-graduate studies in the field of intercultural education that can also be chosen by teachers (e.g., at some German and British universities).

- Intercultural Education is only (or additionally) a subject in in-service training.

In addition to these models, it should be mentioned that also in Germany and Great Britain, teachers are mainly trained in intercultural education in in-service training. GAY 1986, 156ff. shows the differences between legal mandates on ethnic pluralism in society and schools (like, e.g., in Canada) and quasi-legal regulations like, e.g., Rampton and Swann Report in the UK.

3.8 Conclusions

A first, still superficial and unsystematic comparison between Western European industrialized countries with regard to the seven questions about intercultural education shows similarities and differences that contradict the opinion that there is no intercultural teaching in progress. The fact that intercultural education is not implemented in national curricula does not necessarily mean that there is no intercultural teaching done by teachers. We find that some items are not only fulfilled by countries that are obliged to intercultural education.

The following table summons up the above cited similarities and differences:
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<td>Teacher training</td>
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<td>TT partly</td>
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<td>TT special</td>
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Tomlinson 1989, 41, refers to the situation in the UK:

"On the whole the education system in Britain still inclines to a liberalism which other institutions have abandoned. The provision of equal opportunities for minority pupils and a recognition of cultural diversity, appear to be major goals. The pursuit of these goals, however, entails a series of problems and dilemmas."

She describes the present situation as characterized by a curriculum which is mono-culturally based, and the extreme need for multi-cultural education at the same time. This holds also true for other countries which have not yet officially accepted multi-cultural education like Germany.

A next step to be done towards an interpretive analysis of similarities and differences will be to look for reasons by examining the educational systems and underlying philosophies and comparing them with the attitudes towards intercultural education.

4 Language Awareness as an Example for the Profit of Comparative Studies in the Context of Intercultural Education

In this section an example is be discussed how comparative studies between countries with a multi-linguistic and multicultural society (due to migration)
can lead to positive results.

Several publications have stressed the advantages of comparative research in the field of intercultural education (cf., e.g., EXTRA/Vallen 1989; Lynch 1989). Kloprogge/Elderling 1989 outline the positive effects:

"In international comparative research the differences in national situations can be studied as an independent variable, which may give insights that are beyond the scope of national research. Current research tends to stress the characteristics of minority groups and their members, such as educational level, length of stay in the country of residence and culture, language and religion. It tends to disregard the peculiarities and effects of the political and educational systems of the host country. ... Besides the possibility to extend the variety of ethnic groups, research on an international level offers prospects for comparing groups from the same ethnic origins in different countries."

In Northrhine-Westfalia, the discussion of a new, Europe-oriented implementation of Foreign Languages in the Primary Schools has led to the concept of "Begegnungssprachen", i.e., the guidelines focus on languages which children can "meet" in their daily life. This refers to languages like Dutch and French at the German Dutch, resp. Belgian frontier in Northrhine-Westfalia, like Turkish, Italian or Portuguese in schools where many children with these languages as mother tongues guarantee the possibility of practicing them in interaction. English is, of course, favoured by many parents who hope for advantages for their children in the secondary school, though this is not at all the basic idea of the concept. A further approach is discussed for schools which do not accept one of the other approaches: : The Language across the Curriculum approach, which can also very effectively be combined with one of the other concepts. This was only possible because intense comparative studies between Great Britain, the Netherlands and Germany (Northrhine-Westfalia) could indicate the advantages of this approach in the UK and the Netherlands. The above described new language-concept offered an opportunity for further studies in implementing such an approach in the primary school curriculum in Northrhine-Westfalia. As Thürmann 1990, 40 points out, such a language-awareness-approach within the "Begegnungssprachen"-concept cannot be structured like a language course, because its contents (and even its methods) are dependent of the children in a specific classroom.
and their linguistic backgrounds. Nevertheless, it is an urgent goal to develop resources between which schools or teachers then can choose. Examples can also be taken from the above mentioned Dutch and British materials, but have, of course, to be adapted to the German situation, where, e.g., in general other neighborhood languages are spoken. This could be deepened by regarding other subjects independently from or – even better – connected with the foreign-languages approach, so that the original concept will be developed within the special needs of these schools and curricula. A further question is how these language concepts fit into the mainstream curriculum and how they develop in schools with and without an intercultural teaching philosophy.

The first result of comparisons is in general to recognize differences. It can secondly be asked whether similar methods already exist within the own curriculum. This holds true for parts of the curriculum of German language since there is a section which is labelled “Reflection on language”. The third – and probably most important step then has to be the question which items of the foreign concept apply to the – here – German curriculum and educational setting.

Within the concept of intercultural education differences of the role of language and linguistic diversity could also be revealed (see above). Languages awareness across the curriculum in an intercultural educational setting then means to refer to linguistic diversity in all parts of the curriculum which are somehow language-oriented (cf. 3.4).

5 Intercultural Education and Evaluation

Evaluation within intercultural education is still a very new task and until now mainly limited to improvement projects and instruction addressed to minority children, but evaluation is still missing and to be developed with regard to intercultural education that is addressed to all children and anti-racist education though certainly research from other educational fields like anti-prejudice-education or peace education could deliver first approaches (cf. also evaluation studies in the field of pupil and student exchanges, cf. e.g. THOMAS 1983 for an example).
5.1 Evaluation with regard to Concepts of Improvement of the Achievement of Minority Children

There are three areas where evaluation research has been done: school success; access to formation, especially apprenticeship, and finally language improvements. Second language as well as mother tongue though the latter is less taken into consideration.

- **School career:** In several countries the schools results of minority children are registered and examined in order to find out whether their results become better. Differences have to be made between the different ethnic groups, between girls and boys and between pupils from different social backgrounds. In addition, it would be of value if certain variables like professions of the parents, interest in and knowledge about the school system of the country of residence, contacts to minority and majority groups etc. could be taken into account. Yet, this is only possible in special research settings while the official statistics do not focus on these special items.

Such an evaluation can prove that minority children get better results now compared to the time several years ago and that they begin to attend schools for higher qualification. But they can also prove that still an extraordinary high percentage of them attend special schools in many countries.

These evaluations have to be connected with the question of the value a certain qualification has within a society. This will lead to the unfortunate result that minority children improve their qualifications but these qualifications suffer a loss of value, e.g., the “Qualified Hauptschulabschluss” in Germany no longer gives access to an apprenticeship as it did at a time when many minority children failed to pass it.

Furthermore, these evaluations have to be examined for the reasons that have led to the improvements of achievements: methods, supplementary instructions, smaller groups, intercultural education approaches, etc. (c.f. Smith/Tomlinson 1989 for a British example).

- **Access to formation:** Of course, access to formation or especially apprenticeships do not only depend on the school qualifications. As research has shown, cultural attitudes towards professions are of importance as well as differences due to own’s sex. Another point is
the acceptance especially of so-called "visible minorities" by firms and craftmen.

On the other hand, a connection between school success and access to apprenticeships cannot be denied at all. With regard to this, effort has to be put on the evaluation of special programmes or curricula for minority children, e.g. bilingual educations classes, ethnic homogeneous classes, etc..

- **Language Learning:** Tests have been developed to prove the language acquisition status of minority children. Thereby, different research contexts are involved:
  
  Language acquisition research is mainly interested in the interlanguages that are passed in second language acquisition.
  
  Educationalists and second language teachers are mainly interested in diagnosis in order to evaluate their language teaching programmes.
  
  School authorities are often more interested in testing in order to place language minority children in a certain type or school or programme. This demands, of course, evaluated tests.
  
  Most of the tests or diagnostic procedures in second language do neglect the development of the mother tongue though on the other hand coordinate language learning and teaching is often called for. With regard to the achievements in the mother tongue, the school results in bilingual classes and mother tongue courses can be examined. The effectiveness of mother tongue teaching is often discussed with regard to second language acquisition, i.e., the achievements and knowledge in the mother tongue influence the results in second language.

5.2 **Evaluation of Intercultural Education that is Addressed to All Children**

Evaluation processes within intercultural education demand to operationalize the aims of this kind of instruction, since the main aims of intercultural education to develop mutual understanding and intercultural communication are not to be evaluated without such a procedure. This involves the difficulty that intercultural education is not a school subject, but has been defined as an underlying principle of all subjects so that the special contributions of these subjects to intercultural education have to be taken into account.
As mentioned above, certain methods can probably be transferred or modified that have been created in order to measure the success of lessons that had the aim to reduce prejudices.

In any case, it would not mean to evaluate intercultural education if the grade of knowledge is measured that children get about other cultures, etc., since intercultural education refers mainly to attitudes.

Another aim within intercultural education refers to equal opportunities. This is, of course, only to a small part, a goal to be realized in schools, since it includes legal, economic and political questions. As far as it matters school, the achievement with regard to equal opportunities can be evaluated by, e.g., comparing the status of subjects that are only attended by minority children, the percentage of minority children that is involved in self-government of a particular school or class, the status of mother tongue teachers, the awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity in classes and schools, etc.

This holds also true for teaching materials. Especially in the Netherlands, research has been put on the development of criteria to value intercultural teaching materials. Here, two different approaches can be differentiated which stem from the two different sections of intercultural education: multicultural and anti-racist education (cf. Kloosterman 1991 for guidelines):

- **Criteria for Multicultural Teaching Materials**: It is regarded as an important task to find criteria to value textbooks and other published or distributed teaching materials whether they follow intercultural principles and/or can be used in an interculturally based lesson. Questions to be asked are, e.g., whether the material refers to the migration context, whether culture is regarded as flexible, whether the materials guide pupils to come into interaction, etc.

- **Criteria for Anti-racist Teaching Materials**: Main questions to be asked refer to the presented attitudes in schoolbooks and to the presentation of other cultures. Are there stereotypes or prejudices to be found? How are people from another ethnic background presented in text and pictures?

While the latter type of evaluation is mainly aimed at prevention, the first mentioned one refers mainly to teaching itself.
5.3 Evaluation of Concepts against Ethnocentrism

Besides the development of criteria for teaching materials in order to find stereotypes and racist elements, there are further evaluable concepts against ethnocentrism, since racism or ethnocentrism is not limited to schoolbooks. Main fields of research are juvenile literature, oral communication, media and attitudes, e.g., in schools.

- **Juvenile Literature**: In a similar way to the evaluation of textbooks, questions are put to books written for children and young people in order to find stereotypes, prejudices, negative presentations, discriminations, etc.

- **Oral communication**: Linguistic research is done in order to find out the general patterns of prejudices in modern languages and their use in daily life communication. It is, e.g., asked which words are used in a language to label a black person, which euphemisms are used and which words would be accepted by the labelled group. Of course, comparative studies in several languages are very useful. In addition, the language use of relevant persons like politicians is examined.

- **Media**: Since public opinion is mainly influenced by the media, it is an important task to examine the language of the media in order to mark the there used stereotypes and prejudices and to find out how certain groups (like, e.g., refugees) or situations (e.g., the augmentation of application for asylum) are described in the media and how they influence the readers or listeners (cf., e.g., van Dijk 1984).

- **Attitudes**: Especially in Great Britain, methods have been developed to train teachers, social workers etc. to recognize their own attitudes (and the institutional forms of racism at the same time) in order to change them (cf., e.g., Pumfrey 1988, Teunissen 1983 with regard to evaluation processes).

Certainly, intercultural education still needs further research to develop comparative studies and evaluative procedures which both will be necessary to establish a suitable kind of education in the Europe of the future, where tolerance and intercultural communication in a multicultural and multilingual environment will belong to the desired qualities.
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